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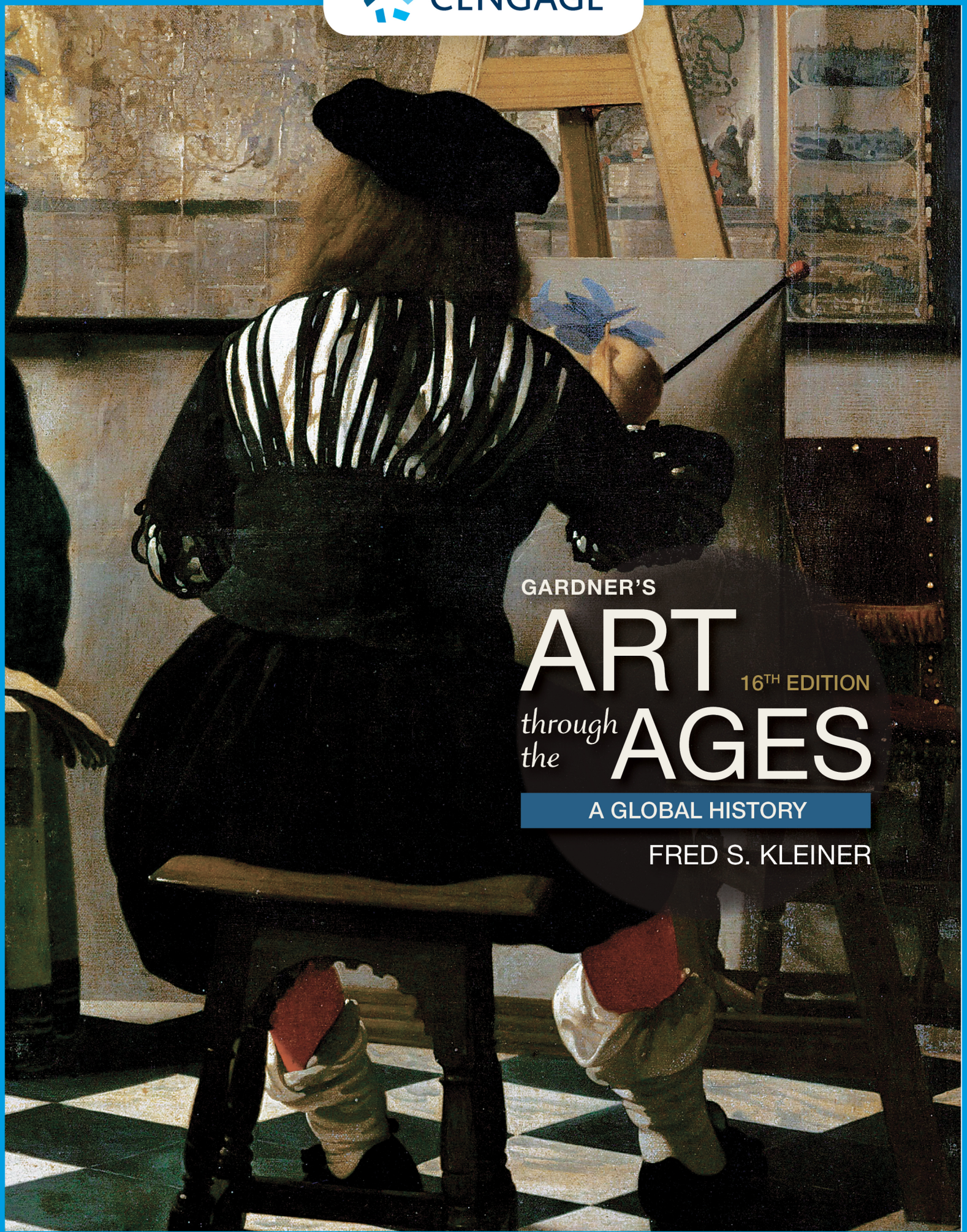

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ART through the AGES

16TH EDITION

A GLOBAL HISTORY

FRED S. KLEINER

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ABOUT THE COVER ART

Johannes Vermeer, ***Allegory of the Art of Painting,*** **1670–1675. Oil on canvas, 4′ 4″ × 3′ 8″. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.**

Allegory of the Art of Painting is a highly complex and intriguing painting by the Dutch master Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675). The artist considered it his most important work (it is one of his largest and he never sold it, retaining it as a display piece in his studio). The setting is that studio, and Vermeer portrayed himself with his back to the viewer, hard at work on a painting of the model standing before him. She wears a laurel wreath and holds a trumpet and book, traditional attributes of Clio, the muse of history. The map of the provinces of the Dutch Republic on the back wall serves as yet another reference to history. As in many of Vermeer's domestic scenes, the viewer is outside the space of the action, looking in through the drawn curtain, which also separates the artist in his studio from the rest of the house. Some art historians have suggested that the light radiating from an unseen window on the left, illuminating both the model and the canvas being painted, alludes to the light of artistic inspiration. Accordingly, many scholars have interpreted this painting as an allegory—a reference to painting inspired by history. More likely, especially given the character of Vermeer's known paintings, which do not have historical subjects, the intended message is that art (and artists) transcend history and time. That the painting is certainly an allegorical work and not a simple scene out of everyday life is confirmed by a legal claim to the painting filed by Vermeer's mother-in-law in 1677. When, after Vermeer's death, 26 of his works were scheduled for sale to pay his widow's debts, his mother-in-law argued that she had the right to withhold from auction "the piece . . . wherein the Art of Painting is portrayed."

We know a great deal about Johannes Vermeer from documents of the era, a boon to art historians that is characteristic of Western art since the Renaissance of the 14th century. That is not typical, however, of many periods of the history of art, when artists toiled in anonymity to fulfill the wishes of their patrons, whether Egyptian pharaohs, Roman emperors, or medieval monks. *Art through the Ages* surveys the art of all periods from prehistory to the present, and worldwide, and examines how artworks of all kinds have always reflected the historical contexts in which they were created.

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PREFACE

I take great pleasure in introducing the extensively revised and expanded 16th edition of *Gardner's Art through the Ages: A Global History,* which, like the 15th edition, is a hybrid art history textbook—the first, and still the only, introductory survey of the history of art of its kind. This innovative new kind of "Gardner" retains all of the best features of traditional books on paper while harnessing 21st-century technology to increase by 25% the number of works examined—without increasing the size or weight of the book itself and at only nominal additional cost to students.

When Helen Gardner published the first edition of *Art through the Ages* in 1926, she could not have imagined that nearly a century later, instructors all over the world would still be using her textbook (available even in a new Chinese edition, the third time this classic textbook has been translated into Chinese) in their classrooms. Indeed, if she were alive today, she would not recognize the book that, even in its traditional form, long ago became—and remains—the world's most widely read introduction to the history of art and architecture. I hope that instructors and students alike will agree that this new edition lives up to the venerable Gardner tradition and even exceeds their high expectations.

The 16th edition follows the 15th in incorporating an innovative new online component called MindTap™, which includes, in addition to a host of other features (enumerated below), MindTap Bonus Images (with zoom capability) and descriptions of more than 300 additional important works of all eras, from prehistory to the present and worldwide. The printed and online components of the hybrid 16th edition are very closely integrated. For example, each MindTap Bonus Image appears as a thumbnail in the traditional textbook, with abbreviated caption, to direct readers to MindTap for additional content, including an in-depth discussion of each image. The integration extends also to the maps, index, glossary, and chapter summaries, which seamlessly merge the printed and online information.

KEY FEATURES OF THE 16TH EDITION

In this new edition, in addition to revising the text of every chapter to incorporate the latest research and methodological developments and dividing the former chapter on European and American art from 1900 to 1945 into two chapters, I have added several important features while retaining the basic format and scope of the previous edition. Once again, the hybrid Gardner boasts roughly 1,700 photographs, plans, and drawings, nearly all in color and reproduced according to the highest standards of clarity and color fidelity, including hundreds of new images, among them a new series of superb photos taken by Jonathan Poore exclusively for *Art through the Ages* during a photographic campaign in England in 2016 (following similar forays into France, Tuscany, Rome, and Germany for the 14th and 15th editions). MindTap also includes custom videos made on these occasions at each site by Sharon Adams Poore. This extraordinary proprietary Cengage archive of visual material ranges from ancient temples and aqueducts in Rome and France; to medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque churches in England, France, Germany, and Italy and 18th-century landscape architecture in England; to such postmodern masterpieces as the Pompidou Center and the Louvre Pyramide in Paris, the Neue Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart, and the Gherkin in London. The 16th edition also features the highly acclaimed architectural drawings of John Burge prepared exclusively for Cengage, as well as Google Earth coordinates for all buildings and sites and all known provenances of portal objects. Together, these exclusive photographs, videos, and drawings provide readers with a visual feast unavailable anywhere else.

Once again, scales accompany the photograph of every painting, statue, or other artwork discussed—another innovative feature of the Gardner text. The scales provide students with a quick and effective way to visualize how big or small a given artwork is and its relative size compared with other objects in the same chapter and throughout the book—especially important given that the illustrated works vary in size from tiny to colossal.

Also retained in this edition are the Quick-Review Captions (brief synopses of the most significant aspects of each artwork or building illustrated) that students have found invaluable when preparing for examinations. These extended captions accompany not only every image in the printed book but also all the digital images in MindTap, where they are also included in a set of interactive electronic flashcards. Each chapter also again ends with the highly popular full-page feature called *The Big Picture,* which sets forth in bullet-point format the most important characteristics of each period or artistic movement discussed in the chapter. Also retained from the 15th edition are the timelines summarizing the major

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artistic and architectural developments during the era treated (again in bullet-point format for easy review) and a chapter-opening essay called *Framing the Era,* which discusses a characteristic painting, sculpture, or building and is illustrated by four photographs.

Another pedagogical tool not found in any other introductory art history textbook is the *Before 1300* section that appears at the beginning of the second volume of the paperbound version of the book. Because many students taking the second half of a survey course will not have access to Volume I, I have provided a special (expanded) set of concise primers on architectural terminology and construction methods in the ancient and medieval worlds, and on mythology and religion—information that is essential for understanding the history of art after 1300 in both the West and the East. The subjects of these special essays are Greco-Roman Temple Design and the Classical Orders; Arches and Vaults; Basilican Churches; Central-Plan Churches; the Gods and Goddesses of Mount Olympus; the Life of Jesus in Art; Early Christian Saints and Their Attributes; Buddhism and Buddhist Iconography; and Hinduism and Hindu Iconography. *Before 1300* also is included in MindTap for all courses.

Feature boxes once again appear throughout the book as well. These features fall under nine broad categories, one of which is new to the 16th edition:

Architectural Basics boxes provide students with a sound foundation for the understanding of architecture. These discussions are concise explanations, with drawings and diagrams, of the major aspects of design and construction. The information included is essential to an understanding of architectural technology and terminology.

Materials and Techniques essays explain the various media that artists have employed from prehistoric to modern times. Because materials and techniques often influence the character of artworks, these discussions contain essential information on why many monuments appear as they do.

Religion and Mythology boxes introduce students to the principal elements of the world's great religions, past and present, and to the representation of religious and mythological themes in painting and sculpture of all periods and places. These discussions of belief systems and iconography give readers a richer understanding of some of the greatest artworks ever created.

Art and Society essays treat the historical, social, political, cultural, and religious context of art and architecture. In some instances, specific monuments are the basis for a discussion of broader themes.

Written Sources boxes present and discuss key historical documents illuminating important monuments of art and architecture throughout the world. The passages quoted permit voices from the past to speak directly to the reader, providing vivid and unique insights into the creation of artworks in all media.

In the *Artists on Art* boxes, artists and architects throughout history discuss both their theories and individual works.

The Patron's Voice essays underscore the important roles played by the individuals and groups who paid for the artworks and buildings in determining the character of those monuments.

Problems and Solutions essays are designed to make students think critically about the decisions that went into the making of every painting, sculpture, and building from the Old Stone Age to the present. These discussions address questions of how and why various forms developed; the problems that painters, sculptors, and architects confronted; and the solutions they devised to resolve them.

New to the 16th edition are boxes titled *A Second Opinion,* in which an individual work of art that is the subject of current debate or has recently been reinterpreted is discussed. These essays underscore for students that the history of art and architecture is not a static discipline and that scholars are constantly questioning and rethinking traditional interpretations of paintings, sculptures, and buildings.

Other noteworthy features retained from the 15th edition are the extensive (updated) bibliography of books in English; a glossary containing definitions of all italicized terms introduced in both the printed and online texts; and a complete museum index listing all illustrated artworks by their present location. The host of state-of-the-art resources in the 16th edition version of MindTap for *Art through the Ages* are enumerated on page xxix).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A work as extensive as a global history of art could not be undertaken or completed without the counsel of experts in all areas of world art. As with previous editions, Cengage has enlisted dozens of art historians to review every chapter of *Art through the Ages* in order to ensure that the text lives up to the Gardner reputation for accuracy as well as readability. I take great pleasure in acknowledging here the important contributions to the 16th edition made by the following: Bradley Bailey, Saint Louis University; Amy Bloch, University at Albany; Anne-Marie Bouché, Florida Gulf Coast University; Betty Brownlee, Macomb Community College; Caroline Bruzelius, Duke University; Petra Chu, Seton Hall University; Kathy Curnow, Cleveland State University; Paola Demattè, Rhode Island School of Design; Sarah Dillon, Kingsborough City College, City University of New York; Eduardo de Jesús Douglas, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill; Sonja Drimmer, University of Massachusetts Amherst; Ingrid Furniss, Lafayette College; Karen Hope Goodchild, Wofford College; Christopher Gregg, George Mason University; Melinda Hartwig, Emory University; Joe Hawkins, Hagley Park; Peter Holliday, California State University, Long Beach; Craig Houser, City College of New York/City University of New York; Margaret Jackson, University of New Mexico; Mark J. Johnson, Brigham Young University; Lynn Jones, Florida State University; Tanja L. Jones, University of Alabama Tuscaloosa; Nancy Klein, Texas A&M; Peri Klemm, California State University, Northridge; Yu Bong Ko, Dominican College; Paul Lavy, University of Hawai'i at Manoa; John Listopad, California State University, Sacramento; Gary Liu Jr., University of Hawaii at Manoa; Nancy Bea Miller, Montgomery County Community College; Michelle Moseley-Christian, Virginia Tech University; Evan Neely, Pratt Institute; Huiping Pang, University of Iowa; Benjamin Paul, Rutgers University; Julie-Anne Plax, University of Arizona; Stephanie Porras, Tulane University; Sharon Pruitts, East Carolina University; Kurt Rahmlow, University of North Texas; Julie Risser, Minneapolis College of Art and Design; Robyn Roslak, University of Minnesota-Duluth; Susan Elizabeth Ryan, Louisiana State University; Nicholas Sawicki, Lehigh University; Nancy Serwint, Arizona State University; Kerri Cox Sullivan, University of Texas, Austin; James R. Swensen, Brigham Young University; David S. Whitley, University of California, Los Angeles/ASM Affiliates; Margaret L. Woodhull, University of Colorado Denver.

I am especially indebted to the following for creating the instructor and student materials for the 16th edition: Anne McClanan, Portland State University; Kerri Cox Sullivan, University of Texas, Austin.

I am also happy to have this opportunity to express my gratitude to the extraordinary group of people at Cengage involved with the editing, production, and distribution of *Art through the*

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Ages. Some of them I have now worked with on various projects for two decades and feel privileged to count among my friends. The success of the Gardner series in all of its various permutations depends in no small part on the expertise and unflagging commitment of these dedicated professionals, especially Vanessa Manter, senior product manager; Laura Hildebrand, senior content manager; Lianne Ames, senior content manager; Paula Dohnal, learning designer; Ann Hoffman, intellectual property analyst; Betsy Hathaway, senior intellectual property project manager; Laura Kuhlman, marketing manager; Sarah Cole, senior designer; as well as Sharon Adams Poore, former product manager for art; Cate Barr, former senior art director; Jillian Borden, former senior marketing manager; and Sayaka Kawano, former product assistant. I also express my deep gratitude to the incomparable group of learning consultants who have passed on to me the welcome advice offered by the hundreds of instructors they speak to daily.

It is a special pleasure also to acknowledge my debt to the following out-of-house contributors to the 16th edition: the peerless quarterback of the entire production process, Joan Keyes, Dovetail Publishing Services; Michele Jones, copy editor extraordinaire; Susan Gall, eagle-eyed proofreader; Alisha Webber, text and cover designer; Lumina Datamatics, photo researchers; Jay and John Crowley, Jay's Publisher Services; Cenveo Publisher Services; and Jonathan Poore and John Burge, for their superb photos and architectural drawings.

I conclude this long (but no doubt incomplete) list of acknowledgments with an expression of gratitude to my colleagues at Boston University and to the thousands of students and hundreds of teaching fellows in my art history courses since I began teaching in 1975. From them I have learned much that has helped determine the form and content of *Art through the Ages* and made it a much better book than it otherwise might have been.

Fred S. Kleiner

CHAPTER-BY-CHAPTER CHANGES IN THE 16TH EDITION

The 16th edition is extensively revised and expanded, as detailed below. Instructors will find a very helpful figure number transition guide on the online instructor companion site.

Introduction: What Is Art History? Added the head of the portrait of Augustus as pontifex maximus from the Via Labicana, Rome.

1: Art in the Stone Age. Revised and expanded discussion of chronology and current theories about Paleolithic art, including a new A Second Opinion essay "The Meaning of Paleolithic Art." New Art and Society essay "The Neolithic Temple at Göbekli Tepe." New photographs of the passage grave at Newgrange and the circles of trilithons at Stonehenge.

2: Ancient Mesopotamia and Persia. Added the Babylonian *Queen of the Night,* the Kalhu panel of Assyrians besieging a citadel, and a bull protome capital from Achaemenid Susa. Revised chronology of Sumerian art and expanded discussion of the Royal Cemetery at Ur with a new A Second Opinion essay "The *Standard of Ur.*" Revised discussion and dating of the Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon. New photographs of the cylinder seal of Puabi, the portrait head of an Akkadian ruler, the lamassu from the palace of Sargon II, and the Nineveh panel of Ashurbanipal hunting lions.

3: Egypt from Narmer to Cleopatra. Added the colossal head of Senusret III in Kansas City. New A Second Opinion essay "Akhenaton." New photographs of the columnar entrance corridor of the funerary precinct of Djoser at Saqqara, the exterior and interior of the Temple of Ramses II at Abu Simbel, the Temple of Amen-Re and the hypostyle hall at Karnak, Thutmose's portrait of Nefertiti, the sunken relief in Berlin of the family of Akhenaton, and the sphinx of Taharqo in the British Museum.

4: The Prehistoric Aegean. New A Second Opinion essay "Cycladic Statuettes." New photographs of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, the Akrotiri *Spring Fresco,* the corbel-vaulted gallery in the fortification walls of Tiryns, the Lion Gate and the interior of the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae, and the Mycenaean painted female head in the Athens National Archaeological Museum.

5: Ancient Greece. Added a second centauromachy metope, the horse of Selene from the east pediment, the river god Ilissos and Iris from the west pediment, and the peplos ceremony of the east frieze of the Parthenon; and the lion hunt pebble mosaic from Pella. New A Second Opinion essay "The *Alexander Mosaic.*" New photographs of the west pediment of the Temple of Artemis, Corfu; the *Charioteer of Delphi*; the herm of Pericles in the Vatican; metope 28, Helios and Dionysos and the three goddesses of the east pediment, and the horsemen and maidens of the Panathenaic procession frieze of the Parthenon; the Temple of Athena Nike and the caryatids of the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis; the Tomb of the Diver, Paestum; the *Farnese Hercules*; and the Stoa of Attalos in the Athenian agora.

6: The Etruscans. New Framing the Era essay "The Portal to the Etruscan Afterlife." New A Second Opinion essay "The *Capitoline Wolf.*" New photographs of the Tomb of the Augurs and the *Capitoline Wolf.*

7: The Roman Empire. Added the portraits of a Republican priest in the Vatican Museums and of Pompey the Great in Venice. New Framing the Era essay "The Roman Emperor as World Conqueror." New A Second Opinion essay "The Arch of Constantine." New photographs of the Temple of Portunus, Rome; the Temple of Vesta, Tivoli; the funerary relief of the Gessii in Boston; the funerary procession relief from Amiternum; the gardenscape from the Villa of Livia at Primaporta; the Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome (general view and Tellus panel); the Pont-du-Gard, Nîmes; the Porta Maggiore, Rome; the facade of the Colosseum, Rome; the portrait of a Flavian woman in the Museo Capitolino; the spoils relief of the Arch of Titus, Rome; four details of the spiral frieze of the Column of Trajan, Rome; the portrait of Hadrian in the Palazzo Massimo; the exterior of the Pantheon, Rome; the apotheosis and decursio reliefs of the Column of Antoninus Pius, Rome; the portrait of Caracalla in Berlin; the portrait of Trajan Decius in the Museo Capitolino; the portrait of Philip the Arabian in the Vatican Museums; the *Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus*; the Temple of Venus, Baalbek; and the Arch of Constantine, Rome.

8: Late Antiquity. Added the baptistery of the Christian community house at Dura-Europos, the Anastasis Rotunda of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and the mosaics of the chancel arch of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. New Framing the Era essay "Polytheism and Monotheism at Dura-Europos." New A Second Opinion essay "The Via Latina Catacomb." New photographs of the Dura-Europos baptistery, the Santa Maria Antiqua sarcophagus, two details of the Catacomb of Commodilla in Rome, and the ivory diptych of the Symmachi.

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9: Byzantium. Added the pedestal of the Theodosian obelisk in the Constantinople hippodrome. New A Second Opinion essay "The *Vienna Genesis*." New photographs of the apse of San Vitale at Ravenna, the interior of the Cappella Palatina at Palermo, and the exterior of the church of Saint Catherine at Thessaloniki.

10: The Islamic World. New A Second Opinion essay "The Rock of the Dome of the Rock." New photographs of the exterior and interior of the Dome of the Rock, the Umayyad palace at Mshatta, and the pyxis of al-Mughira.

11: Early Medieval Europe. New Framing the Era essay "Missionaries and the Beauty of God's Words." New A Second Opinion essay "The Lindisfarne Saint Matthew." New Problems and Solutions essay "How to Illustrate a Psalm." New photographs of the Oseberg ship, San Juan Bautista at Baños de Cerrato, and the bronze doors of St. Michael's at Hildesheim.

12: Romanesque Europe. New Framing the Era essay "The Blessed and the Damned on Judgment Day." New Written Sources essay "The Burning of Canterbury Cathedral." Two new Problems and Solutions essays "Stone Vaulting in Romanesque Churches" and "How to Illuminate a Nave." New A Second Opinion essay "The Rebirth of Large-Scale Sculpture in Romanesque Europe." New photographs of the west tympanum *Last Judgment* at Autun (three new details), the *Tower of Babel* on the nave vault of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, the interior and atrium of Sant'Ambrogio at Milan, and the nave of Durham Cathedral.

13: Gothic Europe North of the Alps. Added the head of Moses from the west facade of Saint-Denis; Wells and Exeter Cathedrals; and a discussion of the Decorated style of English Gothic architecture. New Framing the Era essay "The Birth of Gothic." New Art and Society essay "Louis IX, the Saintly King." New A Second Opinion essay "Gothic Cathedrals and Gothic Cities." New photographs of Chartres Cathedral (aerial view and nave), Reims Cathedral (west facade), Sainte-Chapelle in Paris (interior), Salisbury Cathedral (west facade, statue of Bishop Poore, and nave), Gloucester Cathedral (choir and tomb of Edward II), the exterior of the Chapel of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey, Nicholas of Verdun's *Shrine of the Three Kings,* and the choir of Cologne Cathedral.

14: Late Medieval Italy. New Framing the Era essay "Duccio di Buoninsegna." New A Second Opinion essay "Pietro Cavallini." New Problems and Solutions essay "Cityscapes and Landscapes as Allegories." Two new photographs of Pietro Cavallini's *Last Judgment* in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere.

15: South and Southeast Asia before 1200. Extensively revised text with expansion of the section on Southeast Asia, especially Borobudur. New A Second Opinion essay "The Ganges River or the Penance of Arjuna?" New photographs of the Great Stupa at Sanchi (general view and yakshi of the east torana), the Bodhisattva Padmapani mural painting in cave 1 at Ajanta, Borobudur (aerial view, relief of Sudhana visiting Manjushri, and seated Buddha and hollow stupas of the highest circular terrace), and Angkor Wat (aerial view).

16: China and Korea to 1279. Extensive text revisions. Added the Nanchan Temple on Mount Wutai. New A Second Opinion essay "Sanxingdui." New photographs of the terracotta army of Shi Huangdi (general view and three details), the Vairocana Buddha of the Fengxian Temple at Luoyang, the Fogong Si Pagoda at Yingxian, and the United Silla cave temple at Seokguram.

17: Japan before 1333. Revised Framing the Era essay "Horyuji, Japan's Oldest Buddhist Temple." New A Second Opinion essay "Kofun Haniwa." New photographs of a haniwa warrior from Gunma Prefecture, the honden of the Ise Jingu, the kondo and Amida triad mural at Horyuji, the Daibutsuden and Unkei's Agyo at Todaiji, and the Phoenix Hall of the Byodoin at Uji.

18: Native American Cultures before 1300. Added a Moche portrait-head vessel in Houston and Lintel 25 of Structure 23, Yaxchilán. New Framing the Era essay "Ancient Cities in a New World." New Art and Society essay "Human Sacrifice at Bonampak." New photographs of the Temple of the Sun and the Temple of the Feathered Serpent at Teotihuacán, the ball court at Copán, and the Castillo, Caracol, and ball court at Chichén Itzá.

19: Africa before 1800. Added a Nok culture fragmentary figure of a woman in Houston. Revised Framing the Era essay "The Art of the Benin Kingdom." New A Second Opinion essay "The Seated Man from Tada." New photographs of the copper statuette from Tada, Beta Giorghis at Lalibela, and the circuit walls and bird-and-crocodile monolith of Great Zimbabwe.

20: Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Northern Europe. Reorganized discussion of artworks with three new chapter sections: the French Ducal Courts; Flanders; and France and the Holy Roman Empire. Added Jacques de Baerze's *Retable de Champmol.* New A Second Opinion essay "Jan van Eyck's *Giovanni Arnolfini and His Wife*." New photograph of the full *Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament* by Dieric Bouts.

21: The Renaissance in Quattrocento Italy. New A Second Opinion essay "Piero della Francesca's *Flagellation.*"

22: Renaissance and Mannerism in Cinquecento Italy. Reorganization of the chapter to place the discussion of Mannerism between the sections on the High and Late Renaissance, and to discuss together all the works of Michelangelo created at different phases of his career. Added Sebastiano del Piombo's *Polyphemos.* New A Second Opinion essay "Giorgione's *Tempest.*" New photographs of Michelangelo's *Bound Slave,* the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, the Villa Rotonda at Vicenza, and the Palazzo del Tè at Mantua (aerial view).

23: High Renaissance and Mannerism in Northern Europe and Spain. Added the Gallery of Francis I in the Château of Fontainebleau. New Framing the Era essay "Netherlandish Mores and the Pursuit of Wealth." New A Second Opinion essay "Hieronymus Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights.*"

24: The Baroque in Italy and Spain. Added Caravaggio's *The Taking of Christ.* New Framing the Era essay "Mystical Drama in a Baroque Chapel." New A Second Opinion essay "Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas.*" New photographs of Bernini's *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa,* Carlo Maderno's east facade of Saint Peter's in the Vatican, and Annibale Carracci's *Loves of the Gods* ceiling fresco in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome.

25: The Baroque in Northern Europe. New Framing the Era essay "International Trade and Art Patronage in the Dutch Republic." New A Second Opinion essay "Johannes Vermeer's *Allegory of the Art of Painting.*" New photographs of Hals's *Women Regents of the Old Men's Home at Haarlem,* Rembrandt's *Night Watch,* and Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego.*

26: Rococo to Neoclassicism: The 18th Century in Europe and America. Added St Martin-in-the-Fields in London, the rotunda and sham medieval castle at Hagley Park, and the temple of Apollo

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at Stourhead Park. New Art and Society essay "Hagley Park and English Picturesque Gardens." New photographs of the Salon de la Princesse in Paris, the iron bridge at Coalbrookdale, Chiswick House near London, the Temple of Theseus at Hagley Park, the lake and Pantheon at Stourhead Park, and the Rotunda and Lawn of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville.

27: Romanticism, Realism, Photography: Europe and America, 1800 to 1870. Extensive text revisions. Added Smirke's St. Mary's in Bryanston Square in London, Nash's Marble Arch in London, and Burton and Turner's Palm House at Kew Gardens. New Framing the Era essay "Napoleon in Jaffa." New A Second Opinion essay "Edmonia Lewis's *Forever Free.*" New photographs of the stained-glass windows of the Houses of Parliament in London and of the exterior of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris.

28: Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Symbolism: Europe and America, 1870 to 1900. New Framing the Era essay "Impressions of Modern Life." New A Second Opinion essay "Manet at the Folies-Bergère." New photographs of Rodin's *Burghers of Calais,* the Eiffel Tower in Paris, and Gaudí's Casa Milá in Barcelona.

29: Modernism in Europe, 1900 to 1945. The chapter in the 15th edition on European and American modernism from 1900 to 1945 has been divided into two chapters, the first on developments in Europe and the second on the art and architecture of the same period in the United States and Mexico. Added André Derain's *The Turning Road, L'Estaque.* New A Second Opinion essay "Hannah Höch's Dada Photomontage." New timeline and Big Picture. New photographs of Picasso's *Guitar* and Duchamp's *Large Glass.*

30: Modernism in the United States and Mexico, 1900 to 1945. In this new independent chapter on art and architecture in the United States and Mexico from 1900 to 1945, the discussion of American art has been significantly reorganized and divided by medium: painting, photography, sculpture, and architecture. Added Stuart Davis's *Hot Still-Scape for Six Colors—7th Avenue Style.* New Framing the Era essay "Aaron Douglas, Europe, Africa, and America." New A Second Opinion essay "Grant Wood's *American Gothic.*" New timeline and Big Picture. New photographs of Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase No. 2,* Alfred Stieglitz's *The Steerage,* and Frank Lloyd Wright's Robie House in Chicago.

31: Modernism and Postmodernism in Europe and America, 1945 to 1980. Added Mark Rothko's *No. 10,* Louise Nevelson's *Sky Cathedral,* and Robert Frank's *Trolley, New Orleans.* New Art and Society essay "Robert Frank's *The Americans.*" New A Second Opinion essay "The Portland Building." New Artists on Art essay "Robert Smithson on *Spiral Jetty.*"

32: Contemporary Art Worldwide. Added *De Style* by Kerry James Marshall, *Subway Graffiti #3* by Faith Ringgold, *Big Alagba and Sekibo* by Sokari Douglas Camp, *Hydra and Kali* by Damien Hirst, and *Shibboleth* by Doris Salcedo. New Art and Society essay "Damien Hirst's *Wreck of the Unbelievable.*" New photographs of Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the interior and exterior of Norman Foster's HSBC headquarters in Hong Kong, and Foster's Gherkin tower in London.

33: South and Southeast Asia, 1200 to 1980. Expanded discussion of Southeast Asia. Added Wat Chai Wattanaram at Ayutthaya and Pha That Luang at Vientiane. New photographs of the Qutb Minar and Alai Darvaza at Delhi, Victoria Terminus at Mumbai, the Wat Benchamabophit walking Buddha, the *Emerald Buddha* in Bangkok, and the Schwedagon Pagoda at Rangoon.

34: China and Korea, 1279 to 1980. Revised discussion of several artworks and boxed essays. New photographs of the Noon Gate, the Hall of Supreme Harmony, and the imperial throne room of the Forbidden City, and of the Garden of the Master of the Fishing Nets at Suzhou.

35: Japan, 1333 to 1980. New Framing the Era essay "Famous Views of Edo." New A Second Opinion essay "The Rock Garden of Ryoanji."

36: Native American Cultures, 1300 to 1980. Added a San Ildefonso jar by María Montoya Martínez in Houston. New Framing the Era essay "The Founding of Tenochtitlán." New Materials and Techniques essay "Mesoamerican Illustrated Books." New photographs of the *Borgia Codex* and the Temple of the Sun (Santo Domingo) at Cuzco.

37: Oceania before 1980. Added a New Ireland tatanua helmet mask in Houston and the Maori Runanga meeting house at Waitangi. New Art and Society essay "Asmat Headhunting and Bisj Poles." New A Second Opinion essay "The Moai of Rapa Nui." New photographs of details of the Turanga wharenui at Poverty Bay.

38: Africa, 1800 to 1980. Added a Kota mbulu ngulu in Boston, a Dan ceremonial spoon in Houston, and a Samburu "Beautiful Lady" dance mask in a private collection. New photograph of Samburu masked dancers.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Fred S. Kleiner

Fred S. Kleiner (Ph.D., Columbia University) has been the author or coauthor of *Gardner's Art through the Ages* beginning with the 10th edition in 1995. He has also published more than a hundred books, articles, and reviews on Greek and Roman art and architecture, including *A History of Roman Art,* also published by Cengage Learning. Both *Art through the Ages* and the book on Roman art have been awarded Texty prizes as the outstanding college textbook of the year in the humanities and social sciences, in 2001 and 2007, respectively. Professor Kleiner has taught the art history survey course since 1975, first at the University of Virginia and, since 1978, at Boston University, where he is currently professor of the history of art and architecture and classical archaeology and has served as department chair for five terms, most recently from 2005 to 2014. From 1985 to 1998, he was editor-in-chief of the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

Long acclaimed for his inspiring lectures and devotion to students, Professor Kleiner won Boston University's Metcalf Award for Excellence in Teaching as well as the College Prize for Undergraduate Advising in the Humanities in 2002, and he is a two-time winner of the Distinguished Teaching Prize in the College of Arts & Sciences Honors Program. In 2007, he was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and, in 2009, in recognition of lifetime achievement in publication and teaching, a Fellow of the Text and Academic Authors Association.

Also by Fred Kleiner: *A History of Roman Art, Second Edition* (Cengage Learning 2018; ISBN 9781337279505), winner of the 2007 Texty Prize for a new college textbook in the humanities and social sciences. In this authoritative and lavishly illustrated volume, Professor Kleiner traces the development of Roman art and architecture from Romulus's foundation of Rome in the eighth century BCE to the death of Constantine in the fourth century CE, with special chapters devoted to Pompeii and Herculaneum, Ostia, funerary and provincial art and architecture, and the earliest Christian art, with an introductory chapter on the art and architecture of the Etruscans and of the Greeks of South Italy and Sicily.

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RESOURCES FOR STUDENTS AND INSTRUCTORS

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MindTap for *Gardner's Art through the Ages: A Global History,* 16th edition, helps students engage with course content and achieve greater comprehension. Highly personalized, fully online, and completely mobile-optimized, the MindTap learning platform presents authoritative Cengage content, assignments, and services.

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MindTap guides you through your course via a learning path where you can annotate readings and take quizzes. Concepts are brought to life with zoomable versions of close to 1,700 images; videos to reinforce concepts and expand knowledge of particular works or art trends; numerous study tools, including mobile-optimized image flashcards; a glossary complete with an audio pronunciation guide; and more!

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LECTURE NOTES & STUDY GUIDES

The Lecture Notes & Study Guide for each chapter is a lecture companion that allows students to take notes alongside the images shown in class. This resource includes reproductions of the images from the reading, with full captions and space for note-taking either on a computer or on a printout. It also includes a chapter summary, key terms list, and learning objectives checklist.

GOOGLE EARTH

Take a virtual tour of art through the ages! Resources for the 16th edition include Google Earth coordinates for all works, monuments, and sites discussed in the reading, encouraging students to make geographical connections between places and sites. Instructors can use these coordinates to start lectures with a virtual journey to locations all over the globe or take aerial screenshots of important sites to incorporate into lecture materials.

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GARDNER'S

ART THROUGH THE AGES

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▲**I-1a** Art historians seek to understand not only why artworks appear as they do but also why those works exist at all. Who paid this African artist to make this altar? Can the figures represented provide the answer?

1 in.

I-1 **Altar to the Hand (ikegobo), from Benin, Nigeria, ca. 1735–1750. Bronze, 1′ 5½″ high. British Museum, London (gift of Sir William Ingram).**

◀**I-1b** What tools and techniques did this sculptor employ to transform molten bronze into this altar representing a Benin king and his attendants projecting in high relief from the background plane?

▶**I-1c** At the bottom of the altar is a band with hands and other symbols, but no artist's signature or date. How can art historians determine when an unlabeled work such as this one was made and by and for whom?

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INTRODUCTION

WHAT IS ART HISTORY?

What is art history? Except when referring to the modern academic discipline, people do not often juxtapose the words *art* and *history.* They tend to think of history as the record and interpretation of past human events, particularly social and political events. By contrast, most think of art, quite correctly, as part of the present—as something people can see and touch. Of course, people cannot see or touch history's vanished human events, but a visible, tangible artwork is a kind of persisting event. One or more artists made it at a certain time and in a specific place, even if no one now knows who, when, where, or why. Although created in the past, an artwork continues to exist in the present, long surviving its times. The earliest known paintings and sculptures were created almost 40,000 years ago, but they can be viewed today, often in glass cases in museums built only during the past few years.

Modern museum visitors can admire these objects from the remote past and countless others produced over the millennia—whether a large painting on canvas by a 17th-century French artist (FIG. I-12), a wood portrait from an ancient Egyptian tomb (FIG. I-15), an illustrated book by a medieval German monk (FIG. I-8), or an 18th-century bronze altar glorifying an African king (FIG. I-1)—without any knowledge of the circumstances leading to the creation of those works. The beauty or sheer size of an object can impress people, the artist's virtuosity in the handling of ordinary or costly materials can dazzle them, or the subject depicted can move them emotionally. Viewers can react to what they see, interpret the work in the light of their own experience, and judge it a success or a failure. These are all valid aesthetic responses. (*Aesthetics* is the branch of philosophy that addresses the nature of beauty, especially in art.) But the enjoyment and appreciation of artworks in museum settings are relatively recent phenomena, as is the creation of artworks solely for museum-going audiences to view.

Today, it is common for artists to work in private studios and to create paintings, sculptures, and other objects to be offered for sale by commercial art galleries. This is what American artist CLYFFORD STILL (1904–1980) did when he created his series of paintings (FIG. I-2) of pure color titled simply with the year of their creation. Usually, someone whom the artist has never met will purchase the artwork and display it in a setting that the artist has never seen. This practice is not a new phenomenon in the history of art—an ancient potter decorating a vase for sale at a village market stall probably did not know who would buy the pot or where it would be housed—but it is not at all typical. In fact, it is exceptional. Throughout history, most artists created paintings, sculptures, and other objects for specific patrons and settings and to fulfill a specific purpose, even if today no one knows the original contexts of those artworks. A museum visitor can appreciate the visual and tactile qualities of these objects, but without knowing the circumstances of their creation, that modern viewer cannot understand why they were made or why they appear as they do. Art *appreciation* and aesthetic judgments in general do not require knowledge of the historical context of an artwork (or a building). Art *history* does.

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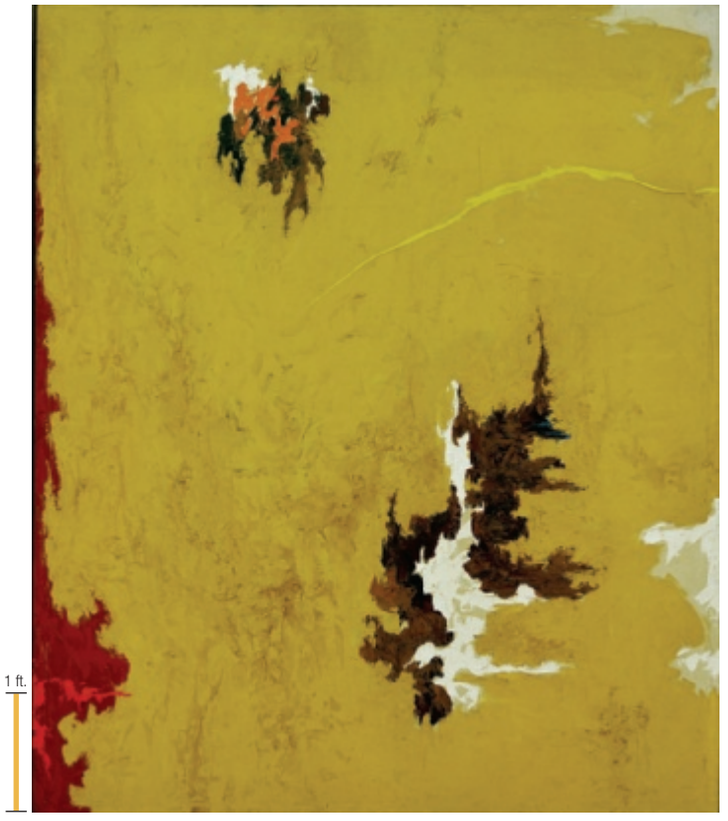

I-2 Clyfford Still, *1948-C,* 1948. Oil on canvas, 6′ $8\frac{7}{8}$″ × 5′ $8\frac{3}{4}$″. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (purchased with funds of Joseph H. Hirshhorn, 1992).

Clyfford Still painted this abstract composition without knowing who would purchase it or where it would be displayed, but throughout history, most artists created works for specific patrons and settings.

Thus a central aim of art history is to determine the original context of artworks. Art historians seek to achieve a full understanding not only of why these "persisting events" of human history look the way they do but also of why the artistic events happened at all. What unique set of circumstances gave rise to the construction of a particular building or led an individual patron to commission a certain artist to fashion a singular artwork for a specific place? The study of history is therefore vital to art history. And art history is often indispensable for a thorough understanding of history. In ways that other historical documents may not, art objects and buildings can shed light on the peoples who made them and on the times of their creation. Furthermore, artists and architects can affect history by reinforcing or challenging cultural values and practices through the objects they create and the structures they build. Although the two disciplines are not the same, the analysis of art and architecture is inseparable from the study of history.

The following pages introduce some of the distinctive subjects that art historians address and the kinds of questions they ask, and explain some of the basic terminology they use when answering these questions. Readers armed with this arsenal of questions and terms will be ready to explore the multifaceted world of art through the ages—and to form their own opinions and write knowledgably about artworks and buildings in all places and at all times. This is the central aim of this book.

ART HISTORY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Art historians study the visual and tangible objects that humans make and the structures they build. Scholars traditionally have classified these works as architecture, sculpture, the pictorial arts (painting, drawing, printmaking, and photography), and the craft arts, or arts of design. The craft arts comprise utilitarian objects, such as ceramics, metalwork, textiles, jewelry, and similar accessories of ordinary living—but the fact that these objects were used does not mean that they are not works of art. In fact, in some times and places, these so-called minor arts were the most prestigious artworks of all. Artists of every age have blurred the boundaries among these categories, but this is especially true today, when multimedia works abound.

Beginning with the earliest Greco-Roman art critics, scholars have studied objects that their makers consciously manufactured as "art" and to which the artists assigned formal titles. But today's art historians also study a multitude of objects that their creators and owners almost certainly did not consider to be "works of art"—for example, the African altar illustrated on the opening page of this introductory chapter (FIG. I-1). Likewise, few ancient Romans would have regarded a coin bearing their emperor's portrait as anything but money. Today, an art museum may exhibit that coin in a locked case in a climate-controlled room, and scholars may subject it to the same kind of art historical analysis as a portrait by an acclaimed Renaissance or modern sculptor or painter.

The range of objects that art historians study is constantly expanding and now includes, for example, computer-generated images, whereas in the past almost anything produced using a machine would not have been regarded as art. Most people still consider the performing arts—music, drama, and dance—as outside art history's realm because these arts are fleeting, impermanent media. But during the past few decades, even this distinction between "fine art" and "performance art" has become blurred. Art historians, however, generally ask the same kinds of questions about what they study, whether they employ a restrictive or expansive definition of art.

The Questions Art Historians Ask

How Old Is It? Before art historians can write a history of art, they must be sure that they know the date of each work they study. Thus an indispensable subject of art historical inquiry is *chronology,* the dating of art objects and buildings. If researchers cannot determine a monument's age, they cannot place the work in its historical context. Art historians have developed many ways to establish, or at least approximate, the date of an artwork.

Physical evidence often reliably indicates an object's age. The material used for a statue or painting—bronze, plastic, or oil-based pigment, to name only a few—may not have been invented before a certain time, indicating the earliest possible date (the *terminus post quem*: Latin, "point after which") that someone could have fashioned the work. Or artists may have ceased using certain materials—such as specific kinds of inks and papers for drawings—at a known time, providing the latest possible date (the *terminus ante quem*: Latin, "point before which") for objects made of those materials. Sometimes the material (or the manufacturing technique) of an object or a building can establish a very precise date of production or construction. The study of tree rings, for instance, usually can determine within a narrow range the date of a wood statue or a timber roof beam.

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I-3 Choir of Beauvais Cathedral (looking east), Beauvais, France, rebuilt after 1284.

The style of an object or building often varies from region to region. This cathedral has towering stone vaults and large colored-glass windows typical of 13th-century French architecture.

I-4 Interior of Santa Croce (looking east), Florence, Italy, begun 1294.

In contrast to Beauvais Cathedral (FIG. I-3), this contemporaneous Florentine church conforms to the quite different regional style of Italy. The building has a low timber roof and small windows.

Documentary evidence can help pinpoint the date of an object or building when a dated written document mentions the work. For example, official records may note when church officials commissioned a new altarpiece—and how much they paid to which artist.

Internal evidence can play a significant role in dating an artwork. A painter or sculptor might have depicted an identifiable person or a kind of hairstyle or garment fashionable only at a certain time. If so, the art historian can assign a more accurate date to that painting or sculpture.

Stylistic evidence is also very important. The analysis of *style*—an artist's distinctive manner of producing an object—is the art historian's special sphere. Unfortunately, because it is a subjective assessment, an artwork's style is by far the most unreliable chronological criterion. Still, art historians find stylistic evidence a very useful tool for establishing chronology.

What Is Its Style? Defining artistic style is one of the key elements of art historical inquiry, although the analysis of artworks solely in terms of style no longer dominates the field the way it once did. Art historians speak of several different kinds of artistic styles.

Period style refers to the characteristic artistic manner of a specific era or span of years, usually within a distinct culture, such as "Archaic Greek" or "High Renaissance." But many periods do not display any stylistic unity at all. How would someone define the artistic style of the second or third decade of the new millennium in North America? Far too many crosscurrents exist in contemporary art for anyone to describe a period style of the early 21st century—even in a single city such as New York.

Regional style is the term that art historians use to describe variations in style tied to geography. Like an object's date, its *provenance,* or place of origin, can significantly determine its character. Very often two artworks from the same place made centuries apart are more similar than contemporaneous works from two different regions. To cite one example, usually only an expert can distinguish between an Egyptian statue carved in 2500 BCE (FIG. 3-13) and one created 2,000 years later (FIG. 3-37). But no one would mistake an Egyptian statue of 500 BCE for one of the same date made in Greece (FIG. 5-35) or Africa (FIG. 19-4).

Considerable variations in a given area's style are possible, however, even during a single historical period. In late medieval Europe, French architecture differed significantly from Italian architecture. The interiors of Beauvais Cathedral (FIG. I-3) and the church of Santa Croce (Holy Cross, FIG. I-4) in Florence typify the architectural styles of France and Italy, respectively, at the end of the 13th century. The rebuilding of the east end of Beauvais Cathedral began in 1284. Construction commenced on Santa Croce only 10 years later. Both structures employ the *pointed arch* characteristic of this era, yet the two churches differ strikingly. The French church has towering stone ceilings and large expanses of colored-glass windows, whereas the Italian building has a low timber roof and small,

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I-5 Georgia O'Keeffe, *Jack-in-the-Pulpit No. 4,* 1930. Oil on canvas, 3′ 4″ × 2′ 6″. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Alfred Stieglitz Collection, bequest of Georgia O'Keeffe).

O'Keeffe's paintings feature close-up views of petals and leaves in which the organic forms become powerful abstract compositions. This approach to painting typifies the artist's distinctive personal style.

I-6 Ben Shahn, *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti,* 1931–1932. Tempera on canvas, 7′ $\frac{1}{2}$″ × 4′. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York (gift of Edith and Milton Lowenthal in memory of Juliana Force).

O'Keeffe's contemporary, Shahn developed a style markedly different from hers. His paintings are often social commentaries on recent events and incorporate readily identifiable people.

widely separated clear windows. Because the two contemporaneous churches served similar purposes, regional style mainly explains their differing appearance.

Personal style, the distinctive manner of individual artists or architects, often decisively explains stylistic discrepancies among paintings, sculptures, and buildings of the same time and place. For example, in 1930, American painter Georgia O'Keeffe (1887–1986) produced a series of paintings of flowering plants. One of them—*Jack-in-the-Pulpit No. 4* (fig. I-5)—is a sharply focused close-up view of petals and leaves. O'Keeffe captured the growing plant's slow, controlled motion while converting the plant into a powerful *abstract* composition of lines, forms, and colors (see the discussion of art historical vocabulary in the next section). Only a year later, another American artist, Ben Shahn (1898–1969), painted *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti* (fig. I-6), a stinging commentary on social injustice inspired by the trial and execution of two Italian anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Many people believed that Sacco and Vanzetti had been unjustly convicted of killing two men in a robbery in 1920. Shahn's painting compresses time in a symbolic representation of the trial and its aftermath. The two executed men lie in their coffins. Presiding over them are the three members of the commission (headed by a college president wearing academic cap and gown) who declared that the original trial was fair and cleared the way for the executions. Behind, on the wall of a stately government building, hangs the framed portrait of the judge who pronounced the initial sentence. Personal style, not period or regional style, sets Shahn's canvas apart from O'Keeffe's. The contrast is extreme here because of the very different subjects that the artists chose. But even when two artists depict the same subject, the results can vary widely. The *way* that O'Keeffe painted flowers and the *way* that Shahn painted faces are distinctive and unlike the styles of their contemporaries. (See the "Who Made It?" discussion on page 6.)

The different kinds of artistic styles are not mutually exclusive. For example, an artist's personal style may change dramatically

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I-7 Gislebertus, weighing of souls, detail of *Last Judgment* (fig. 12-1), west tympanum of Saint-Lazare, Autun, France, ca. 1120–1135.

In this high relief portraying the weighing of souls on Judgment Day, Gislebertus used disproportion and distortion to dehumanize the devilish figure yanking on the scales of justice.

during a long career. Art historians then must distinguish among the different period styles of a particular artist, such as the "Rose Period" (fig. 29-10A) and the "Cubist Period" (fig. 29-14) of the prolific 20th-century artist Pablo Picasso.

What Is Its Subject? Another major concern of art historians is, of course, subject matter, encompassing the story or narrative; the scene presented; the action's time and place; the persons involved; and the environment and its details. Some artworks, such as modern abstract paintings (fig. I-2), have neither traditional subjects nor even settings. The "subject" is the artwork itself—its colors, textures, composition, and size. But when artists represent people, places, or actions, viewers must identify these features to achieve a complete understanding of the work. Art historians traditionally separate pictorial subjects into various categories, such as religious, historical, mythological, *genre* (daily life), portraiture, *landscape* (a depiction of a place), *still life* (an arrangement of inanimate objects), and their numerous subdivisions and combinations.

Iconography—literally, the "writing of images"—refers both to the content, or subject, of an artwork, and to the study of content in art. By extension, it also includes the study of *symbols,* images that stand for other images or encapsulate ideas. In Christian art, two intersecting lines of unequal length or a simple geometric cross can serve as an emblem of the religion as a whole, symbolizing the cross of Jesus Christ's crucifixion. A symbol also can be a familiar object that an artist has imbued with greater meaning. A balance or scale, for example, may symbolize justice or the weighing of souls on Judgment Day (fig. I-7).

Artists may depict figures with unique *attributes* identifying them. In Christian art, for example, each of the authors of the biblical Gospel books, the four evangelists (fig. I-8), has a distinctive attribute. People can recognize Saint Matthew by the winged man associated with him, John by his eagle, Mark by his lion, and Luke by his ox.

Throughout the history of art, artists have used *personifications*—abstract ideas codified in human form. Because of the fame of the colossal statue set up in New York City's harbor in 1886, people everywhere visualize Liberty as a robed woman wearing a rayed crown and holding a torch. Four different personifications appear

1 in.

I-8 The four evangelists, folio 14 verso of the *Aachen Gospels,* ca. 810. Ink and tempera on vellum, 1′ × 9½″. Domschatzkammer, Aachen.

Artists depict figures with attributes in order to identify them for viewers. The authors of the four Gospels have distinctive attributes—winged man (Matthew), eagle (John), lion (Mark), and ox (Luke).

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1 in.

I-9 Albrecht Dürer, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse,* ca. 1498. Woodcut, 1′ 3¼″ × 11″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of Junius S. Morgan, 1919).

Personifications are abstract ideas codified in human form. Here, Albrecht Dürer represented Death, Famine, War, and Pestilence as four men on charging horses, each one carrying an identifying attribute.

in *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (fig. I-9) by German artist Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). The late-15th-century print is a terrifying depiction of the fateful day at the end of time when, according to the Bible's last book, Death, Famine, War, and Pestilence will annihilate the human race. Dürer personified Death as an emaciated old man with a pitchfork. Famine swings the scales for weighing human souls (compare fig. I-7). War wields a sword, and Pestilence draws a bow.

Even without considering style and without knowing a work's maker, informed viewers can determine much about the work's period and provenance by iconographical and subject analysis alone. In *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti* (fig. I-6), for example, the two coffins, the trio headed by an academic, and the robed judge in the background are all pictorial clues revealing the painting's subject. The work's date must be after the trial and execution (the terminus post quem), probably while the event was still newsworthy. And because the two men's deaths caused the greatest outrage in the United States, the painter–social critic was probably an American.

Who Made It? If Ben Shahn had not signed his painting of Sacco and Vanzetti, an art historian could still assign, or *attribute* (make an *attribution* of), the work to him based on knowledge of the artist's personal style. Although signing (and dating) works is quite common (but by no means universal) today, in the history of art, countless works exist whose artists remain unknown. Because personal style can play a major role in determining the character of an artwork, art historians often try to attribute anonymous works to known artists. Sometimes they assemble a group of works all thought to be by the same person, even though none of the objects in the group is the known work of an artist with a recorded name. Art historians thus reconstruct the careers of artists such as the "Achilles Painter" (fig. 5-58), the anonymous ancient Greek artist whose masterwork is a depiction of the hero Achilles. Scholars base their attributions on internal evidence, such as the distinctive way that an artist draws or carves drapery folds, earlobes, or flowers. It requires a keen, highly trained eye and long experience to become a *connoisseur,* an expert in assigning artworks to "the hand" of one artist rather than another. Attribution is subjective, of course, and ever open to doubt. For example, for a half-century through 2014, scholars involved with the Rembrandt Research Project debated attributions to the famous 17th-century Dutch painter Rembrandt van Rijn (fig. 25-15)—and the debate continues today.

Sometimes a group of artists works in the same style at the same time and place. Art historians designate such a group as a *school.* "School" in this sense does not mean an educational institution or art academy. The term connotes only shared chronology, style, and geography. Art historians speak, for example, of the Dutch school of the 17th century and, within it, of subschools such as those of the cities of Haarlem, Utrecht, and Leyden.

Who Paid for It? The interest that many art historians show in attribution reflects their conviction that the identity of an artwork's maker is the major reason why the object looks the way it does. For them, personal style is of paramount importance. But in many times and places, artists had little to say about what form their work would take. They toiled in obscurity, doing the bidding of their *patrons,* those who paid them to make individual works or employed them on a continuing basis. The role of patrons in dictating the content and shaping the form of artworks is also an important subject of art historical inquiry.

In the art of portraiture, to name only one category of painting and sculpture, the patron has often played a dominant role in deciding how the artist represented the subject, whether that person was the patron or another individual, such as a spouse, son, or mother. Many Egyptian pharaohs (for example, fig. 3-13) and some Roman emperors insisted that artists depict them with unlined faces and perfect youthful bodies no matter how old they were when portrayed. In these cases, the state employed the sculptors and painters, and the artists had no choice but to portray their patrons in the officially approved manner. This is why Augustus, who lived to age 76, looks so young in his portraits (fig. I-10; compare fig. 7-27). Although Roman emperor for more than 40 years, Augustus demanded that artists always represent him as a young, godlike head of state.

All modes of artistic production reveal the impact of patronage. Learned monks provided the themes for the sculptural decoration of medieval church portals (fig. I-7). Renaissance princes and popes dictated the subject, size, and materials of artworks destined for display in buildings also constructed according to their specifications. An art historian could make a very long list of commissioned works, and it would indicate that patrons have had diverse tastes and needs throughout history and consequently have demanded different kinds of art. Whenever a patron contracts with an artist or architect to paint, sculpt, or build in a prescribed manner, personal style often becomes a very minor factor in the ultimate appearance

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I-10 Head of the statue of Augustus as pontifex maximus, from Via Labicana, Rome, Italy, late first century BCE. Marble, statue 6′ 10″ high; detail 1′ 4½″. Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

Patrons frequently dictate the form that their portraits will take. Emperor Augustus demanded that he always be portrayed as a young, godlike head of state even though he lived to age 76.

of the painting, statue, or building. In these cases, the identity of the patron reveals more to art historians than does the identity of the artist or school. The portrait of Augustus illustrated here (FIG. I-10)—showing the emperor wearing a hooded *toga* in his official capacity as *pontifex maximus* (chief priest of the Roman state religion)—was the work of a virtuoso sculptor, a master wielder of hammer and chisel. But scores of similar portraits of this Roman emperor also exist today. They differ in quality but not in kind from this one. The patron, not the artist, determined the character of these artworks. Augustus's public image never varied. *Art through the Ages* highlights the involvement of patrons in the design and production of sculptures, paintings, and buildings throughout the text and in a series of boxed essays called *The Patron's Voice.*

The Words Art Historians Use

As in all fields of study, art history has its own specialized vocabulary consisting of hundreds of words, but certain basic terms are indispensable for describing artworks and buildings of any time and place. They make up the essential vocabulary of *formal analysis,* the visual analysis of artistic form, and are used whenever one talks or writes about art and architecture. Definitions and discussions of the most important art historical terms follow.

Form and Composition. *Form* refers to an object's shape and structure, either in two dimensions (for example, a portrait painted on canvas) or in three dimensions (such as a statue carved from a marble block). Two forms may take the same shape but differ in their color, texture, and other qualities. *Composition* refers to how an artist *composes* (organizes) forms in an artwork, either by placing shapes on a flat surface or by arranging forms in space.

Material and Technique. To create art forms, artists shape materials (pigment, clay, marble, gold, and many more) with tools (pens, brushes, chisels, and so forth). Each of the materials and tools available has its own potentialities and limitations. Part of all artists' creative activity is to select the *medium* and instrument most suitable to the purpose—or to develop new media and tools, such as bronze and concrete in antiquity and cameras and computers in modern times. The processes that artists employ, such as applying paint to canvas with a brush, and the distinctive, personal ways that they handle materials constitute their *technique.* Form, material, and technique interrelate and are central to analyzing any work of art.

Line. Among the most important elements defining an artwork's shape or form is *line.* A line can be understood as the path of a point moving in space, an invisible line of sight. More commonly, however, artists and architects make a line visible by drawing (or chiseling) it on a *plane,* a flat surface. A line may be very thin, wirelike, and delicate. It may be thick and heavy. Or it may alternate quickly from broad to narrow, the strokes jagged or the outline broken. When a continuous line defines an object's outer shape, art historians call it a *contour line.* All of these line qualities are present in Dürer's *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (FIG. I-9). Contour lines define the basic shapes of clouds, human and animal limbs, and weapons. Within the forms, series of short broken lines create shadows and textures. An overall pattern of long parallel strokes suggests the dark sky on the frightening day when the world is about to end.

Color. Light reveals all colors. Light in the world of the painter and other artists differs from natural light. Natural light, or sunlight, is whole or *additive light.* As the sum of all the wavelengths composing the visible *spectrum,* it may be disassembled or fragmented into the individual colors of the spectral band. The painter's light in art—the light reflected from pigments and objects—is *subtractive light.* Paint pigments produce their individual colors by reflecting a segment of the spectrum while absorbing all the rest. Green pigment, for example, subtracts or absorbs all the light in the spectrum except that seen as green.

Hue is the property giving a color its name. Although the spectrum colors merge into each other, artists usually conceive of their hues as distinct from one another. Color has two basic variables—the apparent amount of light reflected and the apparent purity. A change in one must produce a change in the other. Some terms for these variables are *value* or *tonality* (the degree of lightness or darkness) and *intensity* or *saturation* (the purity of a color, its brightness or dullness).

Artists call the three basic colors—red, yellow, and blue—the *primary colors.* The *secondary colors* result from mixing pairs of primaries: orange (red and yellow), purple (red and blue), and green (yellow and blue). *Complementary colors* represent the pairing of a primary color and the secondary color created from mixing the two other primary colors—red and green, yellow and purple, and blue and orange. They "complement," or complete, each other, one absorbing the colors that the other reflects.

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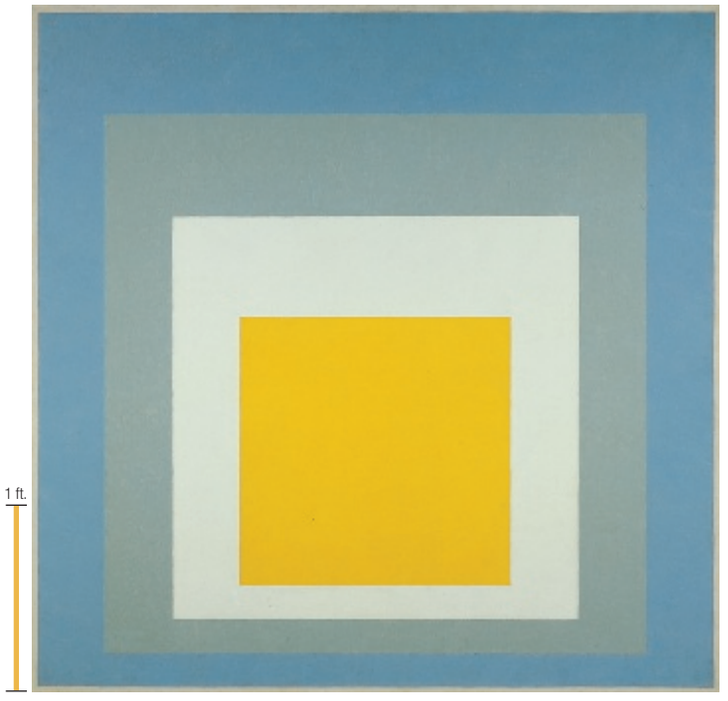

I-11 Josef Albers, *Homage to the Square: "Ascending,"* 1953. Oil on composition board, 3′ 7½″ × 3′ 7½″. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

Albers created hundreds of paintings using the same composition but employing variations in hue, saturation, and value in order to reveal the relativity and instability of color perception.

Artists can manipulate the appearance of colors, however. One artist who made a systematic investigation of the formal aspects of art, especially color, was Josef Albers (1888–1976), a German-born artist who emigrated to the United States in 1933. In connection with his studies, Albers created the series *Homage to the Square*—hundreds of paintings, most of which are color variations on the same composition of concentric squares, as in the illustrated example (fig. I-11). The series reflected Albers's belief that art originates in "the discrepancy between physical fact and psychic effect."[1] Because the composition in most of these paintings remains constant, the works succeed in revealing the relativity and instability of color perception. Albers varied the hue, saturation, and value of each square in the paintings in this series. As a result, the sizes of the squares from painting to painting appear to vary (although they remain the same), and the sensations emanating from the paintings range from clashing dissonance to delicate serenity. Albers explained his motivation for focusing on color juxtapositions:

> They [the colors] are juxtaposed for various and changing visual effects. . . . Such action, reaction, interaction . . . is sought in order to make obvious how colors influence and change each other; that the same color, for instance—with different grounds or neighbors—looks different. . . . Such color deceptions prove that we see colors almost never unrelated to each other.[2]

Texture. The term *texture* refers to the quality of a surface, such as rough or shiny. Art historians distinguish between true texture—that is, the tactile quality of the surface—and represented texture, as when painters depict an object as having a certain texture even though the pigment is the true texture. Sometimes artists combine different materials of different textures on a single surface, juxtaposing paint with pieces of wood, newspaper, fabric, and so forth. Art historians refer to this mixed-media technique as *collage.* Texture is, of course, a key determinant of any sculpture's character. People's first impulse is usually to handle a work of sculpture—even though museum signs often warn "Do not touch!" Sculptors plan for this natural human response, using surfaces varying in texture from rugged coarseness to polished smoothness. Textures are often intrinsic to a material, influencing the type of stone, wood, plastic, clay, or metal that a sculptor selects.

Space, Mass, and Volume. *Space* is the bounded or boundless "container" of objects. For art historians, space can be the real three-dimensional space occupied by a statue or a vase or contained within a room or courtyard. Or space can be *illusionistic,* as when painters depict an image (or illusion) of the three-dimensional spatial world on a two-dimensional surface.

Mass and *volume* describe three-dimensional objects and space. In both architecture and sculpture, mass is the bulk, density, and weight of matter in space. Yet the mass need not be solid. It can be the exterior form of enclosed space. Mass can apply to a solid Egyptian pyramid or stone statue; to a church, synagogue, or mosque (architectural shells enclosing sometimes vast spaces); and to a hollow metal statue or baked clay pot. Volume is the space that mass organizes, divides, or encloses. It may be a building's interior spaces, the intervals between a structure's masses, or the amount of space occupied by a three-dimensional object such as a statue, pot, or chair. Volume and mass describe both the exterior and interior forms of a work of art—the forms of the matter of which it is composed and the spaces immediately around the work and interacting with it.

Perspective and Foreshortening. *Perspective* is one of the most important pictorial devices for organizing forms in space. Throughout history, artists have used various types of perspective to create an illusion of depth or space on a two-dimensional surface. The French painter Claude Lorrain (1600–1682) employed several perspective devices in *Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba* (fig. I-12), a painting of a biblical episode set in a 17th-century European harbor with an ancient Roman ruin in the left foreground—an irrationally anachronistic combination that the art historian can explain only in the context of the cultural values of the artist's time and place. In Claude's painting, the figures and boats on the shoreline are much larger than those in the distance, because decreasing the size of an object makes it appear farther away. The top and bottom of the port building at the painting's right side are not parallel horizontal lines, as they are in a real building. Instead, the lines converge beyond the structure, leading the viewer's eye toward the hazy, indistinct sun on the horizon. These three perspective devices—the reduction of figure size, the convergence of diagonal lines, and the blurring of distant forms—have been familiar features of Western art since they were first employed by the ancient Greeks. It is important to state, however, that all kinds of perspective are only pictorial conventions, even when one or more types of perspective may be so common in a given culture that people accept them as "natural" or as "true" means of representing the natural world.

These perspective conventions are by no means universal. In *Waves at Matsushima* (fig. I-13), a Japanese seascape painting on

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I-12 Claude Lorrain, *Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba,* 1648. Oil on canvas, 4′ 10″ × 6′ 4″. National Gallery, London.

To create the illusion of a deep landscape, Claude Lorrain employed perspective, reducing the size of and blurring the most distant forms. All diagonal lines converge on a single point.

a six-part folding screen, Ogata Korin (1658–1716) ignored these Western "tricks" for representing deep space on a flat surface. A Western viewer might interpret the left half of Korin's composition as depicting the distant horizon, as in the French painting, but the sky is an unnatural gold, and the clouds filling that unnaturally colored sky are almost indistinguishable from the waves below. The rocky outcroppings decrease in size with distance, but all are in sharp focus, and there are no shadows. The Japanese artist was less concerned with locating the boulders and waves and clouds in space than with composing shapes on a surface, playing the swelling curves of waves and clouds against the jagged contours of the rocks. Neither the French nor the Japanese painting can be said to project "correctly" what viewers "in fact" see. One painting is not a "better" picture of the world than the other. The European and Asian artists simply approached the problem of picture making differently.

I-13 Ogata Korin, *Waves at Matsushima,* Edo period, Japan, ca. 1700–1716. Six-panel folding screen, ink, colors, and gold leaf on paper, 4′ $11\frac{1}{8}$″ × 12′ $\frac{7}{8}$″. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fenollosa-Weld Collection).

Asian artists rarely employed Western perspective (fig. I-12). Korin was more concerned with creating an intriguing composition of shapes on a surface than with locating boulders, waves, and clouds in space.

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I-14 Peter Paul Rubens, *Lion Hunt,* 1617–1618. Oil on canvas, 8′ 2″ × 12′ 5″. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Foreshortening—the representation of a figure or object at an angle to the picture plane—is a common device in Western art for creating the illusion of depth. Foreshortening is a type of perspective.

Artists also represent single figures in space in varying ways. When Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) painted *Lion Hunt* (fig. I-14), he used *foreshortening* for all the hunters and animals—that is, he represented their bodies at angles to the picture plane. When in life one views a figure at an angle, the body appears to contract as it extends back in space. Foreshortening is a kind of perspective. It produces the illusion that one part of the body is farther away than another, even though all the painted forms are on the same plane. Especially noteworthy in *Lion Hunt* are the gray horse at the left, seen from behind with the bottom of its left rear hoof facing viewers and most of its head hidden by its rider's shield, and the fallen hunter at the painting's lower right corner, whose barely visible legs and feet recede into the distance.

The artist who carved the portrait of the ancient Egyptian official Hesire (fig. I-15) for display in Hesire's tomb did not employ foreshortening. That artist's purpose was to present the various human body parts as clearly as possible, without overlapping. The lower part of Hesire's body is in profile to give the most complete view of the legs, with both the heel and toes of each foot visible. The frontal torso, however, enables viewers to see its full shape, including both shoulders, equal in size, as in nature. (Compare the shoulders of the hunter on the gray horse or those of the fallen hunter in *Lion Hunt*'s left foreground.) The result—an "unnatural" 90-degree twist at the waist—provides a precise picture of human body parts, if not an accurate picture of how a standing human figure really looks. Rubens and the Egyptian sculptor used very different means of depicting forms in space. Once again, neither is the "correct" manner.

Proportion and Scale. *Proportion* concerns the relationships (in terms of size) of the parts of persons, buildings, or objects. People can judge "correct proportions" intuitively ("that statue's head seems the right size for the body"). Or proportion can be a mathematical relationship between the size of one part of an artwork or building and the other parts within the work. Proportion in art implies using a *module,* or basic unit of measure. When an artist or architect uses a formal system of proportions, all parts of a building, body, or other entity will be fractions or multiples of the module. A module might be the diameter of a *column,* the height of a human head, or any other component whose dimensions can be multiplied or divided to determine the size of the artwork's or building's other parts.

In certain times and places, artists have devised *canons,* or systems, of "correct" or "ideal" proportions for representing human figures, constituent parts of buildings, and so forth. In ancient Greece, many sculptors formulated canons of proportions so strict and all-encompassing that they calculated the size of every body part in advance, even the fingers and toes, according to mathematical ratios.

Proportional systems can differ sharply from period to period, culture to culture, and artist to artist. Part of the task that art history

I-15 Hesire, relief from his tomb at Saqqara, Egypt, Dynasty III, ca. 2650 bce. Wood, 3′ 9″ high. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Egyptian artists combined frontal and profile views to give a precise picture of the parts of the human body, as opposed to depicting how an individual body appears from a specific viewpoint.

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students face is to perceive and adjust to these differences. In fact, many artists have used disproportion and distortion deliberately for expressive effect. In the medieval French depiction of the weighing of souls on Judgment Day (FIG. I-7), the devilish figure yanking down on the scale has distorted facial features and stretched, lined limbs with animal-like paws for feet. Disproportion and distortion make him appear "inhuman," precisely as the sculptor intended.

In other cases, artists have used disproportion to focus attention on one body part (often the head) or to single out a group member (usually the leader). These intentional "unnatural" discrepancies in proportion constitute what art historians call *hierarchy of scale,* the enlarging of elements considered the most important. On the bronze altar from Nigeria illustrated here (FIG. I-1), the sculptor varied the size of each figure according to the person's social status. Largest, and therefore most important, is the Benin king, depicted twice, each time flanked by two smaller attendant figures and shown wearing a multistrand coral necklace emblematic of his high office. The king's head is also disproportionately large compared to his body, consistent with one of the Benin ruler's praise names: Great Head.

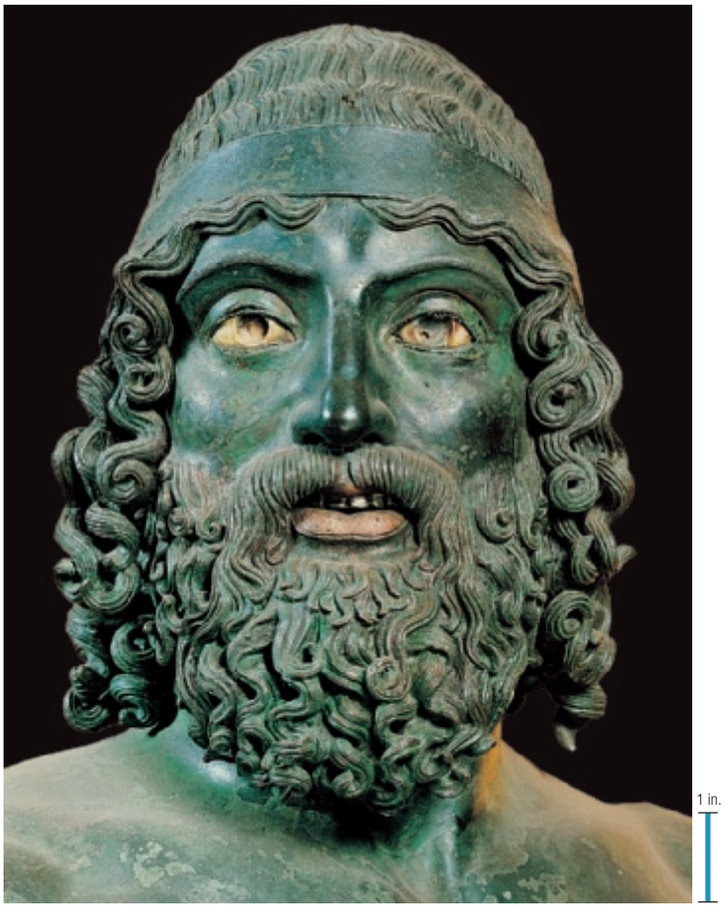
One problem that students of art history—and professional art historians too—confront when studying illustrations in art history books is that although the relative sizes of figures and objects in a painting or sculpture are easy to discern, it is impossible to determine the absolute size of the work reproduced because they all are printed at approximately the same size on the page. Readers of *Art through the Ages* can learn the exact size of all artworks from the dimensions given in the captions and, more intuitively, from the scales positioned at the lower left or right corner of each illustration.

Carving and Casting. Sculptural technique falls into two basic categories, *subtractive* and *additive. Carving* is a subtractive technique. The final form is a reduction of the original mass of a block of stone, a piece of wood, or another material. Wood statues were once tree trunks, and stone statues began as blocks pried from mountains. The unfinished marble statue illustrated here (FIG. I-16) by renowned Italian artist MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI (1475–1564) clearly reveals the original shape of the stone block. Michelangelo thought of sculpture as a process of "liberating" the statue within the block. All sculptors of stone or wood cut away (subtract) "excess material." When they finish, they "leave behind" the statue—in this example, a twisting nude male form whose head Michelangelo never freed from the stone block.

In additive sculpture, the artist builds up the forms, usually in clay around a framework, or *armature.* Or a sculptor may fashion a *mold,* a hollow form for shaping, or *casting,* a fluid substance such as bronze or plaster. The ancient Greek sculptor who made the bronze statue of a warrior found in the sea near Riace, Italy, cast the head (FIG. I-17) as well as the limbs, torso, hands, and feet (FIG. 5-36)

I-16 MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI, unfinished statue, 1527–1528. Marble, 8′ 7½″ high. Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence.

Carving a freestanding figure from stone or wood is a subtractive process. Michelangelo thought of sculpture as a process of "liberating" the statue contained within the block of marble.



I-17 Head of a warrior, detail of a statue (FIG. 5-36) from the sea off Riace, Italy, ca. 460–450 BCE. Bronze, full statue 6′ 6″ high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Reggio Calabria.

The sculptor of this life-size statue of a bearded Greek warrior cast the head, limbs, torso, hands, and feet in separate molds, then welded the pieces together and added the eyes in a different material.

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in separate molds and then *welded* them together (joined them by heating). Finally, the artist added features, such as the pupils of the eyes (now missing), in other materials. The warrior's teeth are silver, and his lower lip is copper.

Relief Sculpture. *Statues* and *busts* (head, shoulders, and chest) that exist independent of any architectural frame or setting and that viewers can walk around are *freestanding sculptures,* or *sculptures in the round,* whether the artist produced the piece by carving (FIG. I-10) or casting (FIG. I-17). In *relief sculpture,* the subjects project from the background but remain part of it. In *high-relief* sculpture, the images project boldly. In some cases, such as the medieval weighing-of-souls scene (FIG. I-7), the *relief* is so high that not only do the forms cast shadows on the background, but some parts are even in the round, which explains why some pieces—for example, the arms of the scales—broke off centuries ago. In *low-relief,* or *bas-relief,* sculpture, such as the portrait of Hesire (FIG. I-15), the projection is slight. Artists can produce relief sculptures, as they do sculptures in the round, either by carving or casting. The altar from Benin (FIG. I-1) is an example of bronze-casting in high relief (for the figures on the cylindrical altar) as well as in the round (for the king and his two attendants on the top).

Architectural Drawings. Buildings are groupings of enclosed spaces and enclosing masses. People experience architecture both visually and by moving through and around it, so they perceive architectural space and mass together. These spaces and masses can be represented graphically in several ways, including as plans, sections, elevations, and cutaway drawings.

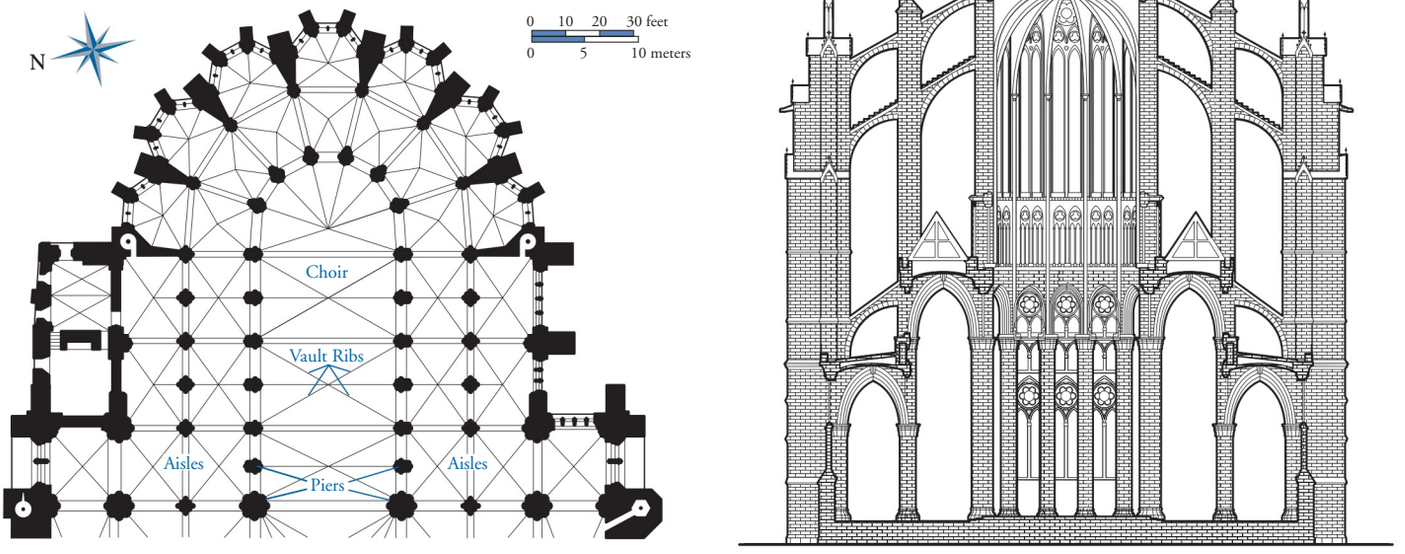
A *plan,* essentially a map of a floor, shows the placement of a structure's masses and, therefore, the spaces they circumscribe and enclose. A *section,* a kind of vertical plan, depicts the placement of the masses as if someone cut through the building along a plane. Drawings showing a theoretical slice across a structure's width are *lateral sections.* Those cutting through a building's length are *longitudinal sections.* Illustrated here are the plan and lateral section of Beauvais Cathedral (FIG. I-18), which readers can compare with the photograph of the church's *choir* (FIG. I-3). The plan shows the choir's shape and the location of the *piers* dividing the *aisles* and supporting the *vaults* above, as well as the pattern of the crisscrossing vault *ribs.* The lateral section shows not only the interior of the choir with its vaults and tall *stained-glass* windows but also the structure of the roof and the form of the exterior *flying buttresses* holding the vaults in place.

Other types of architectural drawings appear throughout this book. An *elevation* drawing is a head-on view of an external or internal wall. A *cutaway* combines in a single drawing an exterior view with an interior view of part of a building.

This overview of the art historian's vocabulary is not exhaustive, nor have artists used only painting, drawing, sculpture, and architecture as media over the millennia. Ceramics, jewelry, textiles, photography, and computer graphics are just some of the numerous other arts. All of them involve highly specialized techniques described in distinct vocabularies. As in this introductory chapter, new terms are in *italics* when they first appear. Many are defined and discussed again in greater detail in the boxed essays called *Architectural Basics* and *Materials and Techniques.* In addition, the comprehensive glossary at the end of the book contains definitions of all italicized terms.

Art History and Other Disciplines

By its very nature, the work of art historians intersects with the work of others in many fields of knowledge, not only in the humanities but also in the social and natural sciences. Today, art historians must go beyond the boundaries of what the public and even professional art historians of previous generations traditionally considered the specialized discipline of art history. In short, art historical research has always been interdisciplinary in nature, but never more than in the 21st century. To cite one example, in an effort to



I-18 Plan (*left*) and lateral section (*right*) of Beauvais Cathedral, Beauvais, France, rebuilt after 1284.

Architectural drawings are indispensable aids for the analysis of buildings. Plans are maps of floors, recording the structure's masses. Sections are vertical "slices" across a building's width or length.

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unlock the secrets of a particular statue, an art historian might conduct archival research hoping to uncover new documents shedding light on who paid for the work and why, who made it and when, where it originally stood, how people of the time viewed it, and a host of other questions. Realizing, however, that the authors of the written documents often were not objective recorders of fact but observers with their own biases and agendas, the art historian may also use methodologies developed in such fields as literary criticism, philosophy, sociology, and gender studies to weigh the evidence that the documents provide.

At other times, rather than attempting to master many disciplines at once, art historians band together with other specialists in multidisciplinary inquiries. Art historians might call in chemists to date an artwork based on the composition of the materials used, or might ask geologists to determine which quarry furnished the stone for a particular statue. X-ray technicians might be enlisted in an attempt to establish whether a painting is a forgery. Of course, art historians often reciprocate by contributing their expertise to the solution of problems in other disciplines. A historian, for example, might ask an art historian to determine—based on style, material, iconography, and other criteria—if any of the portraits of a certain king date after his death. Such information would help establish the ruler's continuing prestige during the reigns of his successors. Some portraits of Augustus (FIG. I-10), the founder of the Roman Empire, postdate his death by decades, even centuries, as do the portraits of several deceased U.S. presidents on coins and paper currency produced today. The study of art history, then, demands collaboration among scholars, and never more than in today's "global village."

DIFFERENT WAYS OF SEEING

The history of art can be a history of artists and their works, of styles and stylistic change, of materials and techniques, of images and themes and their meanings, and of contexts and cultures and patrons. The best art historians analyze artworks from many viewpoints. But no art historian (or scholar in any other field), no matter how broad-minded in approach and no matter how experienced, can be truly objective. Like the artists who made the works illustrated and discussed in this book, art historians are members of a society, participants in its culture. How can scholars (and museum visitors and travelers to foreign locales) comprehend cultures unlike their own? They can try to reconstruct the original cultural contexts of artworks, but they are limited by their distance from the thought patterns of the cultures they study and by the obstructions to understanding—the assumptions, presuppositions, and prejudices peculiar to their own culture—that their own thought patterns raise. Art historians may reconstruct a distorted picture of the past because of culture-bound blindness.

A single instance underscores how differently people of diverse cultures view the world and how various ways of seeing can result in sharp differences in how artists depict the world. Illustrated here are two contemporaneous portraits of a 19th-century Maori chieftain (FIG. I-19)—one by an Englishman, JOHN HENRY SYLVESTER (active early 19th century), and the other by the New Zealand chieftain himself, TE PEHI KUPE (d. 1829). Both reproduce the chieftain's facial *tattoo.* The European artist (FIG. I-19, *left*) included the head and shoulders and downplayed the tattooing. The tattoo pattern is one aspect of the likeness among many, no more or less important than the chieftain's European attire. Sylvester also recorded his subject's momentary glance toward the right and the play of light on his hair, fleeting aspects having nothing to do with the figure's identity.

By contrast, Te Pehi Kupe's self-portrait (FIG. I-19, *right*)—made during a trip to Liverpool, England, to obtain European arms to take back to New Zealand—is not a picture of a man situated in space and bathed in light. Rather, it is the chieftain's statement of the supreme importance of the tattoo design announcing his rank among his people. Remarkably, Te Pehi Kupe created the tattoo patterns from memory, without the aid of a mirror. The splendidly composed insignia, presented as a flat design separated from the body and even from the head, is Te Pehi Kupe's image of himself. Only by understanding the cultural context of each portrait can art historians hope to understand why either representation appears as it does.

As noted at the outset, the study of the context of artworks and buildings is one of the central concerns of art historians. *Art through the Ages* seeks to present a history of art and architecture that will help readers understand not only the subjects, styles, and techniques of paintings, sculptures, buildings, and other art forms created in all parts of the world during 40 millennia but also their cultural and historical contexts. That story now begins.

1 in.

I-19 ***Left:*** **JOHN HENRY SYLVESTER, *Portrait of Te Pehi Kupe,* 1826. Watercolor, $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. National Library of Australia, Canberra (Rex Nan Kivell Collection).** ***Right:*** **TE PEHI KUPE, *Self-Portrait,* 1826. From Leo Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man: A Popular Account of the Lives, Customs and Thoughts of the Primitive Races* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1909), 35, fig. 28.**

These strikingly different portraits of the same Maori chief reveal the different ways of seeing by a European artist and an Oceanic one. Understanding the cultural context of artworks is vital to art history.

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▼**1-1a** The species of animals depicted in the cave paintings of France and Spain are not among those that Paleolithic humans typically consumed as food. The meaning of these paintings is the subject of debate.

▲**1-1b** The Lascaux animals are inconsistent in size and move in different directions. Some are colored silhouettes; others are outline drawings. They were probably painted at different times by different painters.

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1 ft.

1-1 Left wall of the Hall of the Bulls in the cave at Lascaux, France, ca. 16,000–14,000 BCE. Largest bull 11′ 6″ long.

▲**1-1c** Prehistoric painters consistently represented animals in strict profile, the only view showing the head, body, tail, and all four legs. But at Lascaux, both horns are included to give a complete picture of the bull.

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ART IN THE STONE AGE 1

FRAMING THE ERA

The Dawn of Art

The Old Stone Age, or *Paleolithic* period (from the Greek *paleo,* "old," and *lithos,* "stone"), which began around 40,000 BCE at the latest, was arguably the most important era in the entire history of art. It was then that humans invented the concept of recording the world around them in pictures, often painted on or carved into the walls of caves.

The oldest and best-known painted caves are in southern France and northern Spain (MAP 1-1). The most famous is the cave at Lascaux. More than 17,000 years ago, prehistoric painters covered many of the walls of the cave with images of animals. The main chamber (FIG. 1-1), nicknamed the Hall of the Bulls, is an unusually large space and easily accessible, but many of the paintings at Lascaux and in other caves are almost impossible to reach. Even in the Hall of the Bulls, the people who congregated there could only have viewed the paintings in the flickering light of primitive lamps. The representations of animals cannot have been merely decorative, but what meaning they carried for those who made and viewed them is fiercely debated. Bulls and horses, the most commonly depicted species, were not diet staples in the Old Stone Age. Why, then, did the painters choose to represent these particular animals? Many explanations have been put forward, but there is no generally accepted answer to the question.

By contrast, art historians have reached secure conclusions about the working methods and conceptual principles of the world's first artists by closely studying the Lascaux paintings and others like them. The immediate impression that a modern viewer gets of a rapidly moving herd is almost certainly false. The "herd" consists of several different species of animals of various sizes moving in different directions. Also, two fundamentally different approaches to picture making are on display. Many of the animals are colored silhouettes, whereas others are outline drawings. These differences in style and technique suggest that different painters created the images at different times, perhaps over the course of generations. The Hall of the Bulls is not one painting but many, created by many different painters.

Nonetheless, at Lascaux and elsewhere for thousands of years, all painters depicted animals in the same way: in strict profile, the only view of these beasts wherein the head, body, tail, and all four legs are visible. Often, as at Lascaux, the bulls' horns are shown from the front, not in profile, because two horns are part of the concept "bull." Only much later in the history of art did painters become concerned with how to depict animals and people from a fixed viewpoint or develop an interest in recording the environment around the figures. The paintings created at the dawn of art are in many ways markedly different in kind from all that followed.

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PALEOLITHIC ART

Humankind originated in Africa in the very remote past. From that great continent also has come the earliest evidence of human recognition of pictorial images in the natural environment—a three-million-year-old pebble (FIG. 1-1A) found at Makapansgat in South Africa. The first examples of what people generally call "art" are much more recent, however. They date to around 40,000 to 30,000 BCE during the Paleolithic period. This era was of unparalleled importance in human history and in the history of art. It was during the Old Stone Age that humans first consciously manufactured pictorial images. The works that the earliest artists produced are remarkable not simply for their existence but also for their astonishing variety. They range from simple shell necklaces to human and animal forms in ivory, clay, and stone to life-size *mural* (wall) paintings and sculptures in caves. During the Paleolithic period, humankind went beyond the *recognition* of human and animal forms in the natural environment to the *representation* (literally, the presenting again—in different and substitute form—of something observed) of humans and animals. The immensity of this achievement cannot be overstated.

1-1A Pebble resembling a face, Makapansgat, ca. 3,000,000 BCE.

MAP 1-1 Stone Age sites in Europe.

Africa

Some of the earliest paintings yet discovered come from Africa, where, as noted, the first humans evolved. The most important Paleolithic African artworks were discovered in a cave in Namibia near the southern tip of the continent (MAP 19-1).

Apollo 11 Cave. Between 1969 and 1972, scientists working in the Apollo 11 Cave in Namibia found seven fragments of what are usually referred to as painted stone plaques, but are really fragments that fell from the cave's ceiling. The approximate date of the charcoal from the archaeological layer containing the Namibian fragments is 28,000 BCE. The paintings depict several recognizable images of animals, including a striped beast, possibly a zebra, and a rhinoceros. Of special interest is the example illustrated here (FIG. 1-2), which seems to be a feline with human feet, one of many examples in Paleolithic art of composite human-animals. In all of the Apollo 11 paintings, the forms are carefully rendered, and all of the animals are represented in the identical way (see "How to Represent an Animal," page 17).

Europe

Even older than the Namibian cave paintings—and far better known—are some of the first sculptures and paintings of western Europe (MAP 1-1), although examples of great antiquity have also been found in Southeast Asia.

Hohlenstein-Stadel. One of the oldest sculptures ever discovered is an extraordinary ivory statuette (FIG. 1-3), which may date back as far as 40,000 BCE. Found in 1939 in fragments inside a cave at Hohlenstein-Stadel in Germany, the statuette, carved from the tusk of a woolly mammoth, is nearly a foot tall—a truly huge image for its era. Long thought to have been created about 30,000 years ago, the recent discovery of hundreds of additional tiny fragments has pushed the date back about 10,000 years based on *radiocarbon dating* of the bones found in the same excavation level. (Radiocarbon dating, an important technology used in archaeological research, is a measure of the rate of degeneration of carbon 14 in organic materials.) The statuette thus testifies to a very early date for the development of the human brain, because the subject of

ART IN THE STONE AGE

40,000–20,000 BCE	20,000–9000 BCE	9000–5000 BCE	5000–2300 BCE
Early Paleolithic	**Later Paleolithic and Mesolithic**	**Early Neolithic**	**Later Neolithic**
■ Hunter-gatherers create the first sculptures and paintings, long before the invention of writing ■ The works range in scale from tiny figurines, such as the *Venus of Willendorf,* to almost life-size paintings and relief sculptures, such as the murals in the Chauvet Cave	■ Painters cover the walls and ceilings of caves at Altamira and Lascaux with profile representations of animals ■ Sculptors carve images of nude women on the walls of the cave at La Magdeleine	■ In Anatolia and Mesopotamia, the earliest villages take shape and agriculture begins ■ Neolithic builders erect a pillared shrine at Göbekli Tepe and stone towers and fortification walls at Jericho ■ Sculptors fashion large-scale painted plaster human figures at Ain Ghazal ■ Painters depict coherent narratives at Çatal Höyük	■ Neolithic builders in Ireland and Britain erect megalithic passage graves and henges at Newgrange, Stonehenge, and elsewhere ■ The stone temples of Malta incorporate sophisticated curved and rectilinear forms

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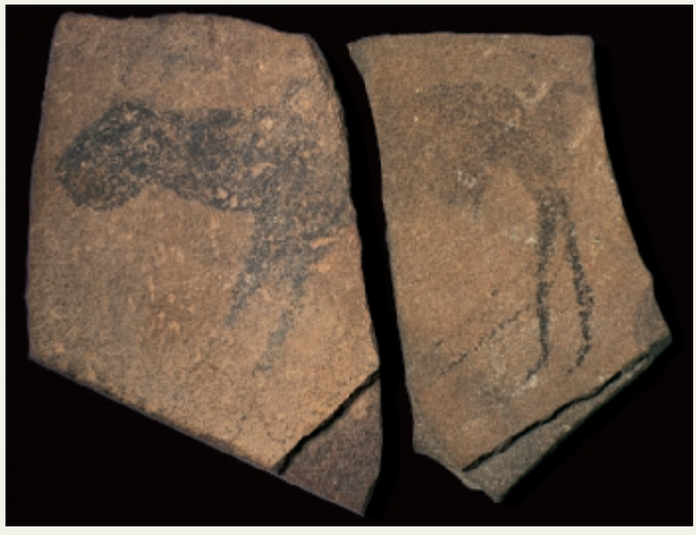
How to Represent an Animal

Like every artist in every age in every medium, the Paleolithic painter of the feline-animal (FIG. 1-2) found in the Apollo 11 Cave in Namibia had to answer two questions before beginning work: *What* shall be my subject? and *How* shall I represent it? In Paleolithic art, the almost universal answer to the first question was an animal. Bison, horse, woolly mammoth, and ibex are the most common. In fact, Paleolithic painters and sculptors depicted humans infrequently, and men almost never. In equally stark contrast to today's world, there was also agreement on the best answer to the second question. During at least the first 35,000 years of the history of art, artists represented virtually every animal in every painting in the same manner: in strict profile. Why?

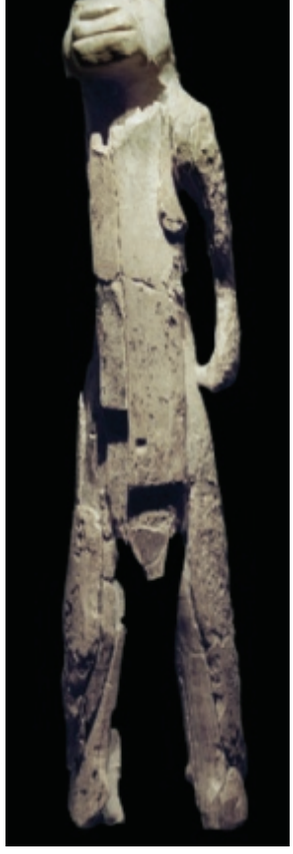
The profile is the only view of an animal in which the head, body, tail, and all four legs are visible. The frontal view conceals most of the body, and a three-quarter view shows neither the front nor side fully. Only the profile view is completely informative about the animal's shape, and that is why Stone Age painters universally chose it.

A very long time passed before artists placed any premium on "variety" or "originality" either in subject choice or in representational manner. These are quite modern notions in the history of art. The aim of the earliest painters was to create a convincing image of their subject, a kind of pictorial definition of the animal capturing its very essence, and only the profile view met their needs.



1-2 Feline with human feet, from the Apollo 11 Cave, Namibia, ca. 28,000 BCE. Charcoal on stone, 5″ × 4¼″. State Museum of Namibia, Windhoek.

As in almost all paintings for thousands of years, in this very early example from Africa the painter represented the animal in strict profile so that the head, body, tail, and all four legs are clearly visible.



1-3 Human with feline (lion?) head, from Hohlenstein-Stadel, Germany, ca. 40,000–35,000 BCE. Woolly mammoth ivory, 11⅝″ high. Ulmer Museum, Ulm.

One of the world's oldest preserved sculptures is this large ivory figure of a human with a feline head. It is uncertain whether the work depicts a composite creature or a human wearing an animal mask.

the work is not something that the Paleolithic sculptor could see and copy but something that existed only in the artist's vivid imagination. The ivory figurine represents a human (whether male or female cannot be determined) with a feline (lion?) head. Composite creatures with animal heads and human bodies (and vice versa) are familiar in the art of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt (compare, for example, FIGS. 2-7 and 3-1). In those civilizations, surviving texts usually enable historians to name the figures and describe their role in religion and mythology. But for Stone Age representations, no one knows what their makers had in mind. Some scholars identify the animal-headed humans as sorcerers, whereas others describe them as magicians wearing masks. Similarly, some researchers have interpreted Paleolithic representations of human-headed animals as humans wearing animal skins. Others think that the images of composite animal-humans reproduce the visions seen by *shamans* during trances (see "The Meaning of Paleolithic Art," page 21). In the absence of any contemporaneous written explanations—this was a time before writing, before (or pre-) history—experts and amateurs alike can only speculate on the purpose and function of statuettes such as the one from Hohlenstein-Stadel.

Art historians are certain, however, that these sculptures were important to those who created them, because manufacturing an ivory figure, especially one a foot tall, was a complicated process. First, the hunter or the sculptor had to remove the tusk from the dead animal by cutting into the tusk where it joined the head. Then the sculptor cut the ivory to the desired size and rubbed it into its approximate final shape with sandstone. Finally, the carver used a sharp stone blade to shape the body, limbs, and head, and a stone *burin* (a pointed *engraving* tool) to *incise* (scratch or engrave) lines into the surfaces, as on the Hohlenstein-Stadel creature's arms. Experts estimate that this large figurine required about 400 hours (about two months of uninterrupted working days) of skilled work.

Willendorf. The composite feline-human from Germany is exceptional both for its very early date and its subject. The vast majority of Stone Age sculptures depict either animals or humans. In the earliest

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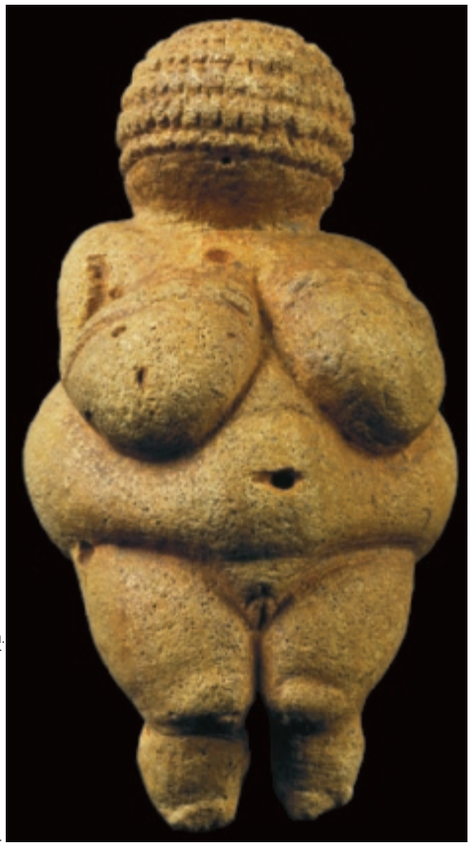

1-4 Nude woman (*Venus of Willendorf*), from Willendorf, Austria, ca. 28,000–25,000 BCE. Limestone, $4\frac{1}{4}$″ high. Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna.

The anatomical exaggerations in this tiny figurine from Willendorf are typical of Paleolithic representations of women, whose child-bearing capabilities ensured the survival of the species.

art, humankind consists almost exclusively of women as opposed to men. Paleolithic painters and sculptors almost invariably showed them nude, although historians generally assume that during the Ice Age, both women and men wore garments covering parts of their bodies. When archaeologists first encountered these statuettes of women, they dubbed them "Venuses" after the Greco-Roman goddess of beauty and love, whom later artists usually depicted nude. The nickname is inappropriate and misleading. Indeed, it is doubtful that the Paleolithic figurines represent deities of any kind.

One of the oldest and most famous Paleolithic female images is the tiny limestone figurine of a woman that long ago became known as the *Venus of Willendorf* (FIG. 1-4) after its *findspot* (place of discovery) in Austria. Its cluster of almost ball-like shapes is unusual, the result in part of the sculptor's response to the natural shape of the stone selected for carving. The anatomical exaggeration has suggested to many observers that this and similar statuettes served as fertility images. But other Paleolithic figurines depicting women with far more slender proportions exist, and the meaning of these images is as elusive as everything else about the world's earliest art. Yet the preponderance of female over male figures seems to indicate a preoccupation with women, whose child-bearing capabilities ensured the survival of the species.

One thing at least is clear: the sculptor of the Willendorf woman did not aim for *naturalism* (fidelity to nature) in shape and proportion. As is true of most Paleolithic figures, this statuette has no facial features. A similar but even smaller ivory figurine found in 2008 in a cave at Hohle Fels, near Ulm, Germany, contemporaneous with or perhaps even several thousand years older than the Hohlenstein-Stadel statuette, lacks any head at all. The ivory head (FIG. 1-4A) of a woman from Brassempouy, France, is a notable exception. The carver of the Willendorf figurine suggested only a mass of curly hair or, as some researchers have argued, a hat woven from plant fibers—evidence for the art of textile manufacture at a very early date. In either case, the emphasis is on female anatomy. The breasts of the Willendorf woman are enormous, far larger in proportion than the tiny forearms and hands resting on them. The carver also took pains to scratch into the stone the outline of the pubic triangle. Sculptors often omitted this detail in other early figurines, leading some scholars to question the function of these figures as fertility images. Whatever the purpose of these statuettes, the makers' intent seems to have been to represent not a specific woman but the female form.

1-4A Head of a woman(?), Brassempouy, ca. 25,000–20,000 BCE.

Laussel. Probably later in date than the Willendorf statuette is a female figure (FIG. 1-5) from Laussel in France. The Willendorf and Hohlenstein-Stadel figures are *sculptures in the round* (*freestanding sculptures*). The Laussel woman is one of the earliest *relief sculptures* known. The sculptor employed a stone *chisel* to cut into the relatively flat surface of a large rock in order to create an image projecting from the background. Today, the Laussel relief is on display in a museum, divorced from its original context, a detached piece of what once was a much more imposing work. When discovered, the Laussel woman (who is about

1-5 Woman holding a bison horn, from Laussel, France, ca. 25,000–20,000 BCE. Painted limestone, 1′ 6″ high. Musée d'Aquitaine, Bordeaux.

One of the oldest known relief sculptures depicts a woman who holds a bison horn and whose left arm draws attention to her belly. Scholars continue to debate the meaning of the gesture and the horn.

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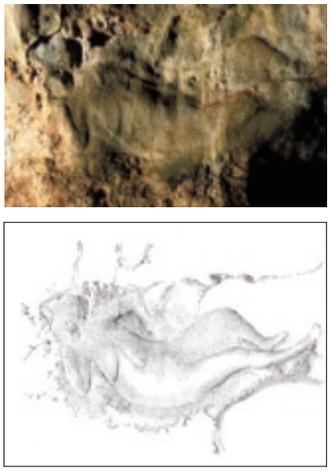
$1\frac{1}{2}$ feet tall, more than four times larger than the Willendorf statuette) was part of a great stone block measuring about 140 cubic feet. The carved block stood in the open air in front of a Paleolithic rock shelter. Rock shelters were a common type of dwelling for early humans, along with huts and the mouths of caves. The Laussel relief is one of many examples of open-air art in the Old Stone Age. The popular notions that early humans dwelled exclusively in caves and that all Paleolithic art comes from mysterious dark caverns are false. Reliefs depicting nude women do, however, occur inside Old Stone Age caves. Perhaps the most interesting is the pair of reclining nude women (FIG. 1-5A) on the wall of a corridor in a cave at La Magdeleine, France.



1-5A Reclining woman, La Magdeleine, ca. 12,000 BCE.

After chiseling out the female body and incising the details with a sharp burin, the Laussel sculptor applied red ocher, a naturally colored mineral, to the body. (Traces of red ocher coloration also remain on parts of the Willendorf woman's body.) Contrary to modern misconceptions, ancient artists usually painted stone sculptures (compare FIG. 5-63A). The Laussel woman has the same bulbous forms as the earlier Willendorf figurine, with a similar exaggeration of the breasts, abdomen, and hips. The head is once again featureless, but the arms have taken on greater importance. The left arm draws attention to the midsection and pubic area, and the raised right hand holds what most scholars identify as a bison horn with 13 incised lines. Debate continues, however, about the meaning of the horn and its incisions as well as the gesture of the left hand.

Le Tuc d'Audoubert. Paleolithic sculptors sometimes created reliefs by building up forms out of clay instead of cutting into stone blocks or cave walls. Sometime 12,000 to 17,000 years ago in the low-ceilinged circular space at the end of a succession of cave chambers at Le Tuc d'Audoubert, a master sculptor modeled a pair of bison (FIG. 1-6) in clay against a large, irregular freestanding rock. The two bison, like the much older painted feline (FIG. 1-2) from the Apollo 11 Cave, are in strict profile. Each is about 2 feet long. They are among the largest Paleolithic sculptures known. The sculptor brought the clay from elsewhere in the cave complex and used both hands to form the overall shape of the animals. The next step was to smooth the surfaces with a spatula-like tool. Finally, the sculptor used fingers to shape the eyes, nostrils, mouths, and manes. The cracks in the two reliefs resulted from the drying process and probably appeared within days of the clay sculptures' completion.

La Madeleine. As already noted, sculptors fashioned the ivory tusks of woolly mammoths into human (FIG. 1-4A), animal, and composite human-animal (FIG. 1-3) forms from very early times. Stone Age carvers also used antlers as a sculptural medium. The bison (FIG. 1-7) found at La Madeleine in France is what remains of an *atlatl* (a device that enables hunters to throw a spear farther and with greater velocity) carved from a reindeer antler. Although only 4 inches long, the engraved antler is more detailed than the two much larger bison at Le Tuc d'Audoubert. The sculptor used a sharp burin to incise lines for the Madeleine bison's mane, horns, eye, ear, nostrils, mouth, tongue, and facial hair. Especially interesting is the engraver's decision to represent the bison with its head turned and licking its flank. The small size and irregular shape of the antler, rather than a desire to record a characteristic anecdotal activity, may have been the primary motivation for this space-saving device.

1-6 Two bison, reliefs in the cave at Le Tuc d'Audoubert, France, ca. 15,000–10,000 BCE. Clay, right bison 2′ $\frac{7}{8}$″ long.

Representations of animals are far more common than those of humans in Paleolithic art. The sculptor built up these clay bison using a stone spatula-like smoothing tool and fingers to shape the details.

1-7 Bison licking its flank, fragmentary atlatl, from La Madeleine, France, ca. 12,000 BCE. Reindeer antler, 4 $\frac{1}{8}$″ long. Musée d'Archéologie nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

This fragment of an atlatl was carved from a reindeer antler. The sculptor turned the bison's head a full 180 degrees to maintain the profile view and incised the details with a stone burin.

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Painting in the Dark

The caves of Altamira (FIG. 1-8), Lascaux (FIGS. 1-1, 1-9A, and 1-10), and other sites in prehistoric Europe are a few hundred to several thousand feet long. They are often choked, sometimes almost impassably, by mineral deposits, such as stalactites and stalagmites. Far inside these caverns, well removed from the cave mouths that early humans often chose for habitation, painters sometimes made pictures on the walls and ceilings. How did the world's first *muralists* paint bison and other animals on surfaces far from any source of natural light? What tools and materials did the Paleolithic painters of France and Spain use, and how did they make them?

To illuminate the cave walls and ceilings while working, Paleolithic painters lit fires on cave floors and used torches as well as stone lamps filled with marrow or fat, with a wick, perhaps of moss. For drawing, they used chunks of charcoal and red and yellow ocher. For painting, they ground these same natural materials into powders that they mixed with water before applying. Recent analyses of the pigments used show that Paleolithic painters employed many different minerals, attesting to a technical sophistication surprising at so early a date.

Large, flat stones served as *palettes.* The painters made brushes from reeds, bristles, or twigs and may have used a blowpipe of reed or hollow bone to spray pigments on out-of-reach surfaces. Some caves have natural ledges on the rock walls on which the painters could have stood in order to reach the upper surfaces of the naturally formed chambers and corridors. One gallery wall in the Lascaux cave complex has holes that once probably anchored a scaffold made of saplings lashed together.

Despite the difficulty of making the tools and pigments, modern attempts at replicating the techniques of Paleolithic painting have demonstrated that skilled workers could cover large surfaces with images in less than a day.

1-8 Bison, detail of a painted ceiling in the cave at Altamira, Spain, ca. 13,000–11,000 BCE. Standing bison 5′ $2\frac{1}{2}$″ long.

Paleolithic painters used stone lamps to provide light in the dark caves. They made brushes from reeds and twigs or used reed or bone blowpipes to spray ground ocher pigments onto out-of-reach surfaces.

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Whatever the reason, it is noteworthy that the sculptor turned the neck a full 180 degrees to maintain the strict profile that Stone Age sculptors and painters insisted on for the sake of clarity and completeness (see "How to Represent an Animal," page 17).

Altamira. The works examined here thus far, whether portable or fixed to rocky outcroppings or cave walls, are all small, with the exception of the paintings in the Lascaux Hall of the Bulls (FIG. 1-1). The Lascaux animals dwarf all the other illustrated examples, as do the other "herds" of painted animals roaming the walls and ceilings of other caves in southern France and northern Spain, where some of the most spectacular examples of Paleolithic art have been discovered. An amateur archaeologist accidentally found the first known examples of cave paintings at Altamira, Spain, in 1879. Don Marcelino Sanz de Sautuola (1831–1888) was exploring a cavern on his estate where he had previously collected specimens of flint and carved bone. Maria, his young daughter, was with him when they reached a chamber some 85 feet from the cave's entrance. Because it was dark (see "Painting in the Dark," above) and the ceiling of the debris-filled chamber was only a few inches above the father's head, the child was the first to notice, due to her lower vantage point, the shadowy forms of bison (FIG. 1-8, a detail of a much larger painting approximately 60 feet long).

Sanz de Sautuola was certain that the paintings in his cave dated to prehistoric times. Professional archaeologists, however, doubted the authenticity of these works, and at the 1880 Congress on Prehistoric Archaeology in Lisbon, they officially dismissed the Altamira paintings as forgeries. But by the close of the century, explorers had discovered other caves with painted walls partially covered by mineral deposits that would have taken thousands of years to accumulate. This finally persuaded skeptics that the world's oldest paintings were of an age far more remote than anyone had imagined. Examples of Paleolithic painting now have been found at more than 200 Spanish and French sites. Nonetheless, art historians still regard painted caves as rare because the images in them, even if they number in the hundreds, span a period of some 20,000 to 30,000 years.

The bison at Altamira are 13,000 to 14,000 years old, but the painters of Paleolithic Spain approached the problem of representing an animal in essentially the same way as the painter of the Namibian murals (FIG. 1-2), who worked in Africa some 15,000 years before. Every one of the Altamira bison is in profile, whether alive and standing or curled up on the ground—probably dead, although some scholars dispute this. (One suggestion is that these bison are giving birth.) To maintain the profile in the latter case, the painter had to adopt a viewpoint above the animal, looking down, rather than the view of a person standing on the ground.

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A SECOND OPINION

The Meaning of Paleolithic Art

Ever since the discovery in 1879 of the first cave paintings, scholars have wondered why the hunters of the Old Stone Age decided to cover the surfaces of dark caverns with animal images such as those found at Lascaux (FIG. 1-1), Altamira (FIG. 1-8), and Pech-Merle (FIG. 1-9). Researchers have proposed various theories, including that the painted and engraved animals were mere decoration, but this explanation cannot account for the inaccessibility of many of the representations. In fact, the remote locations of many images, and indications that the caves were used for centuries, are precisely why many experts have suggested that prehistoric peoples attributed magical properties to the images they painted and sculpted. According to this argument, by confining animals to the surfaces of their cave walls, Paleolithic communities believed they were bringing the beasts under their control. Some scholars have even hypothesized that rituals or dances were performed in front of the images and that these rites served to improve the luck of the community's hunters. Others have suggested that the animal representations may have served as teaching tools to instruct new hunters about the character of the various species that they would encounter, or even were targets for spears.

By contrast, other experts have argued that the magical purpose of the paintings and reliefs was not to facilitate the *destruction* of bison and other species. Instead, they believe that the world's first painters and sculptors created animal images to assure the *survival* of the herds on which Paleolithic peoples depended for their food supply and for their clothing. A central problem for both the hunting-magic and food-creation theories is that the staple foods of Old Stone Age diets did not include the animals most frequently portrayed. For example, faunal remains show that the Altamirans ate red deer, not bison.

Other scholars have sought to reconstruct an elaborate belief system based on the cave paintings and sculptures, suggesting, for example, that the animals are deities or ancestors that Paleolithic humans revered. Some researchers have equated certain species with men and others with women and postulated various meanings for the dots, squares, and other signs accompanying some images.

Almost all of these theories have been discredited over time, but the idea persists that the images in the Paleolithic caves are tied to magic. This would explain, for example, the numerous cases of images painted over older images: when the magic no longer worked, a new image was created.

Most researchers now believe that the images of animals—and, more rarely, of composite human-animals—in the Paleolithic caves of France and Spain are records of the visions seen by shamans during ritual trances. The many instances of painted and sculpted images that were inspired by natural surface configurations, as at Pech-Merle (FIG. 1-9) and La Magdeleine (FIG. 1-5A), are consistent with the idea that at least some of the shamanic visions were prompted by unique rock formations in the caves themselves and that the murals and reliefs are pictures of those visions.

1-9 Spotted horses and negative hand imprints, wall painting in the cave at Pech-Merle, France, ca. 23,000–22,000 BCE. 11′ 2″ long.

The purpose and meaning of Paleolithic art are uncertain, but the fact that one of the horse heads at Pech-Merle was inspired by the natural rock formation suggests a connection to shamanic visions.

Modern critics often refer to the Altamira animals as a "group" of bison, but that is very likely a misnomer. The several bison in FIG. 1-8 do not stand on a common *ground line* (a painted or carved baseline on which figures appear to stand in paintings and reliefs), unlike many of the animals at Lascaux (FIG. 1-1), nor do they share a common orientation. They seem almost to float above viewers' heads, like clouds in the sky. And the painter provided an "aerial view" of the dead(?) bison, whereas the observer views the others from a position on the ground. The painting has no setting, no background, no indication of place. *Where* the animals are or how they relate to one another, if at all, was of no concern to the Paleolithic painters of Altamira. Instead, several *separate* images of bison adorn the ceiling, perhaps painted at different times spanning generations, and each is as complete and informative as possible.

Pech-Merle. No one knows why animals play a central, indeed a nearly exclusive, role in the caves at Altamira, Lascaux (FIG. 1-1), and elsewhere in Paleolithic Europe. That these paintings of different animal species did have meaning to Stone Age peoples cannot, however, be doubted. In fact, signs consisting of checks, dots, squares, or other arrangements of lines often accompany the pictures of animals, and these must have communicated messages understood by the Stone Age men and women who viewed them. In short, the cave paintings may document the earliest forms of what we call writing—an invention usually attributed to the Sumerians (see "Writing," page 32).

Painted human hands also are common. At Pech-Merle (FIG. 1-9), the hands accompany representations of spotted horses. (The "spots" also surround the horses and may not be spots at all

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but stones or signs.) Most of the painted hands in Paleolithic caves are "negative." That is, the painter placed one hand against the wall and then brushed or blew or spat pigment around it. Occasionally, the painter dipped a hand in the pigment and then pressed it against the wall, leaving a "positive" imprint. Like the abstract motifs, these handprints must have served a purpose. Some researchers consider them "signatures" of cult or community members or, less likely, of individual painters. One clue is that some of the painted hands have incomplete fingers, leading some scholars to postulate that the fingers were folded back and that these are hand signals (often used by hunters) to convey specific meanings, unfortunately indecipherable today but underscoring that Paleolithic painting is not simple "art for art's sake" (see "The Meaning of Paleolithic Art," page 21).

The mural paintings at Pech-Merle also furnish some insight into the reasons that Paleolithic peoples chose subjects for specific places in a cave. One of the horses (at the right in FIG. 1-9) may have been inspired by the rock formation in the wall surface resembling a horse's head and neck. Old Stone Age painters and sculptors frequently and skillfully used the naturally irregular surfaces of caves to help give the illusion of real presence to their forms, as they did at La Magdeleine (FIG. 1-5A) and at Altamira (FIG. 1-8), where many of the bison paintings cover bulging rock surfaces.

Lascaux. Perhaps the most impressive collection of Paleolithic animal paintings is in the Hall of the Bulls (FIG. 1-1) at Lascaux. The large chamber, away from the cave entrance and mysteriously dark, has good acoustics, and would have provided an excellent setting for the kinds of rituals that many archaeologists assume took place in front of the paintings. One noteworthy aspect of the Lascaux murals is that they exhibit, side by side, the two basic approaches to drawing and painting found repeatedly in the history of art—silhouettes and outlines—indicating that different painters created these pictures, probably at different times. The Lascaux bulls also show a convention of representing horns in what art historians call *twisted perspective,* or a *composite view,* because viewers see the heads in profile but the horns from the front. Thus the painter's approach is not strictly or consistently optical (seen from a fixed viewpoint). Rather, the approach is descriptive of the fact that cattle have two horns. Two horns are part of the concept "bull." In strict optical-perspective profile, only one horn would be visible, but to paint the animal in that way would amount to an incomplete definition of it.

1-9A Running horse, Lascaux, ca. 16,000–14,000 BCE.

Paintings of animals appear throughout the cave complex at Lascaux, including in the so-called Axial Gallery, which features a representation of a running, possibly pregnant horse (FIG. **1-9A**) surrounded by what may be arrows or traps. But the most perplexing painting at Lascaux and perhaps in all Paleolithic art is deep in a well shaft. In this mural (FIG. **1-10**), man (as opposed to woman) makes one of his earliest appearances in the history of art. At the left, and moving to the left, is a now-extinct woolly rhinoceros. Beneath its tail are two rows of three dots of uncertain significance. At the right is a bison, also facing left but with less realistic proportions, probably the work of someone else. The second painter nonetheless successfully suggested the bristling rage of the animal, whose bowels are hanging from it in a heavy coil. Between the two beasts is a bird-faced (masked?) man (compare FIG. 1-3) with outstretched arms and hands having only four fingers. The painter depicted the man with far less care and detail than either animal, but made the hunter's gender explicit by the prominent penis. The position of the man is ambiguous. Is he wounded or dead or merely tilted back and unharmed? Do the bird-topped atlatl and spear belong to him? Is it he or the rhinoceros that gravely wounded the bison—or neither? Which animal, if either, has knocked the man down, if indeed he is on the ground? Are these three images related at all? Modern viewers can be sure of nothing, but if the painters placed the figures beside each other to tell a story, this is evidence for the creation of a complex narrative *composition* (how the motifs are arranged on the surface) involving humans and animals at a much earlier date than

1-10 Woolly rhinoceros, wounded man, and disemboweled bison, painting in the well of the cave at Lascaux, France, ca. 16,000–14,000 BCE. Bison 3′ 4½″ long.

If these paintings of two animals and a bird-faced (masked?) man deep in a Lascaux well shaft depict a hunting scene, they constitute the earliest example of narrative art ever discovered.

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1-11 Aurochs, horses, and woolly rhinoceroses, wall painting in the Chauvet Cave, Vallon-Pont-d'Arc, France, ca. 34,000–32,000 BCE. Right rhinoceros 3′ 4″ long.

Radiocarbon dating of the Chauvet Cave indicates that its paintings are the oldest known, even though they exhibit advanced features, such as overlapping animal horns and, possibly, narrative content.

anyone had imagined only a few generations ago. Yet it is important to remember that even if the painter(s) intended to tell a story, very few people would have been able to "read" it. The mural, in a deep shaft, is very difficult to reach and could have been viewed only in flickering lamplight.

Chauvet Cave. One of the most spectacular archaeological finds of the past century poses a problem of a different kind. In December 1994, a French team led by Jean-Marie Chauvet discovered Paleolithic mural paintings (FIG. 1-11) in a cave at Vallon-Pont-d'Arc. To determine the date of the Chauvet Cave paintings, French scientists used radiocarbon dating of the charcoal in the black pigments. The tests revealed that the mural paintings dated around 34,000 to 32,000 BCE and were much older than any previously discovered.

This unexpectedly early date immediately forced scholars to reevaluate the scheme of "stylistic development" from simple to more complex forms that historians of Stone Age art had accepted for decades. In the Chauvet Cave, in contrast to Lascaux (FIG. 1-1), the painters depicted the horns of the aurochs (extinct long-horned wild oxen) naturalistically, one behind the other, not in the twisted perspective normally used in Paleolithic art. Moreover, although the two woolly rhinoceroses at the lower right of FIG. 1-11 may be independent paintings, they appear to attack each other, suggesting that the painter intended a narrative. This would be another "first" in either painting or sculpture. If the paintings are more than twice as old as those of Lascaux and Altamira (FIG. 1-8), the assumption that Paleolithic art "evolved" from simple to more sophisticated representations is wrong. The issues raised by the Chauvet Cave exemplify the frustration—and the excitement—of studying the art of an age so remote that almost nothing remains and almost every new find causes art historians to reevaluate what they had previously taken for granted.

NEOLITHIC ART

Around 9000 BCE, the ice that covered much of northern Europe during the Paleolithic period melted as the climate warmed. The sea level rose more than 300 feet, separating England from continental Europe, and Spain from Africa. The reindeer migrated north, and the woolly mammoth disappeared. The Paleolithic gave way to a transitional period, usually called the *Mesolithic* (Middle Stone Age).

Then, for several thousand years at different times in different parts of the globe, a great new age, the *Neolithic* (New Stone Age), dawned.* Human beings began to domesticate plants and animals and to settle in fixed abodes. Their food supply assured, many groups changed from hunters to herders to farmers and finally to townspeople. Wandering hunters settled down to organized community living in villages surrounded by cultivated fields.

The basis for the conventional division of the Stone Age into three periods is the development of stone implements. However, a different kind of distinction may be made between an age of food gathering and an age of food production.

In this scheme, the Paleolithic period corresponds roughly to the age of food gathering. Intensified food gathering and the taming of the dog are the hallmarks of the Mesolithic period. In the Neolithic period, agriculture and livestock became humankind's major food sources. The transition to the Neolithic was nothing less than a revolution. It occurred first in Anatolia and Mesopotamia.

*This chapter treats the Neolithic art of Europe, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia only. For the Neolithic art of Africa, see Chapter 19; for Asia, see Chapters 15, 16, and 17.

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Anatolia and Mesopotamia

The remains of the oldest known settled communities lie in the grassy foothills of the Antilebanon, Taurus, and Zagros mountains in present-day Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran (MAP 1-2). These regions provided the necessary preconditions for the development of agriculture. Species of native plants, such as wild wheat and barley, were plentiful, as were herds of animals (goats, sheep, and pigs) that could be domesticated. Sufficient rain occurred for the raising of crops. When village farming life was well developed, some settlers, attracted by the greater fertility of the soil and perhaps also by the need to find more land for their rapidly growing populations, moved into the valleys and deltas of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers.

In addition to systematic agriculture, the new village societies of the Neolithic Age originated weaving, metalworking, pottery, and counting and recording with clay tokens. These innovations spread with remarkable speed throughout Anatolia (roughly equivalent to present-day Turkey) and Mesopotamia (primarily present-day Syria and Iraq). Settled farming communities, such as Jarmo in Iraq and Çatal Höyük in southern Anatolia, date to the mid-seventh millennium BCE. The remarkable fortified town of Jericho, before whose walls the biblical Joshua appeared thousands of years later, is even

MAP 1-2 Neolithic sites in Anatolia and Mesopotamia.

ART AND SOCIETY

The Neolithic Temple at Göbekli Tepe

One of the most important archaeological discoveries of the past few decades is the Anatolian Neolithic site of Göbekli Tepe in southeastern Turkey near Sanliurfa. Excavated since 1995 by the German Archaeological Institute in cooperation with the Sanliurfa Museum, the hilltop site appears to have been a religious, or at least a ceremonial, center rather than a habitation site.

The excavated area consists of about 20 circular structures with monolithic T-shaped stone pillars (FIG. 1-12) set at right angles into the walls. At the center of the rooms are two additional similarly shaped pillars. The pillars served as roof supports. There are no doorways, and visitors to the site probably entered the circular rooms through the roof.

Many of the pillars are covered with shallow reliefs depicting a wide array of animals, birds, and insects. Some of the reliefs include human arms and hands. The interpretation of the representations is uncertain, but the animals and other forms must be connected to the rituals that took place at the site.

If the German archaeologists' dating and interpretation are correct, Göbekli Tepe overturns one of the most basic assumptions about prehistoric societies. It now appears possible, even likely, that hunter-gatherers erected stone temples long before farmers established permanent village communities. The history of art and architecture—and of civilization—must now be rewritten.

1-12 T-shaped stone pillar with animal reliefs, from Göbekli Tepe, Turkey, ca. 9000 BCE. Sanliurfa Museum, Sanliurfa.

Göbekli Tepe appears to be the world's oldest religious complex, comprising about 20 circular structures whose roofs were supported by T-shaped pillars decorated with a wide variety of animals, birds, and insects.

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1-13 Aerial view of Neolithic Jericho (looking east), ca. 8000–7000 BCE.

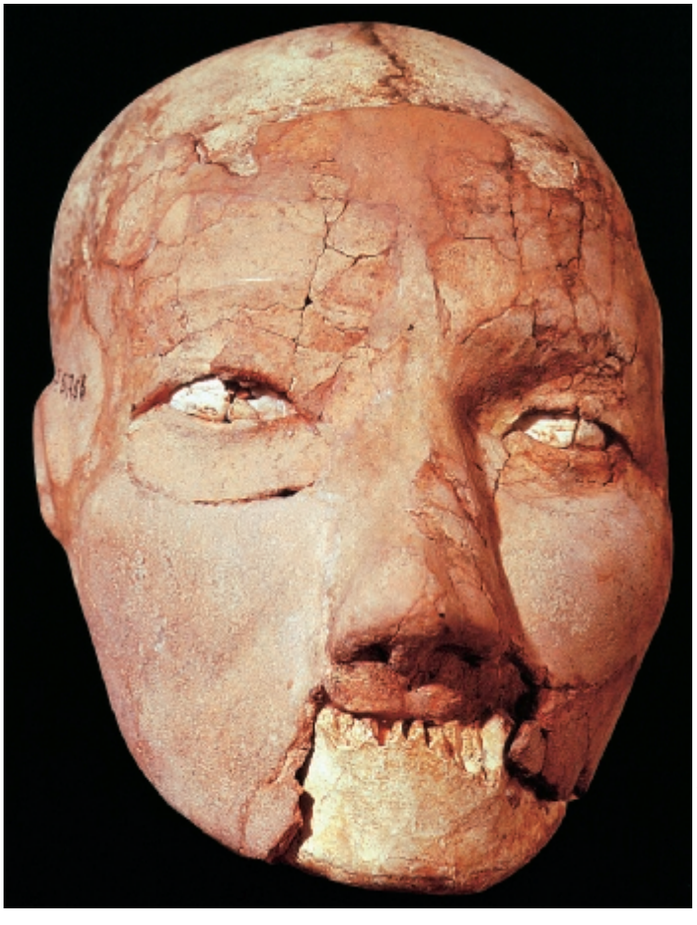
Protecting Neolithic Jericho were 5-foot-thick walls and at least one tower 30 feet high and 33 feet in diameter constructed of stone laid without mortar—an outstanding technological achievement.

older. Archaeologists are constantly uncovering surprises, and the exploration of new sites each year is compelling them to revise their views about the emergence of Neolithic society. Especially noteworthy are the ongoing excavations at Göbekli Tepe in southeastern Turkey (see "The Neolithic Temple at Göbekli Tepe," page 24). Of those sites known for some time, Jericho, Ain Ghazal, and Çatal Höyük together probably offer the most representative picture of the rapid and exciting transformation of human society and of art during the Neolithic period.

Jericho. By 7000 BCE, agriculture was well established from Anatolia to ancient Palestine and Iran. Its advanced state by this date presupposes a long development. Indeed, the very existence of a major settlement such as Jericho gives strong support to this assumption. Jericho, situated on a plateau in the Jordan River Valley with an unfailing spring, was the site of a small village as early as the ninth millennium BCE. This village underwent spectacular development around 8000 BCE, when the inhabitants established a new Neolithic settlement (FIG. 1-13) covering about 10 acres. Its mud-brick houses sat on round or oval stone foundations and had roofs of branches covered with earth.

As Jericho's wealth grew, the need for protection against marauding nomads resulted in the first known permanent stone fortifications. By 7500 BCE, a wide rock-cut ditch and a 5-foot-thick wall surrounded the town, which probably had a population exceeding 2,000. Set into the circuit wall, which has been preserved to a height of almost 13 feet, was a 30-foot-tall circular tower (FIG. 1-13, *bottom center*) constructed of roughly shaped stones laid without mortar (*dry masonry*). Almost 33 feet in diameter at the base, the tower has an inner stairway leading to its summit. Not enough of the site has been excavated to determine whether this tower was solitary or one of several similar towers forming a complete defense system. In either case, a stone structure as large as the Jericho tower was a tremendous technological achievement and a testimony to the Neolithic builders' ability to organize a significant workforce.

Sometime around 7000 BCE, Jericho's inhabitants abandoned their fortified site, but new settlers arrived in the early seventh millennium and established a farming community of rectangular mud-brick houses on stone foundations with plastered and painted floors and walls. Several of the excavated buildings contained statuettes of animals and women and seem to have served as shrines. The new villagers buried their dead beneath the floors of their houses with the craniums detached from their skeletons and their features reconstructed in plaster. Subtly modeled with inlaid seashells for eyes and painted hair, these reconstructed heads appear strikingly lifelike. One head (FIG. 1-14) features a painted mustache, distinguishing it from the others. The Jericho skulls constitute the world's earliest known "portrait gallery," but the artists' intention was certainly not portraiture in the modern sense. The plastered skulls must have served a ritualistic purpose. The community of several hundred Neolithic farmers who occupied Jericho at this time honored and



1-14 Human skull with restored features, from Jericho, ca. 7200–6700 BCE. Features modeled in plaster, painted, and inlaid with seashells. Life-size. Archaeological Museum, Amman.

Neolithic Jericho farmers removed the skulls of their dead before burial, modeled them with plaster, and inlaid the eyes to create lifelike "portraits" of their ancestors, whom they may have worshiped.

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1-15 Human figure, from Ain Ghazal, Jordan, ca. 6750–6250 BCE. Plaster, painted and inlaid with bitumen, 3′ 5⅜″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The dozens of large painted plaster statuettes (some with two heads and with details added in paint or inlaid with bitumen) found at Ain Ghazal are the earliest large-scale sculptures known.

perhaps worshiped their ancestors as intercessors between the living and the world beyond. They may have believed that the dead could exert power over the living and that they had to offer sacrifices to their ancestors to receive favorable treatment. These skulls were probably the focus of rites in honor of those ancestors.

Ain Ghazal. A second important Neolithic settlement in ancient Palestine was Ain Ghazal, near the modern Jordanian capital of Amman. Occupied from around 7200 to 5000 BCE, the site featured houses of irregularly shaped stones with plastered floors and walls painted red. The most striking finds, however, are two caches containing three dozen plaster statuettes (FIG. 1-15) and busts, some with two heads, datable to ca. 6500 BCE. The sculptures, which appear to have been ritually buried, are white plaster built up over a core of reeds and twine, with black bitumen, a tarlike substance, for the pupils of the eyes. Some of the figures have painted clothing. Only rarely did the sculptors indicate the gender of the figures. Whatever their purpose, the size (as much as 3 feet tall) and sophisticated technique of the Ain Ghazal statuettes and busts sharply differentiate the Neolithic figurines from tiny and often faceless Paleolithic sculptures such as the Willendorf woman (FIG. 1-4) and even the foot-tall Hohlenstein-Stadel ivory feline-headed human (FIG. 1-3).

The Ain Ghazal statues mark the beginning of the long history of large-scale sculpture in Mesopotamia.

Çatal Höyük. During the past half century, archaeologists also have made remarkable discoveries in Turkey, not only at Göbekli Tepe (FIG. 1-12) but also at Hacilar and especially Çatal Höyük (FIG. 1-15A), the site of a flourishing Neolithic culture on the central Anatolian plain between ca. 7500 and 6000 BCE. Although animal husbandry was well established, hunting continued to play an important part in the early Neolithic economy of Çatal Höyük. The importance of hunting as a food source is reflected in the wall paintings of the site's older decorated rooms, where hunting scenes predominate. In style and concept, however, the deer hunt mural (FIG. 1-16) at Çatal Höyük is worlds apart from the wall paintings that the hunters of the Paleolithic period produced. Perhaps what is most strikingly new about the Çatal Höyük painting and similar Neolithic examples is the regular appearance of the human figure—not only singly but also in large, coherent groups with a wide variety of poses, subjects, and settings. As noted earlier, humans rarely figured in Paleolithic cave paintings, and pictorial narratives are almost unknown. Even the "hunting scene" (FIG. 1-10) in the well at Lascaux is questionable as a narrative. By contrast, human themes and concerns and action scenes with humans dominating animals are central subjects of Neolithic paintings.

1-15A Restored view of Çatal Höyük, ca. 6000 BCE.

In the Çatal Höyük mural, the painter depicted an organized hunting party, not a series of individual figures. The representation of the hunters is a rhythmic repetition of basic shapes, but the painter took care to distinguish important descriptive details (bows, arrows, and garments), and the heads have clearly defined noses, mouths, chins, and hair. The Neolithic painter placed all the heads in profile for the same reason that Paleolithic painters universally chose the profile view for representations of animals (see "How to Represent an Animal," page 17). Only the side view of the human head shows

1-16 Deer hunt, detail of a wall painting from level III, Çatal Höyük, Turkey, ca. 6000 BCE. Museum of Anatolian Civilization, Ankara.

This Neolithic painter depicted human figures as a composite of frontal and profile views, the most descriptive picture of the shape of the human body. This format would become the rule for millennia.

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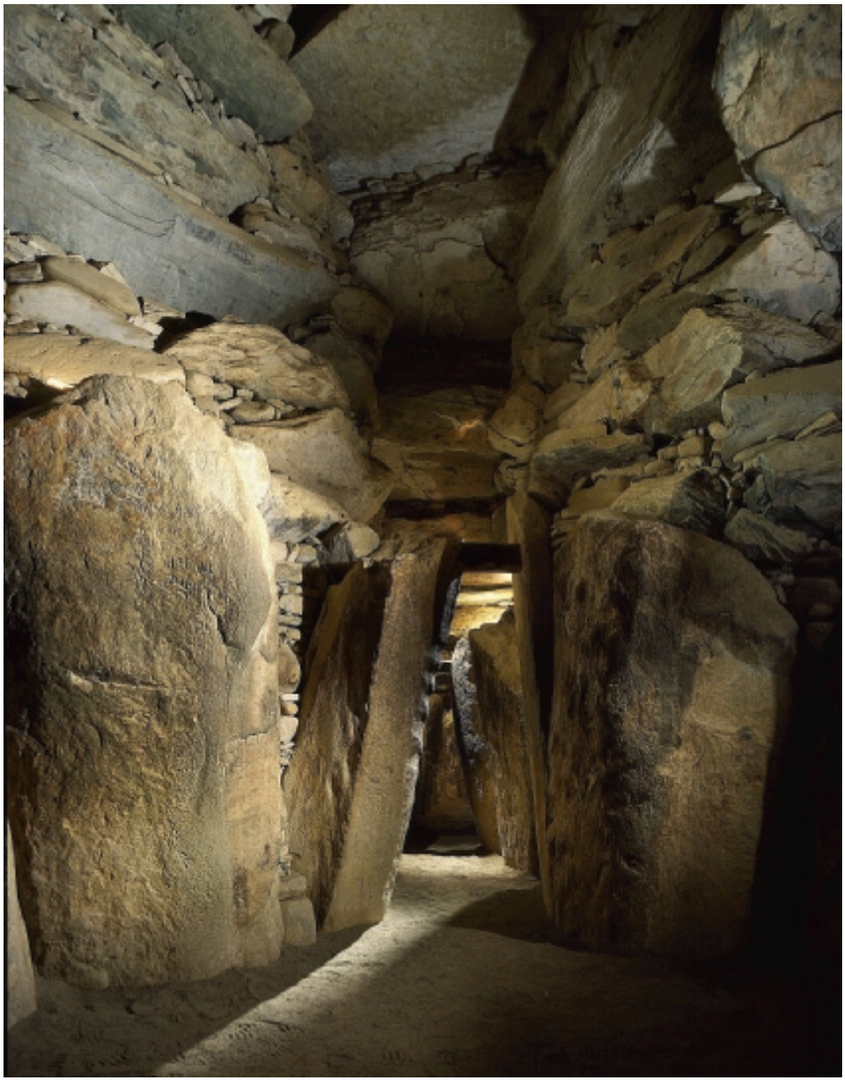
all its shapes clearly. However, at Çatal Höyük the painter presented the torsos from the front—again, the most informative viewpoint—whereas the profile view was the choice for the legs and arms. This composite view of the human body is highly artificial—the human body cannot make an abrupt 90-degree shift at the hips—but it well describes the parts of a human body, as opposed to how a body appears from a particular viewpoint. In fact, the head of each hunter is also shown in a composite view, because the eyes are frontal, not profile. If the painter had placed a profile eye in the profile head, the eye would not "read" as an eye at all, because it would not have its distinctive oval shape. Art historians call this characteristic early approach to representation *conceptual representation* (as opposed to *optical representation*—the portrayal of people, animals, and objects seen from a fixed point) because the artists who painted and carved figures in this manner did not seek to record the immediate, fleeting aspects of the human body. Instead, they rendered the human form's distinguishing and fixed properties. The fundamental shapes of the head, arms, torso, and legs, not their accidental appearance, dictated the artists' selection of the composite view as the best way to represent the human body, just as Paleolithic painters represented bulls' bodies from the side but their horns from the front (FIG. 1-1). This conceptual approach to depicting the human form would become the rule for the next 6,000 years.

The technique of painting also changed dramatically from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic Age. The Çatal Höyük painters used brushes to apply their pigments to a background of dry white plaster. The careful preparation of the wall surface contrasts sharply with the typical direct application of pigment to the irregularly shaped walls and ceilings of Old Stone Age caves.

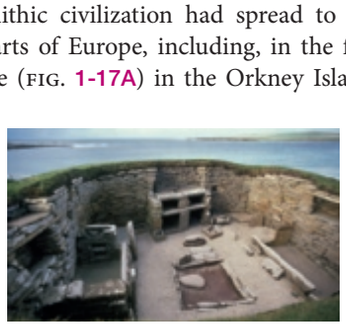
Europe

In Europe, where Paleolithic paintings and sculptures abound, no evidence exists for comparably developed early Neolithic towns. However, in succeeding millennia, perhaps as early as 4000 BCE, the local populations of several European regions constructed imposing monuments employing massive rough-cut stones. The very dimensions of the stones, some as high as 17 feet and weighing as much as 50 tons, have prompted historians to call them *megaliths* (great stones) and to designate Neolithic architecture employing them as *megalithic.*

Newgrange. One of the most impressive megalithic monuments in Europe is also one of the oldest. The megalithic tomb at Newgrange in Ireland, north of Dublin, may date to as early as 3200 BCE and is one of the oldest funerary monuments in Europe. It takes the form of a *passage grave*—that is, a tomb with a long stone corridor leading to a burial chamber beneath a great *tumulus* (earthen burial mound). Some mounds contain more than one passage grave. Similar graves have been found also in England, France, Spain, and Scandinavia. All attest to the importance of honoring the dead in Neolithic society. The Newgrange tumulus is 280 feet in diameter and 44 feet tall. Its passageway is 62 feet long, and it and the primitive *dome* over the main chamber (FIG. 1-17) are early examples of *corbeled vaulting* (see "Corbeled Arches, Vaults, and Domes," page 97, and FIG. 4-18). At Newgrange, the huge megaliths forming the vaulted passage and the dome are held in place by their own weight without mortar, each stone countering the thrust of neighboring stones. Decorating some of the megaliths are incised spirals and other motifs (not visible in FIG. 1-17). A special feature of the Newgrange tomb is that at the winter solstice, the sun illuminates the passageway and the burial chamber.



Hagar Qim. By the end of the fourth millennium BCE, Neolithic civilization had spread to the most remote parts of Europe, including, in the far north, Skara Brae (FIG. 1-17A) in the Orkney Islands, and,



1-17A House 1, Skara Brae, ca. 3100–2500 BCE.

1-17 Main chamber with corbeled dome of the passage grave, Newgrange, Ireland, ca. 3200–2500 BCE.

The Newgrange passage grave is an early example of corbeled vaulting. The huge stones (megaliths) of the dome of the main burial chamber beneath the tumulus are held in place by their own weight.

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1-18 Aerial view of the ruins of Hagar Qim (looking east), Malta, ca. 3200–2500 BCE.

The 5,000-year-old stone temple at Hagar Qim on the remote island of Malta is very sophisticated for its date, especially in the way that the Neolithic builders incorporated both rectilinear and curved forms.

in the far south, Malta. The megalithic temple (FIG. 1-18) of Hagar Qim is one of many constructed on Malta between 3200 and 2500 BCE. The Maltese builders erected their temples by piling carefully cut stone blocks in *courses* (stacked horizontal rows). To construct the doorways at Hagar Qim, the builders employed the *post-and-lintel system* (FIG. 1-19) in which two upright stones (posts) support a horizontal block (*lintel* or *beam*). The layout of this and other Neolithic Maltese temples is especially noteworthy for the combination

1-19 Post-and-lintel construction (John Burge).

The simplest and oldest method of spanning a passageway is to set up two upright blocks (posts), which support a horizontal beam (lintel), a technique used in both prehistoric Europe and Egypt.

of rectilinear and curved forms, including multiple *apses* (semicircular recesses). Inside the Hagar Qim temple, archaeologists found altars (hence the identification of the structure as a religious shrine) and several stone statues of headless nude women—one standing, the others seated. The level of architectural and sculptural sophistication seen on this isolated island at so early a date is extraordinary.

Stonehenge. The most famous megalithic monument in Europe is Stonehenge (FIG. 1-20) on the Salisbury Plain in southern England. A *henge* is an arrangement of megalithic stones in a circle, often surrounded by a ditch. The type is almost exclusively limited to Britain. Stonehenge is a complex of rough-cut sarsen (a form of sandstone) stones and smaller "bluestones" (various volcanic rocks) built in several stages over at least several hundred years. The final henge consists of concentric post-and-lintel circles. Huge sarsen megaliths form the outer ring, which is almost 100 feet in diameter. Inside is a ring of bluestones encircling a horseshoe (open end facing east) of *trilithons* (three-stone constructions)—five lintel-topped pairs of the largest sarsens, each weighing 45 to 50 tons. Standing apart and to the east (outside the view in FIG. 1-20) is the "heel stone," which, for a person looking outward from the center of the complex, would have marked the point where the sun rose at the summer solstice. Stonehenge, perhaps originally a funerary site where Neolithic peoples cremated their dead, seems in its latest phase to have been a kind of astronomical observatory. According to a recent theory, it also served as a center of healing that attracted the sick and dying from throughout the region. In any case, the henge itself is now known to be just one part of a much larger ritual complex.

Whatever role they played in society, the megalithic tombs, temples, houses, and henges of Europe are enduring testaments to the rapidly developing intellectual powers of Neolithic humans as well as to their capacity for heroic physical effort.

1-20 Circle of trilithons (looking southwest), Stonehenge, Salisbury Plain, Wiltshire, England, ca. 2550–1600 BCE. Circle 97′ in diameter; trilithons 24′ high.

Stonehenge's circles of trilithons functioned as an astronomical observatory within a larger ritual complex. The sun rises over its "heel stone" at the summer solstice. Some of the megaliths weigh 50 tons.

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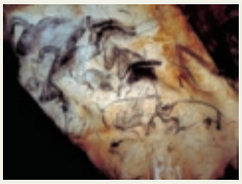
THE BIG PICTURE

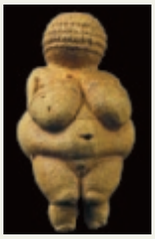
Art in the Stone Age

Paleolithic (Old Stone Age) Art ca. 40,000–9000 BCE

- The first sculptures and paintings antedate the invention of writing by tens of thousands of years. Paleolithic humans' decision to represent the world around them initiated an intellectual revolution of enormous consequences.
- Scholars debate why humans began to paint and carve images and what role those images played in the lives of Paleolithic peoples. All that is certain is that animals, not humans, dominate Paleolithic art, and that women were far more common subjects than men.
- Some archaeologists believe that Stone Age hunters performed rituals in front of the animal images, which aided them in killing their prey. By contrast, other scholars think that the purpose of the images was to ensure the fertility of the species on which humans depended for food and clothing. Many researchers now believe that the Paleolithic cave paintings record the visions seen by shamans during trances.
- The works created by Paleolithic sculptors and painters range in size from tiny portable figurines, such as the stone image of a woman from Willendorf, to large, sometimes over-life-size, carved and painted representations of animals on the walls of the caves of Lascaux, Pech-Merle, Altamira, and elsewhere in southern France and northern Spain. Sometimes, the choice of subject was inspired by irregularities in natural rock formations that seemed to resemble animals or humans.
- The earliest known sculptures, such as the feline-human from Hohlenstein-Stadel, date to 40,000 to 35,000 BCE. The oldest paintings known, established by radiocarbon dating, are in the Chauvet Cave at Vallon-Pont-d'Arc.
- Paleolithic artists regularly depicted animals in profile in order to present a complete picture of each beast, including its head, body, tail, and all four legs. This format persisted for millennia.



Chauvet Cave, ca. 35,000 BCE



Nude woman, Willendorf, ca. 28,000–25,000 BCE

Lascaux Cave, ca. 16,000–14,000 BCE

Neolithic (New Stone Age) Art ca. 9000–2300 BCE

- Around 9000 BCE, the ice that had covered much of northern Europe for millennia receded. The Neolithic Age emerged first in Anatolia and Mesopotamia, roughly corresponding to present-day Turkey, Syria, and Iraq.
- The Neolithic Age revolutionized human life with the beginning of agriculture and the formation of the first settled communities, such as that at Çatal Höyük in Anatolia, where archaeologists have uncovered an extensive town with numerous shrines.
- Some Neolithic towns—for example, Jericho in the Jordan River Valley—also had fortified stone circuit walls.
- The excavation of a religious complex with decorated stone pillars at Göbekli Tepe in Anatolia indicates that Neolithic people constructed stone temples long before they established permanent village communities.
- In art, the Neolithic period brought the birth of large-scale sculpture, notably the painted plaster figurines from Ain Ghazal and the restored life-size skulls from Jericho.
- In painting, coherent narratives became common, and artists began to represent human figures as composites of frontal and profile views—a formula that would remain universal for millennia.
- Neolithic technology spread gradually from Anatolia and Mesopotamia to Europe, where it continued longer in remote places—for example, Stonehenge in England.

Stone pillar, Göbekli Tepe, ca. 9000 BCE

Painted and inlaid skull, Jericho, ca. 7200–6700 BCE

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▼**2-1a** The *Warka Vase* is the first great work of narrative relief sculpture known. It represents a religious ceremony in honor of Inanna in which a priest-king brings votive offerings to deposit in the goddess's shrine.

▲**2-1b** The Sumerians were probably the first to use pictures to tell coherent stories. This sculptor placed the figures in three registers. Humans are shown in composite views standing on a common ground line.

▲**2-1c** As in prehistoric art, representations of animals in Mesopotamian art are always strict profile views, save for the animals' eyes, which are seen from the front, as are also sometimes an animal's two horns.

2-1 Presentation of offerings to Inanna (*Warka Vase*), from the Inanna temple complex, Uruk (modern Warka), Iraq, ca. 3300 BCE. Alabaster, 3′ $\frac{1}{4}$″ high. National Museum of Iraq, Baghdad.

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ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA AND PERSIA 2

FRAMING THE ERA

Pictorial Narration in Ancient Sumer

In ancient Sumer, "the cradle of civilization" in Mesopotamia, humans first learned how to use the wheel and plow and how to control floods and construct irrigation canals. In the fourth millennium BCE, the Sumerians also invented writing and were the first to establish complex urban societies, called *city-states,* and to use pictures to tell coherent stories, far surpassing Stone Age artists' tentative efforts at pictorial narration.

The *Warka Vase* (FIG. 2-1), found within the Inanna temple complex at Uruk (modern Warka, Iraq), is the first great work of narrative relief sculpture known. Its depiction of a religious ceremony honoring Inanna incorporates all of the pictorial conventions that would dominate narrative art for the next 2,800 years. The artist divided the pictorial field into three bands (called *registers,* or *friezes*) and placed all the figures on a common *ground line,* a strict compositional format that marks a significant break with the more haphazard figure placement of Stone Age art. The lowest band shows crops above a wavy line representing water. Then comes a register with alternating ewes and rams. Agriculture and animal husbandry were the staples of the Sumerian economy, but the produce and the female and male animals are also fertility symbols. They underscore that Inanna blessed Uruk's inhabitants with good crops and increased herds.

A procession of naked men moving in the opposite direction of the animals fills the band at the center of the vase. The men carry baskets and jars overflowing with the earth's abundance. They will present their bounty to the goddess as a *votive offering* (gift of gratitude to a deity usually made in fulfillment of a vow). In the uppermost (and tallest) band of the *Warka Vase* is a female figure with a tall horned headdress next to two reed posts with streamers, the sign of the goddess Inanna. (Some scholars think that the woman is a priestess and not the goddess herself.) Facing her is a nude male figure bringing a large vessel brimming with offerings to be deposited in the goddess's shrine, and behind him (not visible in FIG. 2-1a), a man wearing a tasseled skirt and an attendant carrying his long train. Near the man is the *pictograph* (a simplified picture standing for a word) for the Sumerian official whom scholars ambiguously call a "priest-king"—that is, both a religious and secular leader. Some art historians interpret the scene as a symbolic marriage between the priest-king and the goddess, ensuring her continued goodwill—and reaffirming the leader's exalted position in society. The greater height of the priest-king and Inanna (or her priestess) compared with the offering bearers indicates their greater importance, a convention called *hierarchy of scale,* which the Sumerians also pioneered.

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MESOPOTAMIA

When humans first gave up the dangerous and uncertain life of the hunter and gatherer for the more predictable and stable life of the farmer and herder, the change in human society was so significant that historians justly have dubbed it the Neolithic Revolution. This fundamental change in the nature of daily life first occurred in Mesopotamia—the Greek name for "the land between the [Tigris and Euphrates] rivers." The foothills surrounding the Mesopotamian valley form a huge arc from the mountainous border between Turkey and Syria through Iraq to Iran's Zagros Mountains (MAP 2-1). Often called the Fertile Crescent, Mesopotamia is the presumed locale of the biblical Garden of Eden (Gen. 2.10–15) and the region that gave birth to three of the world's great modern faiths—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. This land "between the rivers" has, consequently, long been of interest to historians. Not until the 19th century, however, did systematic excavation open the public's eyes to the extraordinary art and architecture of ancient Mesopotamia.

After the first discoveries in Syria and Iraq, the major museums of Europe and North America began to avidly collect Mesopotamian art. The most popular 19th-century acquisitions were the stone reliefs depicting warfare and hunting (FIGS. 2-22, 2-22A, and 2-23) and the colossal statues of monstrous man-headed winged bulls (FIG. 2-20) from the palaces of the Assyrians, rulers of a northern Mesopotamian empire during the ninth to the seventh centuries BCE. But nothing extracted from the earth during the 19th century garnered as much attention as the treasure of gold objects, jewelry, musical instruments (FIGS. 2-6 and 2-7), and other artworks (FIGS. 2-8, 2-9, and 2-10) that British archaeologist Sir Leonard Woolley (1880–1960) discovered in the 1920s at the Royal Cemetery at Ur in southern Iraq. The interest in the lavish third-millennium Sumerian cemetery that he excavated rivaled the fascination with the 1922 discovery of the tomb of the Egyptian boy-king Tutankhamen (FIGS. 3-33, 3-34, and 3-35).

MAP 2-1 **Ancient Mesopotamia and Persia.**

Sumer

The discovery of the treasures of ancient Ur put the Sumerians once again in a prominent position on the world stage, from which they had been absent for more than 4,000 years. Ancient Sumer, which roughly corresponds to southern Iraq today, comprised a dozen or so independent city-states under the protection of different Mesopotamian deities (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Mesopotamia," page 34). The Sumerian rulers were the gods' representatives on earth and the stewards of their earthly treasure.

The rulers and priests directed all communal activities, including canal construction, crop collection, and food distribution. Because the Sumerians developed agriculture to such an extent that only a portion of the population had to produce food, some members of the community were free to specialize in other activities, including manufacturing, trade, and administration. Specialization of labor is the hallmark of the first complex urban societies. In the city-states of ancient Sumer, activities that once had been individually initiated became institutionalized for the first time. The city-state, whether ruled by a single person or a council chosen from among the leading families, assumed such functions as defense against enemies and the whims of nature, roles previously the responsibility of individuals and their extended families. The city-state was one of the many Sumerian innovations that transformed the ancient world.

Writing. Another Sumerian invention of enormous importance was writing. The oldest written documents known are Sumerian records of administrative acts and commercial transactions. At first, around 3400 to 3200 BCE, the Sumerians made inventories of cattle, food, and other items by drawing pictographs, often in boxes, in soft clay with a sharp tool, or *stylus*. The clay hardened into

ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA AND PERSIA

Sumerian	Akkadian	Neo-Sumerian and Babylonian	Hittite and Assyrian	Neo-Babylonian and Achaeminid	Greco-Roman and Sasanian
■ The Sumerians found the first city-states and invent writing ■ Sumerian builders construct the oldest Mesopotamian temples on lofty platforms ■ Sumerian artists present narratives in register format	■ The Akkadians are the first Mesopotamian rulers to call themselves kings and have themselves depicted in art with divine attributes ■ Akkadian sculptors create the earliest preserved hollow-cast metal statues	■ Neo-Sumerian builders erect the largest extant ziggurat at Ur ■ Gudea of Lagash rebuilds temples and commissions portraits ■ Babylonian king Hammurabi sets up a stele recording his laws	■ The Hittites sack Babylon and fortify their capital at Hattusa ■ Assyrian kings rule a vast empire from citadels guarded by lamassu ■ Extensive relief cycles celebrate Assyrian military campaigns and lion hunts	■ Nebuchadnezzar II rebuilds Babylon, home of the ziggurat called the Tower of Babel in the Bible ■ The Achaemenids build a huge palace complex at Persepolis	■ After conquest by Alexander the Great, Mesopotamia and Persia are absorbed into the Greco-Roman world ■ Sasanian kings challenge Rome from their capital at Ctesiphon

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breakable, yet nearly indestructible, tablets. Thousands of these tablets, dating back nearly five millennia, exist today. By 3000 to 2900 BCE, the Sumerians had further simplified the pictographic signs by reducing them to a group of wedge-shaped (*cuneiform*) signs read from top to bottom and right to left (FIGS. 2-8 and 2-11 are early examples; see also FIGS. 2-13, 2-16, 2-17, and 2-18). The development of cuneiform marked the beginning of writing, as historians strictly define it. The surviving cuneiform tablets testify to the far-flung network of Sumerian contacts reaching from southern Mesopotamia eastward to the Iranian plateau, northward to Assyria, and westward to Syria. Trade was essential to the Sumerians, because despite Sumer's fertile soil, the land was poor in such vital natural resources as metal, stone, and wood.

The Sumerians also produced great literature. Their most famous work, known from fragmentary cuneiform texts, is the late-third-millennium BCE *Epic of Gilgamesh,* which antedates the Greek poet Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* by some 1,500 years. It recounts the heroic story of Gilgamesh, legendary king of Uruk and slayer of the monster Huwawa. Translations of the Sumerian epic into several other ancient languages attest to the fame of the original version.

White Temple, Uruk. The layout of Sumerian cities reflected the central role of the gods in daily life. The main temple to each state's chief god was its most important structure and the city's nucleus. In fact, the temple complex was a kind of city within a city, where a staff of priests and scribes carried on official administrative and commercial business as well as oversaw all religious functions.

The outstanding preserved example of early Sumerian temple architecture is the 5,000-year-old White Temple (FIGS. 2-2 and 2-3) at Uruk, a city that in the late fourth millennium BCE was about 500 acres in size and had a population of about 40,000. Usually only the foundations of early Mesopotamian temples remain. The White Temple is a rare exception. Sumerian builders did not have easy access to stone quarries and instead formed mud bricks for the superstructures of their temples and other buildings. Mud brick is a durable building material, but unlike stone, it deteriorates with exposure to water. Almost all the Sumerian mud-brick structures have eroded over the course of time. The Sumerians nonetheless erected towering works, such as the Uruk temple, several centuries before the Egyptians built their famous stone pyramids. The construction of grandiose shrines when stone was unavailable says a great deal about the Sumerians' desire to provide inspiring settings for the worship of their deities.

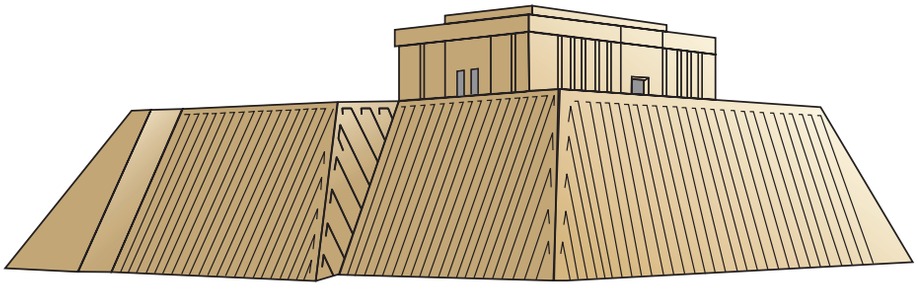
Enough of the White Temple at Uruk remains to permit a fairly reliable reconstruction (FIG. 2-3). The temple (whose white gypsum-coated walls suggested its modern nickname) stands atop a lofty platform 43 feet above street level at the city's highest point, called Kullaba. A stairway on one side leads to the top, but does not end in front of any of the temple doorways, necessitating two or three angular changes in direction. This *bent-axis plan* is the standard arrangement for Sumerian temples, a striking contrast to the linear approach that the Egyptians preferred for their temples and tombs (compare FIGS. 3-10 and 3-20).

As in other Sumerian temples, the corners of the White Temple are oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. The building, probably dedicated to Anu, the sky god, is of modest proportions (61 by 16 feet). By design, Sumerian temples did not accommodate large throngs of worshipers but only a select few, the priests and perhaps the leading community members. The White Temple had several chambers. The central hall, or *cella,* was the divinity's room and housed a stepped altar. The Sumerians referred to their temples as "waiting rooms," a reflection of their belief that the deity would descend from the heavens to appear before the priests in the cella. It is unclear whether the Uruk temple had a roof, and if it did, what kind.

The Sumerian notion of the gods residing above the world of humans is central to most of the world's religions. Moses ascended Mount Sinai to receive the Ten Commandments from the Hebrew

2-2 White Temple, Uruk (modern Warka), Iraq, ca. 3300 BCE.

Using only mud bricks, the Sumerians erected towering temple platforms several centuries before the Egyptians built stone pyramids. This temple was probably dedicated to Anu, the sky god.



2-3 Restored view of the White Temple, Uruk (modern Warka), Iraq, ca. 3300 BCE.

The 5,300-year-old White Temple at Uruk is the outstanding example of early Sumerian religious architecture. In its central hall (cella), the Sumerian priests would await the apparition of the deity.

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The Gods and Goddesses of Mesopotamia

The Sumerians and their successors in Mesopotamia worshiped numerous deities, mostly nature gods. Listed here are the Mesopotamian gods and goddesses discussed in this chapter.

- ***Anu,*** the god of the sky and of the city of Uruk, was the chief deity of the Sumerians. One of the earliest Mesopotamian shrines, the White Temple at Uruk (FIGS. 2-2 and 2-3), may have been dedicated to his worship.
- ***Enlil*** was Anu's son and lord of the winds and the earth. He eventually replaced his father as king of the gods.
- ***Inanna*** was the Sumerian goddess of love and war. Later known as ***Ishtar,*** she was the most important female deity in all periods of Mesopotamian history. As early as the fourth millennium BCE, the Sumerians constructed a sanctuary to Inanna at Uruk. Amid the ruins, excavators uncovered sculptures (FIGS. 2-1 and 2-4) connected with her worship.
- ***Nanna,*** also known as ***Sin,*** was the moon god and chief deity of Ur, where the Sumerians erected his most important shrine (FIG. 2-14).
- ***Utu,*** the sun god, later known as ***Shamash,*** was especially revered at Sippar. On a Babylonian relief (FIG. 2-18) of ca. 1780 BCE, King Hammurabi presents his laws to Shamash, whom the sculptor depicted as a bearded god wearing a horned headdress. Flames radiate from the sun god's shoulders.
- ***Ningirsu*** was the local god of Lagash and Girsu. He helped Eannatum, one of the early rulers of Lagash, defeat an enemy army. The *Stele of the Vultures* (FIG. 2-11) of ca. 2600–2500 BCE records Ningirsu's role in the victory. Gudea (FIGS. 2-16 and 2-17), one of Eannatum's Neo-Sumerian successors, built a great temple around 2100 BCE in honor of Ningirsu after the god instructed him to do so in a dream.
- ***Marduk*** was the chief god of the Babylonians.
- ***Nabu,*** Marduk's son, was the Babylonian god of writing and wisdom.
- ***Adad*** was the Babylonian god of storms. Adad's sacred bull and Marduk and Nabu's dragon adorn the sixth-century BCE Ishtar Gate (FIG. 2-24) at Babylon.

2-4 Female head (Inanna?), from the Inanna temple complex, Uruk (modern Warka), Iraq, ca. 3300 BCE. Marble, 8″ high. National Museum of Iraq, Baghdad.

The Sumerians imported the marble for this head at great cost. It may represent the goddess Inanna and originally had inlaid colored shell or stone eyes and brows, and a wig, probably of gold leaf.

- ***Ashur*** was the local deity of Assur, the city that took his name. Sometimes identified with Enlil, Ashur became the king of the Assyrian gods.

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God, and the Greeks placed the home of their gods and goddesses on Mount Olympus. The elevated placement of Mesopotamian temples on giant platforms reaching to the sky is consistent with this widespread religious concept. The loftiness of the Sumerian temple platforms made a profound impression on the peoples of ancient Mesopotamia. The tallest, at Babylon, was about 270 feet high. Known to the Hebrews as the Tower of Babel, it became the centerpiece of a biblical story about the arrogant and disrespectful pride of humans (see "Babylon, City of Wonders," page 50).

Inanna. A fragmentary white marble female head (FIG. 2-4) from Uruk is also an extraordinary achievement at so early a date. The head, one of the treasures of the National Museum of Iraq in Baghdad, disappeared during the Iraq War of 2003, but was later recovered, along with other priceless items (FIGS. 2-1 and 2-12). The Sumerians lacked a ready source of fine stones suitable for carving sculptures, and consequently used stone sparingly. The glossy hard stone selected for this head had to be brought to Uruk at great cost. In fact, the "head" is really only a face with a flat back. It has drilled holes for attachment to the rest of the head and the body, which may have been of wood, and would have been much less costly. Although found in the sacred precinct of the goddess Inanna, the subject is unknown. Many have suggested that the face is an image of Inanna, although others think that it portrays a mortal woman, perhaps a priestess.

Often the present condition of an artwork can be very misleading, and this female head from Uruk is a dramatic example. Its original appearance would have been much more vibrant than the pure white fragment preserved today. Colored shell or stone filled the deep recesses for the eyebrows and the large eyes. The groove

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Sumerian Votive Statuary

The Sumerians, innovators in so many areas, were also the first to adopt the practice of placing in their shrines votive offerings representing the donors of the gods' gifts. Because there was no established tradition for depicting donors, the Sumerians had to invent a new pictorial formula. The votive statuettes from Eshnunna are among the earliest examples. Carved of soft gypsum and inlaid with shell and black limestone, the statuettes range in size from well under a foot to about 30 inches tall. The two largest figures from the group are shown here (FIG. 2-5). All of the statuettes represent mortals rather than deities. They hold the small beakers the Sumerians used to make a *libation* (ritual pouring of liquid) in honor of the gods. (Archaeologists found hundreds of these goblets in the temple complex at Eshnunna.) The men wear belts and fringed skirts. Most have beards and shoulder-length hair. The women wear long robes, with the right shoulder bare.

Similar figurines have been unearthed at other sites. Some stand, as do the Eshnunna statuettes. Others are seated—for example, the figurine portraying Urnanshe (FIG. 2-5A) from the Ishtar temple at Mari in Syria. Many bear inscriptions giving valuable information, such as the name of the donor or the god. The texts inscribed on some statuettes are specific prayers to the deity on the owner's behalf. With their heads tilted upward, the figures represented in these statuettes wait in the Sumerian "waiting room" for the divinity to appear.

2-5A Urnanshe seated, from Mari, ca. 2450 BCE.

The Sumerian sculptors employed simple forms, primarily cones and cylinders, for the figures. The statuettes, even those bearing the names of individuals (for example, Urnanshe), are not portraits in the strict sense of the word, but the sculptors did distinguish physical types. At Eshnunna, the sculptors portrayed at least one child, because next to the woman in FIG. 2-5 are the remains of two small legs. Most striking is the disproportionate relationship between the inlaid oversized eyes and the tiny hands, which represents a conscious decision on the part of the sculptors to vary the size of the parts of the body—a kind of hierarchy of scale within a single figure complementing the hierarchy of scale among figures in a group. Scholars have explained the exaggeration of the eye size in various ways. Because the purpose of these votive figures was to offer constant prayers to the gods on their donors' behalf, the open-eyed stares most likely symbolize the eternal wakefulness necessary to fulfill their duty.

2-5 Statuettes of two worshipers, from the Square Temple at Eshnunna (modern Tell Asmar), Iraq, ca. 2900–2750 BCE. Gypsum, shell, and black limestone. Man 2′ $4\frac{1}{4}$″ high, woman 1′ $11\frac{1}{4}$″ high. National Museum of Iraq, Baghdad.

The oversized eyes probably symbolize the perpetual wakefulness of these substitute worshipers offering prayers to the deity. The beakers that the figures hold were used to pour libations for the gods.

at the top of the head anchored a wig, probably made of gold leaf. The hair strands engraved in the metal would have fallen in waves over the forehead and sides of the face. The bright coloration of the eyes, brows, and hair likely overshadowed the soft modeling of the cheeks and mouth. The missing body was probably clothed in expensive fabrics and bedecked with jewels.

Eshnunna Statuettes. The *Warka Vase* (FIG. 2-1), also from the Inanna sanctuary of Uruk, provides some insight into the rituals in honor of the goddess. Further clues about Sumerian religious beliefs and votive practices come from sculptures deposited in Sumerian sanctuaries, especially the extensive group of statuettes (FIG. 2-5) reverently buried beneath the floor of a temple at Eshnunna (modern Tell Asmar) during remodeling of the structure (see "Sumerian Votive Statuary," above).

Royal Cemetery, Ur. Agriculture and trade brought considerable wealth to some of the city-states of ancient Sumer. Nowhere is this more evident than in the burial ground that the excavators of Ur dubbed the Royal Cemetery. Ur was one of the major Sumerian city-states and the home of the biblical Abraham. In the third millennium BCE, the leading families of Ur placed their dead in vaulted

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chambers beneath the earth. Scholars still debate whether the deceased individuals were true kings and queens or merely aristocrats, priests, and priestesses, but they were laid to rest in regal fashion. The archaeologists who explored the Ur cemetery uncovered gold helmets and daggers with handles of lapis lazuli (a rich azure-blue stone), gold beakers and bowls, jewelry of gold and lapis lazuli, musical instruments, chariots, and other luxurious items inlaid with lapis lazuli, red limestone, and shells. Some of these materials had to be obtained at great cost from far away. Lapis lazuli, for example, was imported from Afghanistan. The luxury goods in the Royal Cemetery tombs testify not only to the wealth of those buried there but also to the wide trade network of the Sumerians. The excavators also found dozens of bodies in the richest tombs—a retinue of musicians, servants, charioteers, and soldiers who died, probably by voluntarily drinking poison, in order to accompany the "kings and queens" into the afterlife.

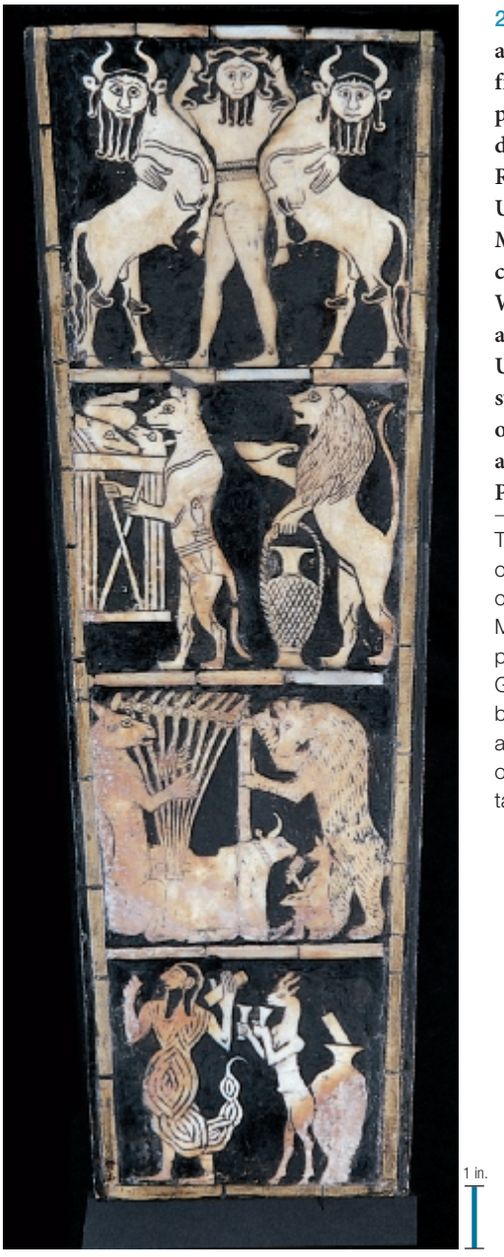
Bull-Headed Harps. One of the most important tombs in the Royal Cemetery of Ur was the burial place of "Queen" Puabi, wife of "King" Meskalamdug. (Many historians prefer to designate her more conservatively and ambiguously as Lady Puabi, perhaps a high priestess of the moon god Nanna.) From Puabi's tomb comes a fragmentary harp that has been reconstructed (FIG. 2-6) on the basis of representations of similar instruments (for example, FIG. 2-10, *top right*). A magnificent bull's head fashioned of gold leaf over a wood core caps the sound box of Puabi's harp. The hair and beard of the bull are of lapis lazuli, as is the inlaid background of the sound box, which features figures of shell and red limestone.

2-6 Bull-headed harp with inlaid sound box, from the tomb of Puabi (tomb 800), Royal Cemetery, Ur (modern Tell Muqayyar), Iraq, ca. 2550 BCE. Wood, gold, lapis lazuli, red limestone, and shell, 3′ 8 1/8″ high. British Museum, London.

A bearded bull's head fashioned of gold leaf and lapis lazuli over a wood core adorns this harp from the tomb of Puabi, perhaps a queen of Ur. The inlaid sound box features four narrative scenes.

The excavators unearthed a similar harp in the adjacent burial of Meskalamdug, which they dubbed the King's Grave. That harp also has a costly inlaid sound box (FIG. 2-7). In the uppermost of the four panels is a heroic figure embracing two man-bulls in a *heraldic composition* (symmetrical on either side of a central figure). Below are a jackal wearing a dagger and carrying a laden table, a lion holding a vase and cup, an onager (wild ass) playing a harp steadied by a (dancing?) bear, a jackal playing a zither, a scorpion-man, and a goat bearing goblets. The artist represented all of the animals in profile, consistent with an approach to depicting four-legged creatures that was then some 30,000 years old (see "How to Represent an Animal," page 17). The hero in the uppermost zone and the scorpion-man at the bottom, like the Neolithic deer hunters (FIG. 1-16) at Çatal Höyük and the figures on the *Warka Vase* (FIG. 2-1), are equally characteristically a composite of frontal and profile views.

The meaning of the scenes on this sound box is unclear. Some scholars have suggested, for example, that the depicted creatures inhabit the land of the dead and that the narrative has a funerary



2-7 Sound box of a bull-headed harp, from the burial pit of Meskalamdug (grave 789), Royal Cemetery, Ur (modern Tell Muqayyar), Iraq, ca. 2550 BCE. Wood, lapis lazuli, and shell, 1′ 7″ high. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.

The four inlaid panels on the sound box of the harp found in Meskalamdug's burial pit at Ur represent a Gilgamesh-like hero between man-bulls, and animals acting out scenes of uncertain significance.

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Mesopotamian Seals

Archaeologists (and farmers and treasure hunters) have unearthed seals in great numbers at sites throughout Mesopotamia. Generally made of stone, Mesopotamian seals of ivory, glass, and other materials also survive. The seals take two forms: flat *stamp seals* and *cylinder seals.* The latter have a hole drilled lengthwise through the center of the cylinder so that they could be strung and worn around the neck or suspended from the wrist. Cylinder seals were prized possessions, signifying high positions in society. When elite individuals died, their families frequently buried them with their seals to carry into the afterlife. The cylinder seal illustrated here (FIG. 2-8) was found in the tomb of Puabi in the Royal Cemetery at Ur and bears her name in cuneiform.

The primary function of cylinder seals, however, like the earlier stamp seals, was not to serve as items of adornment or signifiers of wealth and prestige. The Sumerians (and other ancient Mesopotamian peoples) used both stamp and cylinder seals to authenticate documents and protect storage jars and doors against tampering. The oldest seals predate the invention of writing and conveyed their messages with pictographs that certified ownership. Later seals often bore long cuneiform inscriptions and recorded the names and titles of rulers, bureaucrats, and deities. Although sealing is increasingly rare today, the tradition lives on whenever someone seals an envelope with a lump of wax and then stamps it with a monogram or other identifying mark. Customs officials often still seal packages and sacks with official stamps when goods cross national borders.

In Mesopotamia, artists incised designs in both stamp and cylinder seals, producing a raised pattern when the owner pressed the seal into soft clay. (Cylinder seals largely displaced stamp seals because they could be rolled over the clay and could thus cover a greater area more quickly.) FIG. 2-8 reproduces both Puabi's seal and a modern impression made from it. Note how cracks in the stone cylinder become raised lines in the impression and how the engraved figures, chairs, and cuneiform characters appear in relief. Continuous rolling of the seal over a clay strip results in a repeating design, as the impression of Puabi's seal demonstrates at the left and right ends.

The miniature reliefs that the seals produce are a priceless source of information about Mesopotamian religion and society. Without them, archaeologists would know much less about how Mesopotamians dressed and dined; what their shrines looked like; how they depicted their gods, rulers, and mythological figures; how they fought wars; and what role women played in society. Clay seal impressions excavated in architectural contexts shed a welcome light on the administration and organization of Mesopotamian city-states. Finally, Mesopotamian seals are an invaluable resource for art historians, providing them with thousands of miniature examples of relief sculpture spanning three millennia.

2-8 Banquet scene, cylinder seal (*left*) and its modern impression (*right*), from the tomb of Puabi (tomb 800), Royal Cemetery, Ur (modern Tell Muqayyar), Iraq, ca. 2550 BCE. Lapis lazuli, 1 $\frac{7}{8}$″ high, 1″ diameter. British Museum, London.

The Mesopotamians used seals to identify and secure goods. Artists incised designs into stone cylinders that could be rolled over clay to produce miniature artworks such as this banquet scene.

significance. In any event, the sound box is a very early instance of the recurring theme in both literature and art of animals acting as people. Later examples include Aesop's fables in ancient Greece, medieval bestiaries, and, in modern times, Walt Disney's cartoon animal actors.

Cylinder Seals. The excavators of the Ur cemetery found Puabi's remains on a bier in her tomb, wearing an elaborate headdress and jewelry of gold, silver, lapis lazuli, carnelian, and agate. Near her body were pins to fasten her garment and three *cylinder seals,* one of which (FIG. 2-8) gives her name in cuneiform script.

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A SECOND OPINION

The *Standard of Ur*

Art historians usually refer to the two long sides of the *Standard of Ur* as the "war side" and the "peace side," but there is little agreement about the relationship between the two narratives. The artist, working expertly with very small cut pieces of shell and stone, created two narratives divided into three horizontal bands. Each narrative reads from bottom to top, contrary to the way cuneiform is read. The explanation no doubt is that the artist wanted to place the most important figure in each narrative at the top center.

The story on the war side (FIG. 2-9) begins with four four-wheeled carts, each pulled by a team of four onagers—the earliest known representation of war chariots, which dramatically changed the nature of ancient combat. Each chariot has a driver and an armed soldier. Art historians debate whether the artist intended to depict four different chariots or a single chariot gaining speed as it moves along the band from left to right. The artist depicted all of the overlapping onagers in strict profile. Beneath the legs of the onagers are the bodies of enemies, with blood pouring from the wounds they incurred during the battle. Above, foot soldiers (shown in composite view with frontal eyes in their profile heads) gather up and lead away captured foes. In the uppermost register, soldiers bring bound captives (whom the victors have stripped naked to degrade them) to a kinglike figure, who has stepped out of his chariot. His central place in the composition and his greater stature (his head breaks through the border at the top) set him apart from all the other figures.

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2-9 War side of the *Standard of Ur,* from tomb 779, Royal Cemetery, Ur (modern Tell Muqayyar), Iraq, ca. 2550–2400 BCE. Wood, lapis lazuli, shell, and red limestone set into bitumen, $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 1' 6\frac{1}{2}''$. British Museum, London.

Using a mosaic-like technique, this Sumerian artist depicted a battlefield victory in three registers. The narrative reads from bottom to top, and the size of the figures varies with their importance in society.

The seal is typical of the period, consisting of a cylindrical piece of stone engraved to produce a raised impression when rolled over clay (see "Mesopotamian Seals," page 37). In the upper zone, a woman, probably Puabi, and a man sit and drink from beakers, attended by servants. Below, male attendants serve two more seated men. As in other Sumerian artworks, all the human figures are in composite views with large frontal eyes in profile heads, and the seated dignitaries are larger in scale to underscore their elevated position in the social hierarchy (compare, for example, FIG. 2-10).

Standard of Ur. Not the costliest object found in the "royal" graves, but probably the most significant from the viewpoint of the history of art, is the *Standard of Ur* (FIGS. 2-9 and 2-10). This small wood box inlaid with shell, lapis lazuli, and red limestone has broad rectangular faces and narrow trapezoidal ends. It was found in a third tomb in the Ur cemetery on the ground next to a man's shoulder, and Woolley, the excavator, thought that the object was originally mounted on a pole. He postulated that the box was a kind of military standard—hence its nickname. The "standard" may instead have been the sound box of a musical instrument, but no consensus

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The peace side (FIG. 2-10) of the *Standard of Ur* portrays a banquet. In the lowest band, men carry provisions on their backs, and in the middle register, attendants transport animals and fish. At the top, seated dignitaries and a larger-than-life personage (third from the left; probably a king, whose head interrupts the upper border) attend the feast. At the top right are two entertainers. A musician plays a harp, and a long-haired *eunuch* (castrated male) sings; compare FIG. 2-5A.

Art historians have usually interpreted this banquet as a celebration after the victorious battle represented on the other side of the box. But even if that is the case, the provisions for the feast are not the spoils of war but the fruits of the Ur economy gathered from different corners of the realm.

In fact, this traditional interpretation should probably yield to a more nuanced "second opinion." The two sides may not constitute two episodes in an unfolding narrative. Instead, they are more likely to be independent scenes illustrating the two principal roles of a Sumerian ruler—the mighty warrior who defeats enemies of his city-state, and the chief administrator ("priest-king") who, with the blessing of the gods, assures the bountifulness of the land in peacetime (compare FIG. 2-1).

The absence of an inscription prevents connecting either of the scenes with a specific event or person, but the *Standard of Ur* undoubtedly is a very early example of historical narrative, even if only of a generic kind.

2-10 Peace side of the *Standard of Ur,* from tomb 779, Royal Cemetery, Ur (modern Tell Muqayyar), Iraq, ca. 2550–2400 BCE. Wood, lapis lazuli, shell, and red limestone set into bitumen, $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 1' 6\frac{1}{2}''$. British Museum, London.

The entertainers at this banquet of Sumerian nobility include a musician playing a bull-headed harp of a type found in royal graves at Ur (FIG. 2-6). The long-haired, bare-chested singer is a court eunuch.

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has ever been reached about its function. Varying interpretations have also been voiced about the narrative scenes that account for the box's fame today and its importance in the history of art (see "The *Standard of Ur,*" pages 38–39).

Stele of the Vultures. The city-states of ancient Sumer were often at war with one another, and the *Standard of Ur* is but one of many Sumerian artworks that have warfare as a principal subject. Another example is the so-called *Stele of the Vultures* (FIG. 2-11) from Girsu. A *stele* (pl. *stelae*) is a carved stone slab erected to commemorate a historical event or, in some cultures, to mark a grave. The Girsu stele presents a labeled historical narrative, one of the earliest known (compare FIGS. 3-2 and 3-3). Cuneiform inscriptions fill almost every blank space and inform the viewer that the *Stele of the Vultures* celebrates the victory of Eannatum, the *ensi* ("ruler"; king?) of Lagash, over the neighboring city-state of Umma. The stele has reliefs on both sides and takes its modern name from a fragment depicting a gruesome scene of vultures carrying off the severed heads and arms of the defeated enemy soldiers. Another fragment shows the giant figure of the local god Ningirsu holding

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2-11 Battle scenes, fragment of the victory stele of Eannatum (*Stele of the Vultures*), from Girsu (modern Telloh), Iraq, ca. 2550–2500 BCE. Limestone, fragment 2′ 6″ high; full stele 5′ 11″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Cuneiform inscriptions on this stele describe Eannatum's victory over Umma with the aid of the god Ningirsu. This fragment shows Eannatum leading his troops into battle on foot and in a chariot.

tiny enemies in a net and beating one of them on the head with a mace—a striking contrast to the *Standard of Ur* (FIG. 2-9), where no gods are present and the victory is achieved by men alone.

The fragment in FIG. 2-11 depicts Eannatum leading an infantry battalion into battle (*above*) and attacking from a war chariot (*below*). The foot soldiers protect themselves by forming a wall of shields—there are far more hands and spears than heads and feet—and trample naked enemies as they advance (compare FIG. 2-9). (The fragment representing vultures devouring corpses belongs just to the right in the same register.) Both on foot and in a chariot, Eannatum is larger than everyone else, save for Ningirsu on the other side of the stele. The artist presented the ensi as the fearless general who paves the way for his army. Many Girsu attackers nonetheless lost their lives, and the inscription reports that Eannatum himself sustained wounds in the campaign, although the sculptor always portrayed the ensi as unharmed. In art, the outcome was never in doubt, because Ningirsu fought with the men of Lagash.

Despite its fragmentary state, the *Stele of the Vultures,* like the *Standard of Ur,* is an extraordinary find, not only as a very early effort to record historical events in relief (and to commemorate those events in a permanent public monument—another Sumerian "first") but also for the insight it yields about Sumerian society. Through both words and pictures, the stele provides information about warfare and the special nature of the Sumerian ruler. Eannatum was greater in stature than other men, and Ningirsu watched over him. According to the text, the ensi was born from the god Enlil's semen, which Ningirsu implanted in his mother's womb. When Eannatum incurred injuries in battle, the god shed tears for him. The inscription also says that it was Ningirsu who chose Eannatum to rule Lagash and preside over all aspects of the city-state, both in war and in peace. This also seems to have been the role of the ensi in the other cities of ancient Sumer.

Akkad

In 2332 BCE, the loosely linked group of Sumerian city-states came under the domination of a great ruler, Sargon of Akkad (r. 2332–2279 BCE). Archaeologists have yet to locate the site of Akkad, but the city was in the vicinity of Babylon. The Akkadians were Semitic in origin—that is, they were a Mesopotamian people who spoke a language related to Hebrew and Arabic. Their language, Akkadian, was very different from the language of Sumer, but they used the Sumerians' cuneiform characters for their written documents. Under Sargon (whose name means "true king") and his followers, the Akkadians introduced a new concept of royal power based on unswerving loyalty to the ruler rather than to the city-state. Naram-Sin (r. 2254–2218 BCE; FIG. 2-13), Sargon's grandson, regarded the governors of his cities as mere royal servants, and called himself King of the Four Quarters—in effect, ruler of the earth, akin to a god.

Akkadian Portraiture. A magnificent copper head (FIG. 2-12) of an Akkadian king embodies this new concept of absolute monarchy. Found at Nineveh, the head is all that survives of a statue knocked over in antiquity, perhaps when the Medes, a people who occupied the land south of the Caspian Sea (MAP 2-1), sacked the city in 612 BCE. But the damage to the portrait was not the result solely of the statue's toppling. There are also signs of deliberate mutilation. To make a political statement, the attackers gouged out the eyes (once inlaid with precious or semiprecious stones), broke off the lower part of the beard, and slashed the ears of the royal portrait. Later parallels for this kind of political vandalism abound—for example (in the same region), the destruction of images of Saddam Hussein after the Iraqi ruler's downfall in 2003.

Even in its mutilated state, however, the Akkadian portrait conveys the king's majestic serenity, dignity, and authority. The portrait is also remarkable for the masterful way that the sculptor balanced naturalism and abstract patterning. The artist carefully observed and recorded the Akkadian's distinctive features—the profile of the

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2-12 Head of an Akkadian ruler, from the Temple of Ishtar, Nineveh (modern Kuyunjik), Iraq, ca. 2250–2200 BCE. Copper, 1′ 2 3/8″ high. National Museum of Iraq, Baghdad.

The sculptor of this oldest extant life-size hollow-cast head captured the distinctive features of the ruler while also displaying a keen sense of abstract pattern. Vandals damaged the head in antiquity.

2-13 Victory stele of Naram-Sin, set up at Sippar, Iraq, 2254–2218 BCE; found at Susa, Iran. Pink sandstone, 6′ 10 5/8″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

To commemorate his conquest of the Lullubi, Naram-Sin set up this stele showing him leading his army up a mountain. The sculptor staggered the figures, abandoning the traditional register format.

nose and the long, curly beard—and brilliantly communicated the differing textures of flesh and hair, even the contrasting textures of the mustache, beard, and braided hair on the top of the head. The coiffure's triangles, lozenges, and overlapping disks of hair and the great arching eyebrows that give such character to the portrait reveal that the sculptor was also sensitive to formal pattern.

No less remarkable is the fact that this is the oldest known life-size, hollow-cast metal sculpture. Hollow-casting is a production technique requiring great skill and many steps, including the forming of molds, casting, welding, engraving, and polishing (see "Hollow-Casting Life-Size Bronze Statues," page 129).

Naram-Sin Stele. The godlike sovereignty claimed by the kings of Akkad is also evident in the victory stele (FIG. 2-13) set up by Naram-Sin at Sippar. The stele commemorates the Akkadian ruler's defeat of the Lullubi, a people of the Iranian mountains to the east. It carries two inscriptions, one in honor of Naram-Sin and one naming the Elamite king who captured Sippar in 1157 BCE and took the stele as booty back to Susa in southwestern Iran (MAP 2-1), the stele's findspot. The sculptor depicted Naram-Sin leading his army up the slopes of a wooded mountain. His routed enemies fall, flee, die, or beg for mercy. The king stands alone, far taller than his men, treading on the bodies of two of the fallen Lullubi. He wears the horned helmet signifying divinity—the first representation of a king as a god in Mesopotamian art. At least three favorable stars (the stele is damaged at the top), symbols of the gods, shine on his triumph.

By storming the mountain, Naram-Sin seems also to be scaling the ladder to the heavens, the same idea that lies behind the Mesopotamian temples on their elevated platforms. His troops march up

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ART AND SOCIETY

Enheduanna, Priestess and Poet

In the man's world of ancient Akkad, one woman stands out prominently—Enheduanna, daughter of King Sargon and priestess of the moon god Nanna at Ur. Her name appears in several inscriptions, and she was the author of a series of hymns in honor of the goddess Inanna. Enheduanna's is the oldest recorded name of a poet, male or female—indeed, the earliest known name of an author of any literary work in world history.

The most important surviving object associated with Enheduanna is the alabaster disk (FIG. 2-14) found in several fragments in the residence of the priestess of Nanna at Ur. The reverse bears a cuneiform inscription identifying Enheduanna as the "wife of Nanna" and "daughter of Sargon, king of the world." It also credits Enheduanna with erecting an altar to Nanna in his temple. The dedication of the relief to the moon god explains its unusual round format, which corresponds to the shape of the full moon. The front of the disk shows four figures approaching a four-story temple platform. The first figure is a nude man who is either a priest or Enheduanna's assistant. He pours a libation into a plant stand. The second figure, taller than the rest and wearing the headgear of a priestess, is Enheduanna herself. She raises her right hand in a gesture of greeting and respect for the god (compare FIG. 2-18). Two figures, probably female attendants, follow her.

Artworks created to honor women are rare in Mesopotamia and in the ancient world in general, but they are by no means unknown. The Sumerians, for example, buried Puabi of Ur in her own tomb filled with a treasure of jewelry, metal vessels, musical instruments (FIG. 2-6), and cylinder seals (FIG. 2-8), accompanied by 10 female retainers to attend her in the afterlife. The works created in honor of Puabi and Enheduanna are among the oldest known, but they pale in comparison with the monuments erected in the mid-second millennium BCE in honor of Queen Hatshepsut of Egypt (see "Hatshepsut, the Woman Who Would Be King," page 72).

2-14 Votive disk of Enheduanna, from Ur (modern Tell Muqayyar), Iraq, ca. 2300–2250 BCE. Alabaster, diameter 10 1/8″. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.

Enheduanna, daughter of Sargon of Akkad and priestess of Nanna at Ur, is the first author whose name is known. She is the tallest figure on this votive disk, which she dedicated to the moon god.

the mountain behind him in orderly files, suggesting the discipline and organization of the king's forces. By contrast, his enemies are in disarray, depicted in a great variety of postures. One falls headlong down the mountainside. The Akkadian artist adhered to older conventions in many details, especially by enlarging the size of the king, portraying him and his soldiers in composite views, and placing a frontal two-horned helmet on Naram-Sin's profile head. But the sculptor showed daring innovation in creating a landscape setting for the story and placing the figures on successive levels within that landscape. Among extant Mesopotamian works, this is the first time an artist rejected the standard format of telling a story in a series of horizontal registers, the compositional formula that had been the rule for a millennium. The traditional frieze format was the choice, however, for an alabaster disk (FIG. 2-14) that is in other respects an equally distinctive find (see "Enheduanna, Priestess and Poet," above).

2-15 Ziggurat (looking southwest), Ur (modern Tell Muqayyar), Iraq, begun ca. 2100 BCE.

The ziggurat at Ur is one of the largest in Mesopotamia. It has three (restored) ramp-like stairways of a hundred steps each that originally ended at a gateway to a brick temple, which does not survive.

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Gudea of Lagash

A central figure of the Neo-Sumerian age was Gudea of Lagash. More than two dozen portraits of him survive, many with inscriptions revealing Gudea's reasons for commissioning the portraits and setting them up where he did. All of Gudea's statues stood in temples where they could render perpetual service to the gods and intercede with the divine powers on his behalf. Although a powerful ruler, Gudea rejected the regal trappings of Sargon of Akkad and his successors, as well as their pretensions of divinity, in favor of a return to the Sumerian model of the ruler as the agent of the gods in the service of his people. Gudea's portraits follow the votive tradition of the Eshnunna (FIG. 2-5) and Mari (FIG. 2-5A) statuettes. Like the earlier examples, many of his statues bear inscriptions with messages to the gods of Sumer. They constitute one of the most extensive examples of "the patron's voice" in the ancient world.

In these inscriptions, Gudea often addresses the viewer directly. One inscribed portrait statue from Girsu says, "I am the one loved by my master [Ningirsu, the god of Girsu]; may my life be long." Another, also from Girsu, as if in answer to the first, says, "To Gudea, the one who built the temple, he [Ningirsu] has given long life."* Some of the inscriptions clarify why Gudea was portrayed as he was. For example, his large chest is a sign that the gods have given him fullness of life, and his muscular arms reveal his god-given strength. Other inscriptions explain that his large eyes signify that his gaze is perpetually fixed on the gods (see "Sumerian Votive Statuary," page 35, and FIG. 2-5).

Gudea built or rebuilt, at great cost, all the temples in which he placed his statues. One characteristic portrait (FIG. 2-16) depicts Gudea as a pious ruler seated with his hands clasped in front of him in a gesture of prayer. The statue is of special interest because Gudea has a temple plan drawn on a tablet on his lap. It is the plan for a new temple dedicated to Ningirsu. Gudea buried accounts of his building enterprises in the temple foundations. The surviving texts describe how the Neo-Sumerians prepared and purified the sites, obtained the materials, and dedicated the completed temples. They also record Gudea's dreams of the gods asking him to erect temples in their honor, promising him prosperity if he fulfilled his duty. In one of these dreams, Ningirsu addresses Gudea:

> When, O faithful shepherd Gudea, thou shalt have started work for me on Eninnu, my royal abode [Ningirsu's new temple], I will call up in heaven a humid wind. It shall bring the abundance from on high. . . . All the great fields will bear for thee; dykes and canals will swell for thee; . . . good weight of wool will be given in thy time.†

One of Gudea's portraits (FIG. 2-17) differs from the rest in depicting the ensi holding a jar from which water flows freely in two streams, one running down each side of his cloak. Fish swim in the coursing water. In Mesopotamian art, gods and goddesses often hold similar overflowing vessels (FIG. 2-17A), which symbolize the prosperity they bring to their people. This small statue (less than half life-size) is the only known instance in which a Mesopotamian ruler is so depicted. For that reason and because the statue is made of calcite instead of the costly imported diorite used for Gudea's other portraits (FIG. 2-16), some scholars have questioned the authenticity of this piece. But the cuneiform inscription—which states that Gudea dedicated the statue in the temple he built in honor of the goddess Geshtinanna, the divine interpreter of dreams—is genuine, and so too must be the statue.

2-16 Gudea seated, holding the plan of a temple, from Girsu (modern Telloh), Iraq, ca. 2150 BCE. Diorite, 3′ $\frac{5}{8}$″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Gudea built or rebuilt many temples and placed statues of himself in them. The inscription on this seated portrait states that Gudea has on his lap a plan of the new temple he erected to Ningirsu.

*Translated by Claudia E. Suter, *Gudea's Temple Building: The Representation of an Early Mesopotamian Ruler in Text and Image* (Groningen: Styx, 2000), 149.
†Translated by Thorkild Jacobsen, in Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 5th ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), 98.

Third Dynasty of Ur

Around 2150 BCE, a mountain people, the Gutians, brought an end to Akkadian power. The cities of Sumer, however, soon united in response to the alien presence, drove the Gutians out of Mesopotamia, and established a Neo-Sumerian state ruled by the kings of Ur. Historians call this period the Neo-Sumerian age or the Third Dynasty of Ur.

Ziggurat, Ur. The most imposing extant Neo-Sumerian monument is the 50-foot-high mud-brick *ziggurat* (FIG. 2-15) at Ur, begun by the founder of the Third Dynasty, Ur-Namma (r. 2112–2095 BCE), and completed by his son and successor, Shulgi (r. 2094–2047 BCE). A millennium later than Uruk's more modest White Temple (FIGS. 2-2 and 2-3), the Ur ziggurat is the oldest preserved tiered temple platform (compare FIG. 2-14, *left*). (The platform of the White Temple is commonly, if incorrectly, called a

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2-17 Gudea standing, holding an overflowing water jar, from the Temple of Geshtinanna, Girsu (modern Telloh), Iraq, ca. 2100 BCE. Calcite, 2′ $\frac{3}{8}$″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The overflowing water jar that Gudea holds symbolizes the prosperity that he brings to the people of Lagash. In Mesopotamian art, normally only gods and goddesses are the sources of life-giving water.

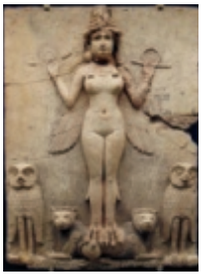
ziggurat. It is a single-story platform.) The Neo-Sumerian builders used baked bricks laid in bitumen, an asphaltlike substance, for the facing of the entire monument. (Today, most of the bricks are part of the modern reconstruction.) Three ramplike stairways of a hundred steps each converge on a tower-flanked gateway. From there, another flight of steps (which has not been rebuilt) probably led to the temple in honor of the god Nanna that once crowned the ziggurat, the corners of which are aligned to the cardinal points.

Gudea of Lagash. Of all the preserved sculptures of the Third Dynasty of Ur, the most notable and numerous are those portraying Gudea, the ensi of Lagash around 2100 BCE. His statues show him seated (FIG. 2-16) or standing (FIG. 2-17), hands usually tightly clasped, head shaven, sometimes wearing a brimmed sheepskin hat, and always dressed in a long garment that leaves one shoulder and arm exposed. He has a youthful face with large, arching, herringbone-patterned eyebrows framing wide-open eyes. Almost all of his portraits are of polished diorite, a rare and costly dark stone that had to be imported from present-day Oman. Diorite is also extremely hard and difficult to carve. Underscoring the prestige of the material—which in turn lent prestige to Gudea's portraits—is an inscription on one of his statues: "This statue . . . is made neither of silver nor from lapis lazuli, nor copper, nor tin, nor bronze, but of diorite."[1] Indeed, the inscriptions on Gudea's portraits furnish a rare explicit record in the second millennium BCE or earlier of a patron's motivations for commissioning artworks (see "Gudea of Lagash," page 43).

Babylon

The resurgence of Sumer was short-lived. The last of the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur fell at the hands of the Elamites, who ruled the territory east of the Tigris River. In the following two centuries, the traditional Mesopotamian political pattern of several independent city-states existing side by side reemerged. One of those city-states was Mari, home of Urnanshe (FIG. 2-5A) in the third millennium, and ruled by Zimri-Lin (r. 1779–1757 BCE; FIG. 2-17A) in the 18th century BCE. Another was Babylon, the probable provenance of one of the most fascinating surviving Mesopotamian artworks—the plaque acquired by the British Museum in 2003 and nicknamed *Queen of the Night* (FIG. 2-17B).

2-17A Investiture of Zimri-Lim, Mari, ca. 1775–1760 BCE.



2-17B *Queen of the Night,* ca. 1800–1750 BCE.

Hammurabi. Babylon's most powerful king was Hammurabi (r. 1792–1750 BCE), who reestablished a centralized government in southern Mesopotamia in the area known as Babylonia, after its chief city. Hammurabi was famous in antiquity for his conquests, but he is best known today for his laws, which he enacted more than a thousand years before Draco provided Athens with its first comprehensive law code and when parts of Europe were still in the Stone Age. Hammurabi's laws prescribed penalties for everything from adultery and murder to the cutting down of a neighbor's trees (see "Hammurabi's Laws," page 45, and FIG. 2-18).

Hammurabi's stele is noteworthy artistically as well. At the top, the sculptor depicted the sun god Shamash in the familiar convention of combined front and side views, but with two important exceptions. Shamash's great headdress with its four pairs of horns is in true profile so that only four, not all eight, of the horns are visible. Also, the artist seems to have tentatively explored the notion of *foreshortening*—a means of suggesting depth by representing a figure or object at an angle, instead of frontally or in profile. Shamash's beard is a series of diagonal rather than horizontal lines, suggesting

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ART AND SOCIETY

Hammurabi's Laws

In the early 18th century BCE, the Babylonian king Hammurabi formulated a set of nearly 300 laws for his people. Two earlier sets of Sumerian laws survive in part, but Hammurabi's are the only laws known in great detail, thanks to the chance survival of a tall black basalt stele (FIG. 2-18) that an Elamite king carried off (along with the Naram-Sin stele [FIG. 2-13]) as war booty to Susa in 1157 BCE.

At the top of Hammurabi's stele is a representation in high relief of the Babylonian king in the presence of Shamash, the flame-shouldered sun god. Hammurabi raises his hand in respect as the god extends to his earthly representative the rod and ring symbolizing authority. The objects are builders' tools—measuring rods and coiled rope. They connote the ruler's capacity to build the social order and to measure people's lives—that is, to render judgments and enforce laws.

The collection of Hammurabi's judicial pronouncements is inscribed on the Susa stele in Akkadian in 3,500 lines of cuneiform characters. Hammurabi's laws governed all aspects of Babylonian life, from commerce and property to murder and theft to marital infidelity, inheritances, and the treatment of slaves.

Here is a small sample of the infractions described and the penalties imposed, which vary with the person's standing in society and notably deal with the rights and crimes of women as well as men:

- If a man puts out the eye of another man, his eye shall be put out.
- If he kills a man's slave, he shall pay one-third of a *mina.*
- If someone steals property from a temple, he will be put to death, as will the person who receives the stolen goods.
- If a married woman dies before bearing any sons, her dowry shall be repaid to her father, but if she gave birth to sons, the dowry shall belong to them.
- If a man strikes a freeborn woman so that she loses her unborn child, he shall pay ten *shekels* for her loss. If the woman dies, his daughter shall be put to death.
- If a man is guilty of incest with his daughter, he shall be exiled.

2-18 Stele with the laws of Hammurabi, set up at Babylon, Iraq, ca. 1780 BCE; found at Susa, Iran. Basalt, 7′ 4″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Crowning the stele recording Hammurabi's laws is a representation of the flame-shouldered sun god Shamash extending to the Babylonian king the symbols of his authority to govern and judge.

its recession from the picture plane. The sculptor also depicted the god's throne at an angle, further enhancing the illusion of spatial recession.

Elam

The Babylonian Empire toppled in the face of an onslaught by the Hittites, an Anatolian people whose heavily fortified capital was at Hattusa (FIG. 2-18A) near modern Boghazköy, Turkey. After sacking Babylon around 1595 BCE, the Hittites abandoned Mesopotamia and returned to their homeland, leaving Babylon in the hands of the Kassites. To the east of Babylon was Elam, which appears in the Bible as early as Genesis 10:22. At the Elamite capital of Susa in present-day Iran, archaeologists have discovered

2-18A Lion Gate, Hattusa, ca. 1400 BCE.

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2-18B Beaker with animal decoration, Susa, ca. 4000 BCE.

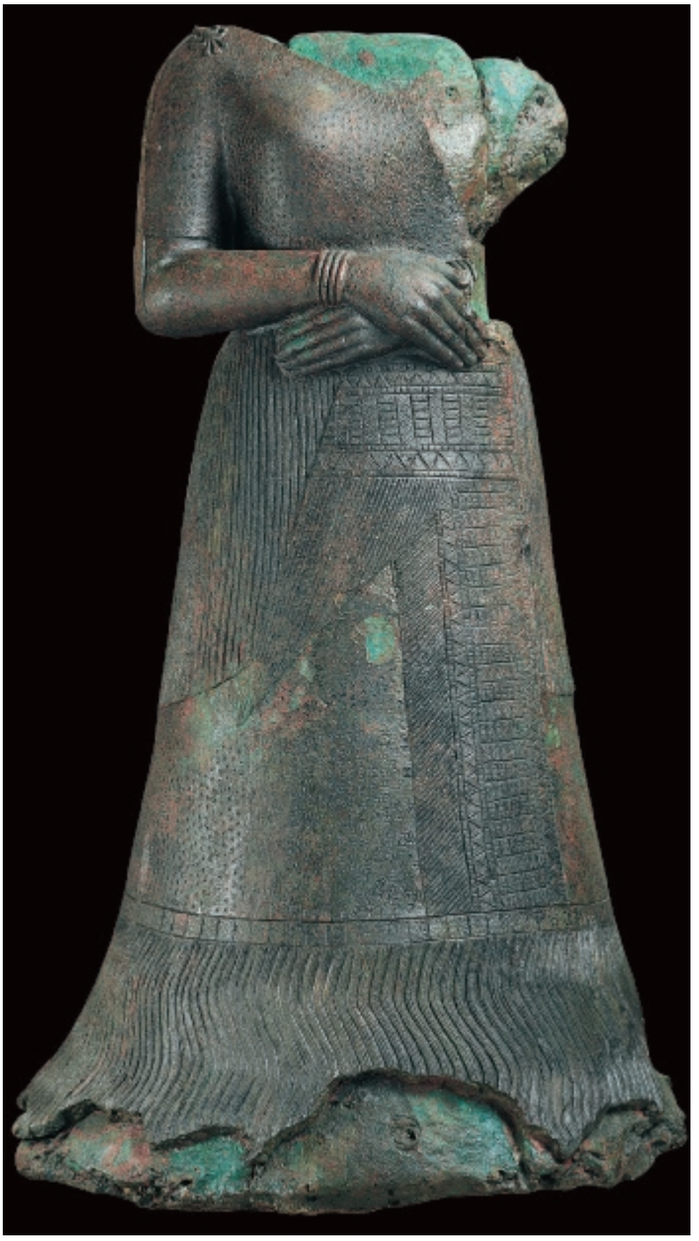
painted pottery (FIG. 2-18B) dating as far back as the Neolithic period.

Elam reached the height of its political and military power during the second half of the second millennium BCE. At that time, the Elamites were strong enough to plunder Babylonia and carry off the stelae of Naram-Sin (FIG. 2-13) and Hammurabi (FIG. 2-18) and triumphantly display them as war spoils in Susa.

Napir-Asu. A life-size bronze-and-copper statue (FIG. 2-19) of Queen Napir-Asu, wife of one of the most powerful Elamite kings, Untash-Napirisha (r. ca. 1345–ca. 1305 BCE), is one of the most important finds from Susa. Discovered in the Ninhursag temple, the statue weighs 3,760 pounds even in its fragmentary and mutilated state, because the sculptor, incredibly, cast the statue with a solid bronze core inside a hollow-cast copper shell (see "Hollow-Casting," page 129). The bronze core increased the cost of the statue enormously, but the queen wished her portrait to be a permanent, immovable votive offering in the temple where archaeologists found it. In fact, the Elamite inscription on the queen's skirt explicitly asks the gods to protect the statue:

> He who would seize my statue, who would smash it, who would destroy its inscription, who would erase my name, may he be smitten by the curse of [the gods], that his name shall become extinct, that his offspring be barren, that [Ishtar], the great goddess, shall sweep down on him. This is Napir-Asu's offering.[2]

Napir-Asu's portrait thus falls within the votive tradition dating back to the third-millennium BCE Eshnunna (FIG. 2-5) and Mari (FIG. 2-5A) figurines (see "Sumerian Votive Statuary," page 35). In the Elamite statue, the Mesopotamian instinct for cylindrical volume is again evident. The tight silhouette, strict frontality, and firmly crossed hands held close to the body are all enduring characteristics common to the Sumerian statuettes. Yet within these rigid conventions of form and pose, the Elamite artist incorporated features based on close observation. The sculptor conveyed the feminine softness of arm and bust, the grace and elegance of the long-fingered hands, the supple bend of the wrist, the ring and bracelets, and the gown's patterned fabric. The loss of the head is especially unfortunate. The figure presents a portrait of the ideal queen. The hands crossed over the belly may allude to fertility and the queen's role in assuring peaceful dynastic succession.



1 ft.

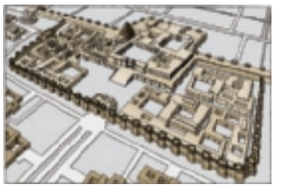
2-19 Statue of Queen Napir-Asu, from the Ninhursag temple, Susa, Iran, ca. 1340–1300 BCE. Bronze and copper, 4′ 2 3/4″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

This life-size bronze-and-copper statue of the wife of a powerful Elamite king weighs 3,760 pounds. The queen wanted her portrait to stand in a temple at Susa as an immovable votive offering to the deity.

Assyria

During the first half of the first millennium BCE, the fearsome Assyrians vanquished the various peoples who succeeded the Babylonians and Hittites, including the Elamites, whose capital of Susa they sacked in 641 BCE. The Assyrians took their name from Assur, the city east of the Tigris River in the Zagros Mountains of northern Iraq dedicated to the god Ashur. At the height of their power, the Assyrians ruled an empire that extended from the Tigris River to the Nile and from the Persian Gulf to Asia Minor.

Palace of Sargon II. The Assyrian kings cultivated an image of themselves as merciless to anyone who dared oppose them, but forgiving to those who submitted to their will. Ever mindful of possible attack, the Assyrians constructed their palaces as fortified citadels (FIG. 2-19A) guarded by monstrous guardian figures (see "How Many Legs Does a Lamassu Have?" page 47, and FIG. 2-20). They profusely decorated these complexes with mural paintings (FIG. 2-21) and relief sculptures (FIGS. 2-22, 2-22A, and 2-23) exalting royal power.



2-19A Citadel of Sargon II, Dur Sharrukin, ca. 721–705 BCE.

Palace of Ashurnasirpal II. Unfortunately, few Assyrian paintings exist today. A notable exception is the panel (FIG. 2-21) depicting King Ashurnasirpal II (r. 883–859 BCE) and his retinue

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How Many Legs Does a Lamassu Have?

Guarding the gate of the Dur Sharrukin palace (FIG. 2-19A) of Sargon II (r. 721–705 BCE) and many of the other Assyrian royal complexes were colossal limestone monsters (FIG. 2-20), which the Assyrians probably called lamassu. These winged, man-headed bulls (or lions in some instances) served to ward off the king's enemies.

The task of moving and installing these immense stone sculptures was so difficult that several reliefs in the palace of Sargon's successor, Sennacherib (r. 705–681 BCE), celebrate that feat, showing scores of men dragging *lamassu* figures with the aid of ropes and sledges.

Transporting these mammoth sculptures (nearly 14 feet tall in the case of the two lamassu guarding the gateway of Sargon's Dur Sharrukin palace) was not the only problem the Assyrian sculptors had to confront. The artists also had to find a satisfactory way to represent a composite beast no one had ever seen, and they had to make the monster's unfamiliar form intelligible from every angle. They came up with a solution that may seem strange to modern eyes, but one consistent with the pictorial conventions of the age and perfectly suited to the problem.

The Assyrian lamassu sculptures are partly in the round, but the sculptors nonetheless conceived them as high reliefs on adjacent sides of a corner. They combine the front view of the animal at rest with the side view of it in motion. Seeking to present a complete picture of the lamassu from both the front and the side, the sculptors of all the extant Assyrian guardian statues gave each of the monsters five legs—two seen from the front, four seen from the side. The Assyrian lamassu sculptures, therefore, are yet another case of a conceptual picture of an animal or person and of all its important parts, as opposed to an optical view of the composite monster as it would stand in the real, versus the pictorial, world.

2-20 Lamassu (man-headed winged bull), from the citadel of Sargon II, Dur Sharrukin (modern Khorsabad), Iraq, ca. 721–705 BCE. Limestone, 13′ 10″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Ancient sculptors insisted on complete views of animals. This four-legged composite monster that guarded an Assyrian palace has five legs—two when seen from the front and four in profile view.

paying homage to the gods. It comes from the king's northwest palace at Kalhu. The painting medium is *glazed* brick, a much more durable format than direct painting on plastered mud-brick walls, the technique used a millennium earlier in Zimri-Lim's palace at Mari (FIG. 2-17A). The Assyrian painter first applied lines and colors to a clay panel and then baked the clay in a kiln, fusing the colors to the clay.

The Kalhu panel shows Ashurnasirpal—his name means "Ashur guards the heir"—delicately holding a cup. With it, he will make a libation in honor of the protective Assyrian gods. The artist represented the king as taller than everyone else, befitting his rank, and rendered the figures in outline, devoting special attention to the patterns of the rich fabrics they wear. The king and the attendant behind him are in consistent profile view, but the painter adhered to the convention of showing the eye from the front in a profile head. Painted scenes such as this hint at the original appearance (before the color

2-21 Ashurnasirpal II with attendants and soldier, from the northwest palace of Ashurnasirpal II, Kalhu (modern Nimrud), Iraq, ca. 875–860 BCE. Glazed brick, $11\frac{3}{4}$″ high. British Museum, London.

Paintings on glazed bricks adorned the walls of Assyrian palaces. This rare example shows Ashurnasirpal II paying homage to the gods. The artist represented the king as taller than his attendants.

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2-22 Assyrian archers pursuing enemies, relief from the northwest palace of Ashurnasirpal II, Kalhu (modern Nimrud), Iraq, ca. 875–860 BCE. Gypsum, 2′ 10 5/8″ high. British Museum, London.

Extensive reliefs exalting the king and recounting his great deeds have been found in several Assyrian palaces. This one depicts Ashurnasirpal II's archers driving the enemy into the Euphrates River.

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disappeared) of the stone reliefs (FIGS. 2-22, 2-22A, and 2-23) in Assyrian palaces, although the reliefs probably featured a wider range of hues than those available to the ceramic painter.

Ashurnasirpal's Kalhu palace also boasts one of the earliest and most extensive cycles of Assyrian relief sculptures, which, in their degree of documentary detail, are without parallel in the ancient world before the Roman Empire (see "The Roman Emperor as World Conqueror," page 181). The Assyrian reliefs, however, in contrast to their Roman imperial counterparts decorating grandiose public monuments, were viewed only by the royal entourage and privileged visitors in the innermost parts of the palace complexes.

The Assyrian reliefs are painted gypsum panels that sheathed the lower parts of the mud-brick palace walls below brightly colored plaster. Rich textiles on the floors contributed to the luxurious ambience. Every relief bore an inscription naming Ashurnasirpal and describing his accomplishments. Two of the reliefs are illustrated here.

The first (FIG. 2-22) shows Assyrians driving the enemy's forces into the Euphrates River. In the second relief (FIG. 2-22A), the Assyrian army lays siege on an enemy citadel. The river scene probably depicts an episode that occurred in 878 BCE. Two of Ashurnasirpal's archers shoot arrows at the fleeing foe. Three enemy soldiers are in the water. One swims with an arrow in his back. The other two attempt to float to safety by inflating animal skins. Their destination is a fort where their compatriots await them. The artist showed the fort as if it were in the middle of the river, but it was, of course, on land, perhaps at some distance from where the escapees entered the water. The artist's purpose was to tell the story clearly and economically. Ancient sculptors and painters often compressed distances and enlarged the human actors so that they would stand out from their environment. For example, literally interpreted, this relief presents the defenders of the fort as too tall to walk through its archway. (Compare Naram-Sin and his men scaling a mountain, FIG. 2-13.) The sculptor also combined different viewpoints in the same frame, just as the figures are composites of frontal and profile views. The spectator views the river from above, and the men, trees, and fort from the side. The artist also made other adjustments for clarity. The archers' bowstrings are in front of their bodies but behind their heads in order not to hide the soldiers' faces. (The men will snare their heads in their bows when they launch their arrows.) All these liberties with optical reality, however, result in a vivid and easily legible retelling of a decisive moment in the king's victorious campaign. That was the sculptor's primary goal.

2-22A Assyrians besieging a fort, Kalhu, ca. 875–860 BCE.

Palace of Ashurbanipal. Two centuries later, other Assyrian artists carved hunting reliefs (FIG. 2-23) for the Nineveh palace of the conqueror of Elamite Susa, Ashurbanipal (r. 668–627 BCE), whose name means "Ashur is creator of the son." The Greeks called him Sardanapalus, and the French painter Eugène Delacroix immortalized the Assyrian king in the 19th century in one of the most dramatic canvases (FIG. 27-15) of the Romantic era in Europe. The Assyrians, like many other societies before and after, regarded prowess in hunting as a manly virtue on a par with success in warfare. The royal hunt did not take place in the wild, however, but in a controlled environment, ensuring the king's safety and success.

In FIG. 2-23, lions released from cages in a large enclosed arena charge the king, who, in his chariot and with his attendants, thrusts a spear into a savage lion. The animal leaps at the king even though it already has two arrows in its body. All around the royal chariot is a pathetic trail of dead and dying animals, pierced by what appear to be far more arrows than needed to kill them. Blood streams from some of the lions, but they refuse to die. The artist brilliantly depicted the straining muscles, the swelling veins, the muzzles' wrinkled skin, and the flattened ears of the powerful and defiant beasts.

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2-23 Ashurbanipal hunting lions, relief from the north palace of Ashurbanipal, Nineveh (modern Kuyunjik), Iraq, ca. 645–635 BCE. Gypsum, 5′ 4″ high. British Museum, London.

In addition to ceremonial and battle scenes, the hunt was a common subject of Assyrian palace reliefs. The Assyrians viewed prowess in hunting lions as a manly royal virtue on a par with victory in warfare.

Modern sympathies make this scene of carnage a kind of heroic tragedy, with the lions as protagonists. It is unlikely, however, that the king's artists had any intention other than to glorify their ruler by showing the king of men pitted against and repeatedly besting the king of beasts. Portraying Ashurbanipal's beastly foes as possessing courage and nobility as well as the power to kill made the king's accomplishments that much grander.

The Assyrian Empire was never very secure, however, and most of its kings had to fight revolts throughout Mesopotamia. Assyria's conquest of Elam in the seventh century BCE and frequent rebellions in Babylonia apparently overextended its resources. During the last years of Ashurbanipal's reign, the empire began to disintegrate. Under his successors, it collapsed from the simultaneous onslaught of the Medes from the east and the resurgent Babylonians from the south. Neo-Babylonian kings held sway over the former Assyrian Empire until the Persian conquest.

Neo-Babylonia

The most renowned of the Neo-Babylonian kings was Nebuchadnezzar II (r. 605–562 BCE), whose exploits are recounted in the Bible's Book of Daniel. Nebuchadnezzar restored Babylon to its rank as one of the great cities of antiquity. The Greeks and Romans counted "the hanging gardens of Babylon" among the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, and the Bible immortalized the city's enormous ziggurat as the Tower of Babel (see "Babylon, City of Wonders," page 50).

Ishtar Gate. Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon was a mud-brick city, but dazzling blue-glazed bricks adorned the most important monuments, such as the 47-foot-high Ishtar Gate (FIG. 2-24)—actually a pair of gates, one of which has been restored and

2-24 Ishtar Gate (restored), Babylon, Iraq, ca. 575 BCE. Vorderasiatisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

Nebuchadnezzar II's Babylon was one of the ancient world's greatest cities and boasted the biblical Tower of Babel. Its Ishtar Gate featured glazed-brick reliefs of Marduk and Nabu's dragon and Adad's bull.

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WRITTEN SOURCES

Babylon, City of Wonders

The uncontested list of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world was not codified until the 16th century. But already in the second century BCE, Antipater of Sidon, a Greek poet, compiled a roster of seven must-see monuments, including six of the seven later Wonders. All of the Wonders were of colossal size and constructed at great expense. The oldest were of great antiquity, nearly 2,500 years old in Antipater's day: the pyramids of Gizeh (FIG. 3-8), which he described as "man-made mountains." Only one site on Antipater's list could boast two Wonders: Babylon, with its "hanging gardens" and "impregnable walls." The wondrous gardens were not in Babylon, however, but part of the Assyrian king Sennacherib's "palace without rival" at Nineveh. Later list makers preferred to distribute the Seven Wonders among seven different cities (not including Nineveh). Most of these Wonders date to Greek times—the Ephesos of Saint Paul, with its 60-foot-tall *columns*; Phidias's colossal gold-and-ivory statue of Zeus at Olympia; the "Mausoleum" at Halikarnassos, the gigantic tomb (FIG. 5-63C) of the fourth-century BCE ruler Mausolus; the Colossus of Rhodes, a bronze statue of the Greek sun god 110 feet tall; and the lighthouse at Alexandria, perhaps the tallest building in the ancient world. The "Babylonian" gardens were the only Wonder in the category of landscape architecture.

Several ancient texts describe the wondrous hanging gardens, although none of the authors had traveled to Babylon. Quintus Curtius Rufus, for example, basing his account on earlier, unfortunately unreliable, sources, reported in the mid-first century CE:

> On the top of the citadel are the hanging gardens, a wonder celebrated in the tales of the Greeks. . . . Columns of stone were set up to sustain the whole work, and on these was laid a floor of squared blocks, strong enough to hold the earth which is thrown upon it to a great depth, as well as the water with which they irrigate the soil; and the structure supports trees of such great size that the thickness of their trunks equals a measure of eight cubits [about 12 feet]. They tower to a height of fifty feet, and they yield as much fruit as if they were growing in their native soil. . . . To those who look upon [the trees] from a distance, real woods seem to be overhanging their native mountains.*

Not qualifying as a Wonder, but in some ways no less impressive (and far more real), was Babylon's Marduk ziggurat, erected by King Nebuchadnezzar, who also constructed Babylon's Ishtar Gate (FIG. 2-24). Called the Etemenanki (Sumerian, Home of the Foundation Platform of Heaven and Earth) by the Babylonians, the ziggurat was immortalized in the Bible (Gen. 11:1–9) as the Tower of Babel. The Babylonians considered their city to be the center of the world and the Etemenanki the *axis mundi,* the symbolic pole connecting the earth with the heavens, a concept with close parallels in other civilizations—for example, in the Indus Valley of South Asia (FIG. 15-6). According to the Bible, men's arrogant desire to build a tower to Heaven angered God. The Lord put an end to it by causing the workers to speak different languages, preventing them from communicating with one another. The fifth-century BCE Greek historian Herodotus described the Babylonian temple complex:

> In the middle of the sanctuary [of Marduk] has been built a solid tower . . . which supports another tower, which in turn supports another, and so on: there are eight towers in all. A stairway has been constructed to wind its way up the outside of all the towers; halfway up the stairway there is a shelter with benches to rest on, where people making the ascent can sit and catch their breath. In the last tower there is a huge temple. The temple contains a large couch, which is adorned with fine coverings and has a golden table standing beside it, but there are no statues at all standing there. . . . [The Babylonians] say that the god comes in person to the temple [compare the Sumerian notion of the temple as a "waiting room"] and rests on the couch; I do not believe this story myself.†

The fictional hanging gardens of Babylon are a cautionary tale about the accuracy of written sources, which are indispensable for the study of the history of art and architecture, but must be examined critically before being accepted at face value.

*Quintus Curtius 5. 1. 31–35. Translated by John C. Rolfe, *Quintus Curtius I* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), 337–339.
†Herodotus 1.181–182. Translated by Robin Waterfield, *Herodotus: The Histories* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 79–80.

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installed in the Vorderasiatisches (Near Eastern) Museum in Berlin. The Ishtar Gate consists of a large *arcuated* (*arch*-shaped) opening flanked by towers, and features glazed bricks with reliefs of animals, real and imaginary. The Babylonian builders molded and glazed each brick separately, then set them in proper sequence on the wall. On the Ishtar Gate, profile figures of Marduk and Nabu's dragon and Adad's bull alternate. Lining the processional way leading up to the gate were reliefs of Ishtar's sacred lion, glazed in yellow, brown, and red against a lapis lazuli blue background.

PERSIA

Although Nebuchadnezzar—the "king of kings" in the Book of Daniel (2:37)—had boasted in an inscription that he "caused a mighty wall to circumscribe Babylon . . . so that the enemy who would do evil would not threaten," Cyrus of Persia (r. 559–529 BCE) captured the city in 539 BCE. Cyrus, who may have been descended from an Elamite line, was the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty and traced his ancestry back to a mythical King Achaemenes.

Achaemenid Empire

Babylon was but one of the Achaemenids' conquests. Egypt fell to them in 525 BCE, and by 480 BCE they boasted the largest empire the world had yet known, extending from the Indus River in South Asia to the Danube River in northeastern Europe. If the Greeks had not succeeded in turning back the Persians in 479 BCE, they would have taken control of southeastern Europe as well. The Achaemenid line ended with the death of Darius III in 330 BCE, after his defeat at the hands of Alexander the Great (FIG. 5-70).

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2-25 Aerial view of the palace (*above*: looking west with the apadana in the background) and three columns of the apadana with animal protomes (*right*), Persepolis, Iran, ca. 521–465 BCE.

The heavily fortified complex of Persian royal buildings on a high plateau at Persepolis included extensive sculpted friezes (FIG. 2-27) and a royal audience hall, or apadana, with 36 colossal columns.

Persepolis. The most important source of knowledge about Persian art and architecture is the ceremonial and administrative complex within the citadel at Persepolis (FIG. 2-25), which the successors of Cyrus, Darius I (r. 522–486 BCE) and Xerxes (r. 486–465 BCE), built between 521 and 465 BCE. Situated on a high plateau, the heavily fortified complex of royal buildings stood on a wide platform overlooking the plain. Alexander the Great razed the site in 330 BCE in a gesture symbolizing the destruction of Persian imperial power. Some said it was an act of revenge for the Persian sack of the Athenian Acropolis in 480 BCE (see "Early and High Classical Periods," page 125). Nevertheless, even in ruins, the Persepolis citadel is impressive.

The approach to the citadel led through a monumental gateway called the Gate of All Lands, a reference to the harmony among the peoples of the vast Persian Empire. Assyrian-inspired colossal man-headed winged bulls flanked the great entrance. Broad ceremonial stairways provided access to the platform and the immense (1,173-square-foot) royal audience hall, or *apadana,* in which at least 10,000 guests could stand at one time. Although the hall had mud-brick walls, the floors were paved in stone or brick, and the apadana's chief feature—its forest of 36 colossal columns—was entirely of stone.

The columns (FIG. 2-25, *right*) consisted of tall *bases* with a ring of palm leaves, 57-foot *shafts* with *flutes,* and enormous *capitals* composed of stacked *volutes* (see "Doric and Ionic Orders," page 116, for the architectural terminology) topped by polished and painted back-to-back animal *protomes* (the head, forelegs, and

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2-26 Column capital with bull protomes, from the apadana of the palace of Darius I, Susa, Iran, ca. 510 BCE. Limestone, 7′ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The 65-foot columns of the Susa apadana drew on Mesopotamian, Greek, and Egyptian models, but are unique in form. The back-to-back protomes resting on the volutes of the capitals supported huge cedar beams.

part of the body). Similar columns and capitals (FIG. 2-26) filled the apadana of Darius I's palace at Susa. The Achaemenid capitals are unique in form, but the designers drew on Greek, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian traditions.

The capitals with animal protomes in the Susa apadana are about 7 feet tall, bringing the total height of each of the 36 columns in the hall to 65 feet, including the bases. The Persepolis and Susa capitals incorporate several different animals—*griffins* (eagle-headed winged lions), bulls, lions, and composite man-headed bulls. The architects may have wanted to suggest that the Persian king had captured the fiercest animals and monsters to hold up the roof of his palace. The choice of paired protomes may have symbolized that the Persian cosmos was in equilibrium. The back-to-back protomes of each capital form a U-shaped socket that held massive cedar beams (imported from Lebanon), which in turn supported a timber roof sealed with mud plaster. The illustrated Susa capital (FIG. 2-26) was reconstructed from fragments of several different capitals, which explains the variation in the color of the gray limestone.

The reliefs (FIG. 2-27) decorating the walls of the terrace and staircases leading to the Persepolis apadana represent processions of royal guards, Persian nobles and dignitaries, and representatives from 23 subject nations, including Medes, Elamites, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Nubians, bringing tribute to the king. Every emissary wears a characteristic costume and carries a typical regional

2-27 Persians and Medes, detail of the processional frieze on the east side of the terrace of the apadana of the palace (FIG. 2-25), Persepolis, Iran, ca. 521–465 BCE. Limestone, 8′ 4″ high.

The reliefs decorating the walls of the terrace and staircases leading up to the Persepolis apadana (FIG. 2-25) included depictions of representatives of 23 nations bringing tribute to the Persian king.

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gift for the conqueror. The section of the procession reproduced here represents Persian nobles (in pleated skirts) and Medes wearing their distinctive round caps, knee-length tunics, and trousers. The carving of the Persepolis reliefs is technically superb, with subtly modeled surfaces and crisply chiseled details. Traces of paint prove that the reliefs were brightly colored.

Although the Assyrian palace reliefs may have inspired those at Persepolis, the Persian sculptures differ in style. The forms are more rounded, and they project more from the background. Some of the details, notably the treatment of drapery folds, echo forms characteristic of Archaic Greek sculpture (compare FIG. 5-11), and Greek influence seems to be one of the many ingredients of Achaemenid style. Persian art testifies to the active exchange of ideas and artists among all the civilizations of Persia, Mesopotamia, and the Mediterranean at this date. In an inscription from the Susa palace, Darius I boasts of the diverse origin of the stonemasons, carpenters, and sculptors who constructed and decorated the complex. He names Medes, Egyptians, Babylonians, and Ionian Greeks. This heterogeneous workforce created a new and coherent style that perfectly suited the expression of Persian imperial ambitions.

Achaemenid Rhyton. When the Achaemenid kings entertained guests, they served them food and drink in tableware of costly materials. Indeed, the Persians were famous for their luxurious cups and plates of gold and silver. Herodotus (*Histories,* 9.80), for example, recounted how after the Greeks defeated the Persians at the Battle of Plataea in 479 BCE, they entered the Persian camp and found tents filled with gold bowls and goblets and wagons overflowing with gold and silver basins. In fact, this opulent collection was merely what the Persian king Xerxes brought with him on a military campaign.

When Alexander the Great sacked Persepolis, he discovered even greater riches, including gold objects similar to the *rhyton* (conical pouring vessel) in the form of a winged lion illustrated here (FIG. 2-28). Although found at Hamadan in Iran instead of Persepolis or Susa, the rhyton must closely resemble the magnificent items that graced the tables of the Achaemenid royal house. Its shape is typical of these elaborate service pieces: a conical, trumpet-like container for wine, hammered (*repoussé*) from a thin sheet of gold inserted at a right angle into an animal protome (compare FIG. 2-26) also crafted in repoussé. In this case, the protome is a winged lion, one of the many composite beasts popular in Mesopotamian art from the Sumerian era through the seventh century CE. Around the lip of the rhyton is a lotus-and-palmette band that has close parallels on painted Greek vases (compare FIGS. 5-23, 5-23A, and 5-59) and in Greek architectural decoration. The Hamadan rhyton is thus another example of the varied stylistic and iconographical roots of Persian art.

2-28 Rhyton in the form of a winged lion, from Hamadan, Iran, fifth to third century BCE. Gold, 8 3/8″ high. Archaeological Museum of Iran, Tehran.

This hammered-gold conical pouring vessel with a winged-lion protome is a characteristic example of the luxurious items that graced the tables of Achaemenid royal palaces.

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Sasanian Empire

Alexander the Great's conquest of the Achaemenid Empire in 330 BCE marked the beginning of a long period of first Greek and then Roman rule of large parts of Mesopotamia and Persia, beginning with one of Alexander's former generals, Seleucus I (r. 312–281 BCE), founder of the Seleucid dynasty. In the third century CE, however, a new power rose up in Persia that challenged the Romans and sought to force them out of Asia. The new rulers called themselves Sasanians. They traced their lineage to a legendary figure named Sasan, said to be a direct descendant of the Achaemenid kings. The first Sasanian king, Ardashir I (r. 211–241), founded the New Persian Empire in 224 CE after he defeated the Parthians (another of Rome's eastern enemies).

Bishapur and Ctesiphon. The son and successor of Ardashir, Shapur I (r. 241–272), was an accomplished general who further extended Sasanian territory. In 260, he even captured the Roman emperor Valerian (r. 253–260)—a singular feat, which he immortalized in a series of reliefs (for example, FIG. 2-28A) at Bishapur, Iran. Traditionally also thought to have been the work of Shapur I is the great palace (FIG. 2-29) at Ctesiphon, the capital that his father had established near modern Baghdad in Iraq. The construction of the palace is now attributed by most scholars to Khosrow I (r. 531–579), a Sasanian king who lived three centuries later. The central feature of the Ctesiphon palace, known locally as the Taq-I Kisra, is the monumental *iwan,* or brick audience hall, covered by a *vault* (here, a deep arch over an oblong space) that comes almost to a point more than 100 feet above the ground. A series of horizontal bands made up of *blind arcades* (a series of arches without openings, applied as wall decoration) divide the *facade* (building front) to the left and right of the iwan.

2-28A Triumph of Shapur I, Bishapur, ca. 260 CE.

The New Persian Empire endured more than 400 years, until the Arabs drove the Sasanians out of Mesopotamia in 636 CE, just four years after the death of Muhammad. But the prestige of Sasanian art and architecture long outlasted the empire. Eight centuries after Khosrow I built his palace at Ctesiphon, Islamic architects in Cairo (FIG. 10-25) still considered its soaring iwan as the standard for judging their own engineering feats.

2-29 Palace of Khosrow I, Ctesiphon, Iraq, ca. 531–579 CE.

The Sasanians were the last great pre-Islamic civilization of Mesopotamia and Persia. Their palace at Ctesiphon, near Baghdad, features a brick audience hall (iwan) covered by an enormous pointed vault.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Mesopotamia and Persia

Sumerian Art ca. 3500–2332 BCE

- The Sumerians founded the world's first city-states in the valley between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers and invented writing in the fourth millennium BCE.
- They were also the first to build communal religious shrines on towering platforms, such as Uruk's mud-brick White Temple, and to place figures in registers to tell coherent stories, as on the *Standard of Ur.*

Standard of Ur, ca. 2550–2400 BCE

Akkadian Art ca. 2332–2150 BCE

- The Akkadians were the first Mesopotamian rulers to call themselves kings of the world and to assume divine attributes. The earliest recorded name of an author is Enheduanna, an Akkadian priestess of the god Nanna.
- Akkadian artists may have been the first to cast hollow life-size metal sculptures and to place figures at different levels in a landscape setting, as on the stele erected by Naram-Sin to celebrate his victory over the Lullubi.

Akkadian ruler, ca. 2250–2200 BCE

Neo-Sumerian and Babylonian Art ca. 2150–1600 BCE

- During the Third Dynasty of Ur, the Sumerians rose again to power and constructed one of Mesopotamia's largest tiered temple platforms, or ziggurats, at Ur.
- Gudea of Lagash (r. ca. 2150 BCE) built numerous temples and placed portraits of himself in them as votive offerings to the gods.
- Babylon's greatest king, Hammurabi (r. 1792–1750 BCE), formulated wide-ranging laws for the empire he ruled. Babylonian artists were among the first to experiment with foreshortening.

Ziggurat, Ur, begun ca. 2100 BCE

Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Art ca. 900–539 BCE

- At the height of their power, the Assyrians ruled an empire that extended from the Persian Gulf to the Nile and Asia Minor.
- Assyrian palaces were fortified citadels with gates guarded by monstrous lamassu. Paintings and reliefs depicting official ceremonies and the king battling enemies and hunting lions decorated the walls of the ceremonial halls.
- In the sixth century BCE, Babylon was thought to be home to two of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. The Ishtar Gate, with its colorful glazed brick reliefs, gives an idea of Babylon's magnificence under Nebuchadnezzar II (r. 605–562 BCE).

Palace of Ashurnasirpal II, Kalhu, ca. 875–860 BCE

Achaemenid and Sasanian Art ca. 559–330 BCE and 224–636 CE

- The capital of the Achaemenid Persians was at Persepolis, where Darius I (r. 522–486 BCE) and Xerxes (r. 486–465 BCE) built a huge palace complex with an audience hall that could accommodate 10,000 guests. Painted reliefs of subject nations bringing tribute adorned the terraces.
- The Sasanians, enemies of Rome, ruled the New Persian Empire from their palace at Ctesiphon until the Arabs defeated them four years after the death of Muhammad.

Palace of Khosrow I, Ctesiphon, ca. 531–579 CE

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◀**3-1a** At the left, Anubis, the Egyptian god of embalming, shown with a man's body and a jackal's head, grasps the deceased Hunefer's left hand and leads him into the hall of judgment.

▶**3-1b** Anubis weighs Hunefer's heart against a feather, the hieroglyph of Maat, the goddess of truth and right doing. The monstrous Ammit will devour the heart if it weighs more than the feather.

1 in.

3-1 **Judgment of Hunefer, detail of an illustrated *Book of the Dead,* from the tomb of Hunefer, Thebes, Egypt, 19th Dynasty, ca. 1290–1275 BCE. Painted papyrus scroll, 1′ 3½″ high; full scroll 18′ ½″ long. British Museum, London.**

▶**3-1c** After the scales declare him worthy, Hunefer is led before the enthroned green-faced god Osiris and his sisters, Isis and Nephthys, to receive the award of eternal life, the goal of every Egyptian.

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EGYPT FROM NARMER TO CLEOPATRA

3

FRAMING THE ERA

Life after Death in Ancient Egypt

Blessed with abundant sources of stone of different hues suitable for carving statues and fashioning building blocks, the ancient Egyptians left to posterity a profusion of spectacular monuments spanning three millennia. Many of them glorified the gods and were set up by the Egyptian kings, whom the Egyptians believed were also divine and could serve as intermediaries with the gods. Indeed, the Egyptians devoted enormous resources to erecting countless monuments and statues to honor their god-kings during their lifetimes, and to constructing and furnishing magnificent tombs to serve as the divine kings' eternal homes in the afterlife.

Those who were not of royal birth could also aspire to an afterlife. Egyptians believed in the eternal existence of a person's *ka,* or life force, which continued to inhabit the corpse after an individual died. For this reason, those who could afford it lavishly furnished their tombs for the "next life." In those tombs, archaeologists have discovered not only stone and metal objects but also a vast number of items fashioned from perishable materials rarely preserved elsewhere, including illustrated *papyrus* scrolls such as the *Book of the Dead* (FIG. 3-1) found in the tomb of Hunefer, the royal scribe and steward of Seti I (r. 1306–1290 BCE).

Hunefer's scroll is a collection of spells and prayers needed to secure a happy afterlife. Illustrated scrolls (some are 70 feet long) containing these texts were essential items in the tombs of well-to-do Egyptians. At the top left of the section reproduced here, Hunefer kneels in adoration before a row of seated Egyptian deities. Below, Anubis, the jackal-headed god of embalming, leads the deceased into the hall of judgment. The god then adjusts the scales to weigh Hunefer's heart against a feather, the *hieroglyph* of the name of the goddess Maat and a symbol for truth and right doing. Because the dead man's heart weighs less than the feather, he merits eternal life. Otherwise, Ammit, the hybrid crocodile-hippopotamus-lion monster, who watches the weighing, would have eaten Hunefer's heart, and he would die a second time. To the right, the ibis-headed god Thoth records the proceedings.

Finally, having been judged favorably by the scales, Hunefer is brought by Osiris's son, the falcon-headed Horus, into the presence of the enthroned green-faced Osiris and his sisters, Isis and Nephthys, to receive the award of eternal life. This was the goal of every Egyptian and the concept that dictated the form and content of much of Egyptian art and architecture from its beginnings in the fourth millennium BCE and for several thousand years thereafter.

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EGYPT AND EGYPTOLOGY

The backbone of Egypt was, and still is, the Nile River, which, through its annual floods, supported all life in that ancient land (MAP 3-1). Even more so than the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers of Mesopotamia (MAP 2-1), the Nile defined the cultures that developed along its banks. Originating deep in Africa, the world's longest river flows through regions that may not receive a single drop of rainfall in a decade. Yet crops thrive from the rich soil that the Nile brings thousands of miles from the African hills. In antiquity, the land bordering the Nile consisted of marshes dotted with island ridges. Amphibious animals swarmed in the marshes, where the Egyptians hunted them through tall forests of papyrus and rushes (FIGS. 3-15 and 3-28A). The fertility of Egypt was famous. When the Kingdom of the Nile became a province of the Roman Empire after the death of Queen Cleopatra (r. 51–30 BCE), it served as the granary of the Mediterranean world.

During the Middle Ages, the detailed knowledge that the Romans possessed about the Egyptians and their gods was largely forgotten (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Egypt," page 60). With the Enlightenment of the 18th century, scholars began to piece together Egypt's history from references in the Bible, from the fifth-century BCE Greek historian Herodotus and other Greco-Roman authors, and from preserved portions of a third-century BCE history of Egypt written in Greek by Manetho, an Egyptian high priest. Manetho described the succession of Egyptian rulers, dividing them into the still-useful groups called dynasties, based on a line of hereditary rulers or the changing location of the royal residence. Unfortunately, Manetho's chronology is inaccurate, and today historians still do not agree on the absolute dates of the kings. The chronologies that scholars have proposed for the earliest Egyptian dynasties can vary by as much as two centuries. Only after 664 BCE (26th Dynasty) are the exact years of individual reigns certain.[1]

The modern discipline of Egyptology dates to the late 18th century, when archaeological exploration of the land of the Nile began in earnest. In 1799, on a military expedition to Egypt, Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) took with him a large team of scholars, linguists, antiquarians, and artists. In 1804, they published *Description of Egypt,* a groundbreaking collaborative work based on the massive amount of data that the scientific expedition collected.

Rosetta Stone. Most noteworthy was the chance discovery of the famed *Rosetta Stone,* now in the British Museum, which provided the key to deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. The stone bears an inscription in three sections: one in Greek, which Napoleon's team easily read; one in *demotic* (Late Egyptian); and one in formal hieroglyphic. On the assumption that the text was the same in all three sections, Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832) and other scholars attempted to decipher the two non-Greek sections. Eventually, they deduced that the hieroglyphs were not simply pictographs but the signs of a once-spoken language whose traces survived in Coptic, the language of Christian Egypt. The ability to read hieroglyphic inscriptions revolutionized the study of Egyptian civilization and art.

MAP 3-1 **Ancient Egypt.**

PREDYNASTIC AND EARLY DYNASTIC PERIODS

The prehistoric beginnings of Egyptian civilization predate writing and are consequently obscure. Nevertheless, tantalizing remains of tombs, paintings, pottery, and other artifacts attest to the existence of a sophisticated culture on the banks of the Nile around 3500 BCE. Egyptologists refer to this era as the Predynastic period.

EGYPT FROM NARMER TO CLEOPATRA

3500–2575 BCE	2575–2134 BCE	2040–1640 BCE	1550–1070 BCE	1000–30 BCE
Predynastic and Early Dynastic	**Old Kingdom**	**Middle Kingdom**	**New Kingdom**	**First Millennium BCE**
▪ Egyptians produce narrative reliefs and paintings, including some of the earliest preserved labeled historical artworks, such as the Narmer palette ▪ Imhotep, the first artist whose name is recorded, builds the stepped pyramid and funerary complex of King Djoser	▪ Sculptors formulate the canonical Egyptian statuary types expressing the eternal nature of divine kingship ▪ Workers quarry millions of blocks of stone for the construction of the three Fourth Dynasty pyramids at Gizeh	▪ Egyptian sculptors introduce a new, more realistic and emotional, kind of royal portrait ▪ Rock-cut tombs become the preferred form of Egyptian burial monument for wealthy private patrons	▪ Architects construct grandiose pylon temples featuring hypostyle halls with clerestory lighting ▪ Akhenaton introduces a new religion and new art forms during the short-lived religious and artistic revolution of the Amarna period	▪ Traditional modes of Egyptian art and architecture continue under foreign (Kushite and Greek) rule

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Painting and Sculpture

In Predynastic times, Egypt was divided geographically and politically into Upper Egypt (the southern, upstream part of the Nile Valley), a narrow tract of grassland that encouraged hunting, and Lower (northern) Egypt, where the rich soil of the Nile Delta islands promoted agriculture and animal husbandry. The major finds of Predynastic art come from Upper Egypt, especially Abydos and Hierakonpolis, where archaeologists discovered a tomb dating between 3500 and 3200 BCE that boasts the most extensive preserved series of early Egyptian mural paintings (FIG. 3-1A).

3-1A Tomb 100, Hierakonpolis, ca. 3500–3200 BCE.

Palette of King Narmer. The Predynastic period ended with the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt, which historians once thought occurred during the First Dynasty kingship of Menes, identified by some Egyptologists with Narmer, by others with Aha. King Narmer's image and name appear on both sides of a ceremonial *palette* (stone slab with a circular depression) found at Hierakonpolis. The palette (FIGS. 3-2 and 3-3) is one of the earliest extant historical (versus prehistorical) artworks, but Egyptologists still debate exactly what event(s) it depicts. No longer regarded as commemorating the founding of the first of Egypt's 31 dynasties around 2920 BCE (the last ended in 332 BCE), the scenes probably record selected events that took place during the unification of the two kingdoms. Historians now believe that the formation of the "Kingdom of the Two Lands" occurred over several centuries.

Narmer's palette is an elaborate version of a utilitarian object commonly used in the Predynastic period to prepare eye makeup, which Egyptian men and women used to protect their eyes against irritation and the glare of the sun as well as to enhance their appearance. The palette is important not only as a document marking the transition from the prehistoric to the historical period in ancient Egypt but also as one of the earliest examples of the formula for figure representation that characterized most Egyptian art for 3,000 years. At the top of each side of the palette are two heads of a cow

1 ft.

3-2 **Back of the palette of King Narmer, from Hierakonpolis, Egypt, Predynastic, ca. 3000–2920 BCE. Slate, 2′ 1″ high. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.**

Narmer's palette is one of the earliest labeled historical artworks. On this side, the king, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, is the largest figure in the composition. He slays a captured Lower Egyptian enemy.

1 ft.

3-3 **Front of the palette of King Narmer, from Hierakonpolis, Egypt, Predynastic, ca. 3000–2920 BCE. Slate, 2′ 1″ high. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.**

Narmer, now wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, reviews beheaded enemy bodies. At the center of the palette, the intertwined animal necks may symbolize the unification of the two kingdoms.

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The Gods and Goddesses of Egypt

The worldview of the Egyptians was distinct from the outlook of their neighbors in the ancient Mediterranean, Mesopotamian, and Persian worlds. Egyptians believed that before the beginning of time, the primeval waters, called *Nun,* existed alone in the darkness. At the moment of creation, a mound rose out of the limitless waters—just as muddy mounds emerge from the Nile after the annual flood recedes. On this mound, the creator god, ***Amen,*** later identified with the god of the sun (***Re***), appeared and brought light to the world. In later times, the Egyptians symbolized the original mound as a pyramidal stone called the *ben-ben.*

Amen, the supreme god, also created the first of the other gods and goddesses of Egypt. According to one version of the myth, the creator masturbated and produced ***Shu*** and ***Tefnut,*** the primary male and female forces in the universe. They coupled to give birth to ***Geb*** (Earth) and ***Nut*** (Sky), who bore Osiris, Seth, Isis, and Nephthys. The eldest, ***Osiris,*** was the god of order, whom the Egyptians revered as the king who brought civilization to the Nile valley. His brother, ***Seth,*** was his evil opposite, the god of chaos. Seth murdered Osiris and cut him into pieces, which he scattered across Egypt. ***Isis,*** the sister and consort of Osiris, with the help of ***Nephthys,*** Seth's wife, succeeded in collecting Osiris's body parts, and with her powerful magic brought him back to life. The resurrected Osiris fathered a son with Isis—***Horus,*** who avenged his father's death and displaced Seth as king of Egypt. Osiris then became the lord of the Underworld. The Egyptians identified all their living kings with Horus, then with Osiris after they died. Horus appears in art either as a falcon, considered the noblest bird of the sky, or as a falcon-headed man. (However, the Egyptians did not believe that their gods had composite human-animal forms. The animal-headed images in FIG. 3-1 and elsewhere in Egyptian art are merely pictorial conventions descriptive of the various gods' characteristics.)

Other Egyptian deities include ***Mut,*** the consort of the sun god Amen, and ***Khonsu,*** the moon god, who was their son. ***Thoth,*** another lunar deity and the god of knowledge and writing, appears in art as an ibis, a baboon, or an ibis-headed man crowned with the crescent moon and the moon disk. When Seth tore out Horus's falcon eye (*wedjat*), Thoth restored it. The Egyptians associated Thoth too with rebirth and the afterlife. ***Hathor,*** daughter of Re, was a divine mother of the Egyptian king, nourishing him with her milk. Egyptian artists represented her (and her predecessor goddess, ***Bat***) as a cow-headed woman or as a woman with a cow's horns. ***Anubis,*** a jackal or jackal-headed deity, was the god of the dead and of embalming. ***Maat,*** another daughter of Re, was the goddess of truth and justice. Her feather measured the weight of the deceased's heart on Anubis's scales to determine whether the individual would be blessed in the afterlife.

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with a woman's face, whom scholars have traditionally identified as the goddess Hathor, the divine mother of all Egyptian kings, but who is probably Hathor's predecessor, the sky goddess Bat. Between the heads is a hieroglyph giving Narmer's name (catfish = *nar*; chisel = *mer*) within a frame representing the royal palace.

On the back (FIG. 3-2) of the palette, the king, wearing the high, white conical crown of Upper Egypt and attended by his official foot washer, who carries his sandals, is shown slaying a captured enemy. The slaying motif closely resembles the group at the lower left of the Hierakonpolis mural (FIG. 3-1A) and became the standard pictorial formula signifying the inevitable triumph of the Egyptian god-kings over their foes (compare FIG. 3-38). Above and to the right, the king appears again in his role as the "Living Horus"—here as a falcon with one human arm. The falcon-king takes captive a man-headed hieroglyph with papyrus plants growing from it, which stands for the king's victory over the land of Lower Egypt. Below the king are two fallen enemies.

On the front (FIG. 3-3), the elongated necks of two felines form the circular depression that would have held eye makeup in an ordinary palette not made for display. The intertwined necks of the animals (a motif common in Mesopotamian art) may be a symbolic reference to Egypt's unification. In the uppermost register, Narmer, now wearing Lower Egypt's red crown topped by its distinctive wiry projection, reviews the beheaded bodies of the enemy. The dead are seen from above, a viewpoint reminiscent of the Paleolithic paintings (FIG. 1-8) on the ceiling of the Altamira cave in Spain representing bison lying on the ground. The Egyptian artist depicted each body with its severed head neatly placed between its legs. By virtue of his superior rank, the king, on both sides of the palette, performs his ritual task alone and towers over his men and the enemy. In the lowest band, a great bull, symbolizing the king's superhuman strength, knocks down the fortress walls of a rebellious city (also seen in an "aerial view").

As in Mesopotamian art (compare, for example, FIGS. 2-7 and 2-8), the Egyptian artist's portrayal of Narmer combines profile views of his head, legs, and arms with frontal views of his eye and torso. Although the proportions of the human figure would vary over the centuries, this composite representation of the body's parts became standard in Egyptian art as well. In the Hierakonpolis painting (FIG. 3-1A), the artist scattered the figures across the wall more or less haphazardly. On Narmer's palette, the sculptor subdivided the surface into registers and inserted the pictorial elements into their organized setting in a neat and orderly way. The horizontal lines separating the narratives also define the ground supporting the figures. This was the preferred mode for narrative art in Mesopotamia as well. Narmer's palette and other Predynastic works established this compositional scheme as the norm in Egypt for millennia. Egyptian artists who departed from this convention did so deliberately, usually to express the absence of order, as in a chaotic battle scene (for example, FIG. 3-35).

Architecture

Narmer's palette is a commemorative artwork. Far more typical of Egyptian art is the Predynastic mural (FIG. 3-1A) from tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis. In fact, the contents of Egyptian tombs provide the principal, if not the exclusive, evidence for reconstructing Egyptian culture. The majority of monuments that the Egyptians left behind were dedicated to ensuring safety and happiness in the next life (see "Mummification and Immortality," page 61).

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Mummification and Immortality

The Egyptians did not make the sharp distinction between body and soul that is basic to many religions. Rather, they believed that from birth a person possessed a kind of other self—the ka—which, on the death of the body, could inhabit the corpse and live on. For the ka to live securely, however, the body had to remain as nearly intact as possible. To ensure that it did, the Egyptians developed the technique of embalming (*mummification*) to a high art. Although they believed that the god Anubis invented embalming to preserve the body of the murdered Osiris (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Egypt," page 60, and FIG. 7-60A), Egyptians did not practice mummification systematically until the Fourth Dynasty, when they also buried their dead in underground chambers beneath large brick or stone tombs (FIG. 3-4).

The details of the 70-day mummification process developed and changed over time, but the essential elements remained constant. The first step was the surgical removal of the lungs, liver, stomach, and intestines through an incision in the left flank. The Egyptians thought that these organs were most subject to decay, and wrapped them individually and placed them in four containers known as *canopic jars* for eventual deposit in the burial chamber with the corpse. (The jars take their name from the port of Canopus, where the Greeks believed that the Egyptians worshiped human-headed jars as personifications of Osiris. Those jars were not, however, used in embalming.) Egyptian surgeons extracted the brain through the nostrils and then discarded it because they did not attach any special significance to that organ. But they left in place the heart, necessary for life and also regarded as the seat of intelligence. (In FIG. 3-1, Hunefer's heart is weighed against Maat's feather to determine whether he is worthy of eternal life.)

Next, the body was treated for 40 days with natron, a naturally occurring salt compound that dehydrated the body. Then the embalmers filled the corpse with resin-soaked linens, and closed and covered the incision with a representation of the wedjat eye of Horus, a powerful *amulet* (a device to ward off evil and promote rebirth). Finally, they treated the body with lotions and resins and wrapped it tightly with hundreds of yards of linen bandages to maintain its shape. The Egyptians often placed other amulets within the bandages or on the corpse. The most important were heart *scarabs* (gems in the shape of beetles), which bore spells to ensure that the heart would not tip the scales against the deceased at judgment time (FIG. 3-1). Masks (FIG. 3-34) usually covered the faces of the deceased.

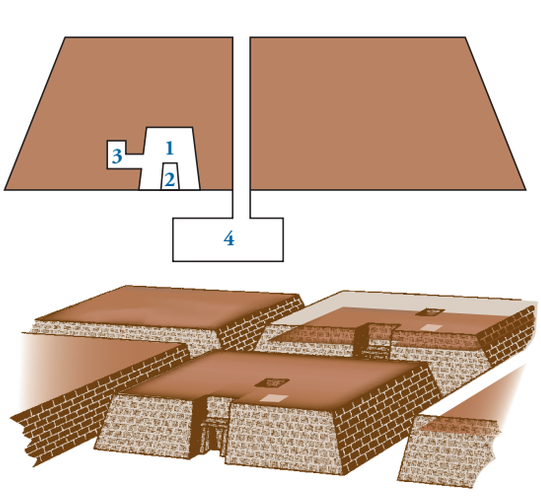
The Egyptian practice of mummification endured for thousands of years, even under Greek and Roman rule. Roman *mummies* with painted portraits (FIGS. 7-60A, 7-61, and 7-61A) have been popular attractions in museums worldwide for a long time, but the discovery in 1996 of a cemetery at Bahariya Oasis in the desert southwest of Cairo greatly expanded their number. The site, which archaeologists call the Valley of the Golden Mummies, extends for at least four square miles. The largest tomb found to date contained 32 mummies, but another held 43, some stacked on top of others because the tomb was used for generations and space ran out.

Preserving the deceased's body by mummification was only the first requirement for immortality in ancient Egypt. Food and drink also had to be provided, as did clothing, utensils, and furniture. Nothing that had been enjoyed on Earth was to be lacking. The Egyptians also placed statuettes called *ushabtis* (Arabic, "answerers") in the tomb. These figurines performed any labor required of the deceased in the afterlife, answering whenever his or her name was called.

Beginning in the third millennium BCE, the Egyptians also set up statues of the dead (for example, FIGS. 3-13A, 3-14, 3-14A, and 3-14B) in their tombs. The statues were meant to guarantee the permanence of the person's identity by providing substitute dwelling places for the ka in case the mummy disintegrated. Wall paintings and reliefs (for example, FIGS. 3-15, 3-16, 3-28, and 3-28A) recorded the recurring round of human activities. The Egyptians hoped and expected that the images and inventory of life, collected and set up within the protective stone walls of the tomb, would ensure immortality.

Mastabas. The standard tomb type in early Egypt was the *mastaba* (Arabic, "bench"), a rectangular brick or stone structure with sloping sides erected over an underground burial chamber (FIG. 3-4). The form probably developed from earthen mounds that had covered even earlier burials. Although mastabas originally housed single burials, as in FIG. 3-4, they later became increasingly complex in order to accommodate members of several families. The main feature of these tombs, other than the burial chamber itself, was the chapel, which had a false door through which the ka could join the world of the living and partake in the meals placed on an offering table. Some mastabas also had a *serdab,* a small room housing a statue of the deceased.

Imhotep and Djoser. One of the most renowned figures in Egyptian history was IMHOTEP, master builder for King Djoser (r. 2630–2611 BCE) of the Third Dynasty. Imhotep's is the first recorded name of an artist anywhere in the world. A man of legendary talent, Imhotep also served as Djoser's official seal bearer and as high priest of the sun god Re. After his death, the Egyptians deified Imhotep as the son of the god Ptah and in time probably inflated



3-4 Section (*top*) and restored view (*bottom*) of typical Egyptian mastaba tombs.

Egyptian mastabas had underground chambers, which housed the mummified body, portrait statues, and offerings to the deceased. Scenes of daily life often decorated the interior walls.

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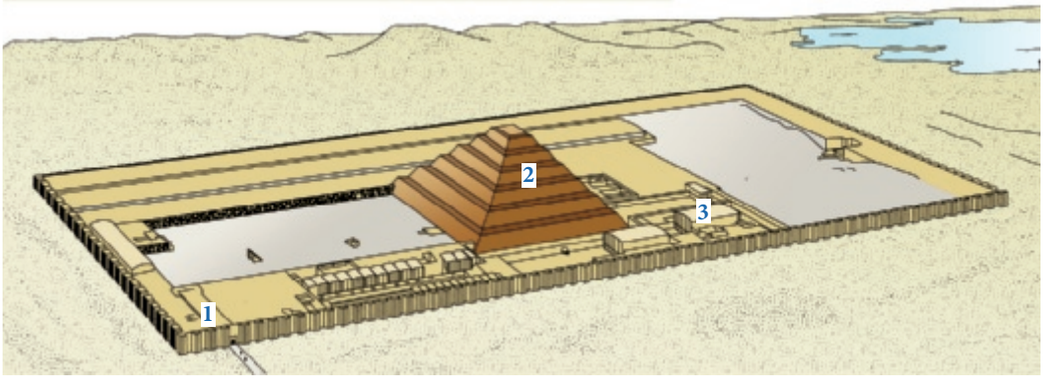
3-5 Imhotep, stepped pyramid (looking northwest) of Djoser, Saqqara, Egypt, Third Dynasty, ca. 2630–2611 BCE.

Imhotep, the first artist whose name is recorded, built the first stone pyramid during the Third Dynasty for King Djoser. The god-king's pyramid resembles a series of stacked mastabas of diminishing size.



3-6 Restored view of the mortuary precinct of Djoser, Saqqara, Egypt, Third Dynasty, ca. 2630–2611 BCE. (1) entrance hall, (2) stepped pyramid, (3) north palace.

Djoser's pyramid was the centerpiece of an immense funerary complex that included buildings connected with his funerary cult. Underground galleries resembling a palace were the king's home in the afterlife.

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the list of his achievements. Nonetheless, architectural historians accept Manetho's attribution to Imhotep of the stepped pyramid (FIG. 3-5) of Djoser at Saqqara. Saqqara was the ancient *necropolis* (Greek, "city of the dead") of Memphis, Egypt's capital at the time. Built before 2600 BCE, Djoser's pyramid is one of the oldest stone structures in Egypt and the first stone pyramid. Begun as a large mastaba with each of its faces oriented toward one of the cardinal points of the compass, the tomb was enlarged at least twice before assuming its ultimate shape. About 200 feet high in its final form, Djoser's stepped pyramid is the first truly grandiose Egyptian tomb. Composed of a series of mastabas of diminishing size, stacked one atop another, it resembles a Mesopotamian ziggurat (FIG. 2-15). Unlike a ziggurat, however, Djoser's pyramid is a tomb, not a temple platform, and its dual function was to protect the mummified king and his possessions and to symbolize, by its gigantic presence, his absolute and godlike power. Beneath Djoser's pyramid was a network of several hundred underground rooms and galleries cut out of the Saqqara bedrock. The vast subterranean complex resembles a palace. It was to be the king's home in the afterlife.

3-6A Entrance hall, Djoser precinct, Saqqara, ca. 2630–2611 BCE.

Djoser's pyramid stands near the center of an immense (37-acre) rectangular enclosure (FIG. 3-6) surrounded by a wall of white limestone 34 feet high and 5,400 feet long. The huge precinct, with its protective walls and tightly regulated access (FIGS. 3-6, no. 1, and 3-6A), stands in sharp contrast to the roughly contemporaneous Sumerian Royal Cemetery at Ur, where no barriers kept people away from the burial area. Nor did the Mesopotamian cemetery have a temple for the worship of the deified dead. At Saqqara, a funerary temple stands against the northern face of Djoser's pyramid (FIG. 3-6, no. 2) so that after his death, the divine king could join with the northern star. Priests performed daily rituals at the temple in celebration of the immortal ruler.

Djoser's funerary temple was but one of many buildings arranged around several courts. Most of the others were dummy structures with stone walls enclosing fills of rubble, sand, or gravel. The buildings imitated in stone various types of temporary structures made of plant stems and mats erected in Upper and Lower Egypt to celebrate the Jubilee Festival, which perpetually reaffirmed the royal existence in the hereafter. The translation into stone of structural forms previously made out of plants may be seen in the columns (FIG. 3-7) of the north palace (FIG. 3-6, no. 3) of Djoser's funerary precinct. The columns end in *capitals* that take the form of the papyrus blossoms of Lower Egypt. The column shafts resemble papyrus stalks. Djoser's columns are not freestanding, as are most later columns. They are *engaged columns* (that is, attached to walls), but are nonetheless the earliest known stone columns in the history of architecture.

OLD KINGDOM

The Old Kingdom is the first of the three great periods of Egyptian history, called the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms, respectively. Many Egyptologists now begin the Old Kingdom with Sneferu (r. 2575–2551 BCE), the first king of the Fourth Dynasty, although

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3-7 Detail of the facade of the north palace (FIG. 3-6, no. 3) of the mortuary precinct of Djoser, Saqqara, Egypt, Third Dynasty, ca. 2630–2611 BCE.

The earliest known stone columns are in Djoser's funerary precinct. Those on the north palace facade are engaged (attached) to the walls and have shafts and capitals resembling papyrus plants.

the traditional division of kingdoms places Djoser and the Third Dynasty in the Old Kingdom. It ended with the breakup of the Eighth Dynasty around 2134 BCE.

Architecture

The divine rulers of the Old Kingdom amassed great wealth and expended it on grandiose architectural projects, of which the most spectacular were the Fourth Dynasty pyramids of Gizeh, the oldest of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world (see "Babylon, City of Wonders," page 50). The prerequisites for membership in the elite club of Wonders were colossal size and enormous cost.

Gizeh. The Egyptians constructed the three major pyramids (FIG. 3-8) at Gizeh over the course of about 75 years (see "Building the Pyramids of Gizeh," page 64) to serve as the tombs of the Fourth Dynasty kings Khufu (r. 2551–2528 BCE; FIG. 3-9), Khafre (r. 2520–2494 BCE), and Menkaure (r. 2490–2472 BCE). They represent the culmination of an architectural evolution that began with the mastaba (FIG. 3-4), but the classic pyramid form is not simply a refinement of the stepped pyramid (FIG. 3-5). The new tomb shape probably reflects the influence of Heliopolis, the seat of the powerful cult of Re, whose emblem was a pyramidal stone, the ben-ben (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Egypt," page 60). The pyramids are symbols of the sun. The Pyramid Texts, inscribed on the burial chamber walls of royal pyramids beginning with the Fifth Dynasty pyramid of Unas (r. 2356–2323 BCE), refer to the sun's rays as the ladder that the god-king uses to ascend to the heavens.

> Ho, Unas! You have not gone away dead: You have gone away alive.[2]
>
> So, you shall go forth, Unas, to the sky and step up on it in this its identity of the ladder.[3]
>
> [Unas] has flown . . . to the sky amidst his brothers the gods. . . . Unas's seat is with you, Sun.[4]

The pyramids were where Egyptian kings were reborn in the afterlife, just as the sun is reborn each day at dawn.

3-8 Aerial view of the Fourth Dynasty pyramids (looking north), Gizeh, Egypt. *From bottom:* pyramid of Menkaure, ca. 2490–2472 BCE; pyramid of Khafre, ca. 2520–2494 BCE; and Great Pyramid of Khufu, ca. 2551–2528 BCE.

The three pyramids of Gizeh took the shape of the ben-ben, the emblem of the sun god Re. The sun's rays were the ramp that the Egyptian kings used to ascend to the heavens after their death and rebirth.

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Building the Pyramids of Gizeh

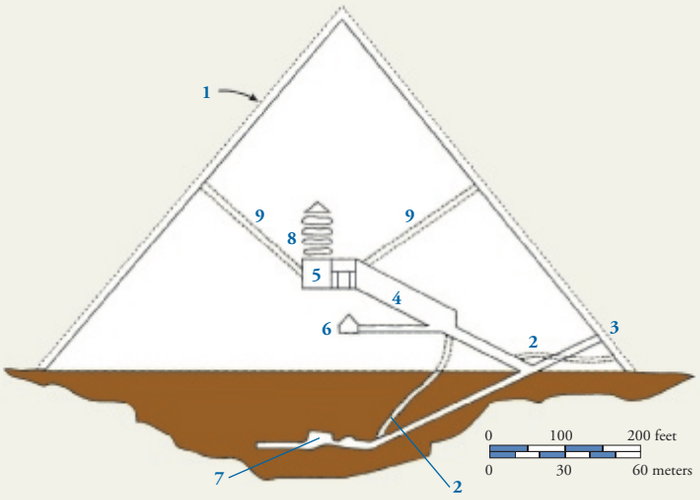
The Fourth Dynasty pyramids (FIG. 3-8) across the Nile from modern Cairo are on every list of Wonders of the ancient world. How did the Egyptians solve the myriad problems they encountered in constructing these colossal tombs?

As with all building projects of this type, the erection of the Gizeh pyramids was a complex process that began with surveying and leveling the construction site. Next, skilled masons had to quarry the millions of stone blocks needed—in this case, primarily from the Gizeh limestone plateau itself. Teams of workers had to cut into the rock and remove large blocks of roughly equal size using stone or copper chisels and wood mallets and wedges. Often, the artisans had to cut deep tunnels to find high-quality stone free of cracks and other flaws. To remove a block, the stonemasons cut channels by pounding diorite balls against the rock on the sides and partly underneath. Then they pried the stones free from the bedrock with wood levers. New tools for this difficult work had to be manufactured constantly because the chisels and mallets broke or became dull very quickly.

After workers liberated the stones, the rough blocks had to be transported to the building site. There, the Egyptian stonemasons shaped the blocks to the exact dimensions required, with smooth faces (*dressed masonry*) for a perfect fit. Small blocks could be carried on a man's shoulders or on the back of a donkey, but the Egyptians moved the massive blocks for the pyramids using wood sleds. The artisans dressed the blocks by chiseling and pounding the surfaces and, in the last stage, by rubbing and grinding the surfaces with fine polishing stones. Architectural historians call this kind of construction *ashlar masonry*—carefully cut and regularly shaped blocks of stone piled in successive horizontal rows, or *courses.*

To set the ashlar blocks in place, workers under the direction of master builders such as Hemiunu (FIG. 3-14B), who supervised the construction of Khufu's pyramid (FIG. **3-9**), erected rubble ramps against the core of the pyramid. They adjusted the ramps' size and slope as work progressed and the tomb grew in height. Scholars debate whether the Egyptians used simple linear ramps inclined at a right angle to one face of the pyramid, or zigzag or spiral ramps akin to staircases. Linear ramps would have had the advantage of simplicity and would have left three sides of the pyramid unobstructed. But zigzag ramps placed against one side of the structure or spiral ramps winding around the pyramid would have greatly reduced the slope of the incline and would have made dragging the blocks easier. Some scholars also have suggested a combination of straight and spiral ramps, and one recent theory posits a system of spiral ramps within, instead of outside, the pyramid.

The Egyptians used ropes and levers both to lift and to lower the stones, guiding each block into its designated place. Finally, the pyramid received a casing of white limestone blocks (FIG. 3-9, no. 1), cut so precisely that the eye could scarcely detect the joints. The reflection of sunlight on the facing would have been dazzling, underscoring the pyramid's solar symbolism. Some casing stones are still in place at the peak of the pyramid of Khafre (FIG. 3-11).



1. Silhouette with original facing stone
2. Thieves' tunnels
3. Entrance
4. Grand gallery
5. King's chamber
6. So-called Queen's chamber
7. False tomb chamber
8. Relieving blocks
9. Air shafts(?)

3-9 Section of the Great Pyramid of Khufu, Gizeh, Egypt, Fourth Dynasty, ca. 2551–2528 BCE.

Khufu's pyramid is the largest at Gizeh. Constructed of roughly 2.3 million blocks of stone weighing an average of 2.5 tons, the structure is an almost solid mass of stone quarried from the Gizeh plateau itself.

Of the three Fourth Dynasty pyramids at Gizeh, the tomb of Khufu (FIGS. 3-9 and 3-10, no. 7), known as the Great Pyramid, is the oldest and largest. Except for the galleries and burial chamber, it is an almost solid mass of limestone masonry. At the base, the length of one side of Khufu's tomb is approximately 775 feet, and its area is some 13 acres. Its present height is about 450 feet (originally 480 feet). Roughly 2.3 million blocks of stone, each weighing an average of 2.5 tons, make up the fabric of the aptly named Great Pyramid. Some of the stones at the base weigh about 15 tons.

The three immense Gizeh pyramids attest to the extraordinary engineering and mathematical expertise of the Egyptians of the mid-third millennium BCE as well as to the Old Kingdom builders' mastery of masonry construction and ability to mobilize, direct, house, and feed a huge workforce engaged in one of the most labor-intensive enterprises ever undertaken.

Imhotep may have conceived Djoser's stepped pyramid as a giant stairway. As with the Saqqara pyramid, the four sides of each of the Gizeh pyramids are oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. But the funerary temples associated with the three Gizeh pyramids are not on the north side, facing the stars of the northern sky, as was Djoser's temple. The Gizeh temples are on the east side, facing the rising sun and underscoring their connection with Re.

From the remains surrounding the pyramid of Khafre at Gizeh, archaeologists have been able to reconstruct an entire funerary complex (FIG. **3-10**). The complex included the pyramid itself, with the god-king's burial chamber; the *mortuary temple* adjoining the pyramid on the east side, where priests made offerings to the deceased and stored cloth, food, and ceremonial vessels; the roofed *causeway* (raised road) leading to the mortuary temple; and the *valley temple*

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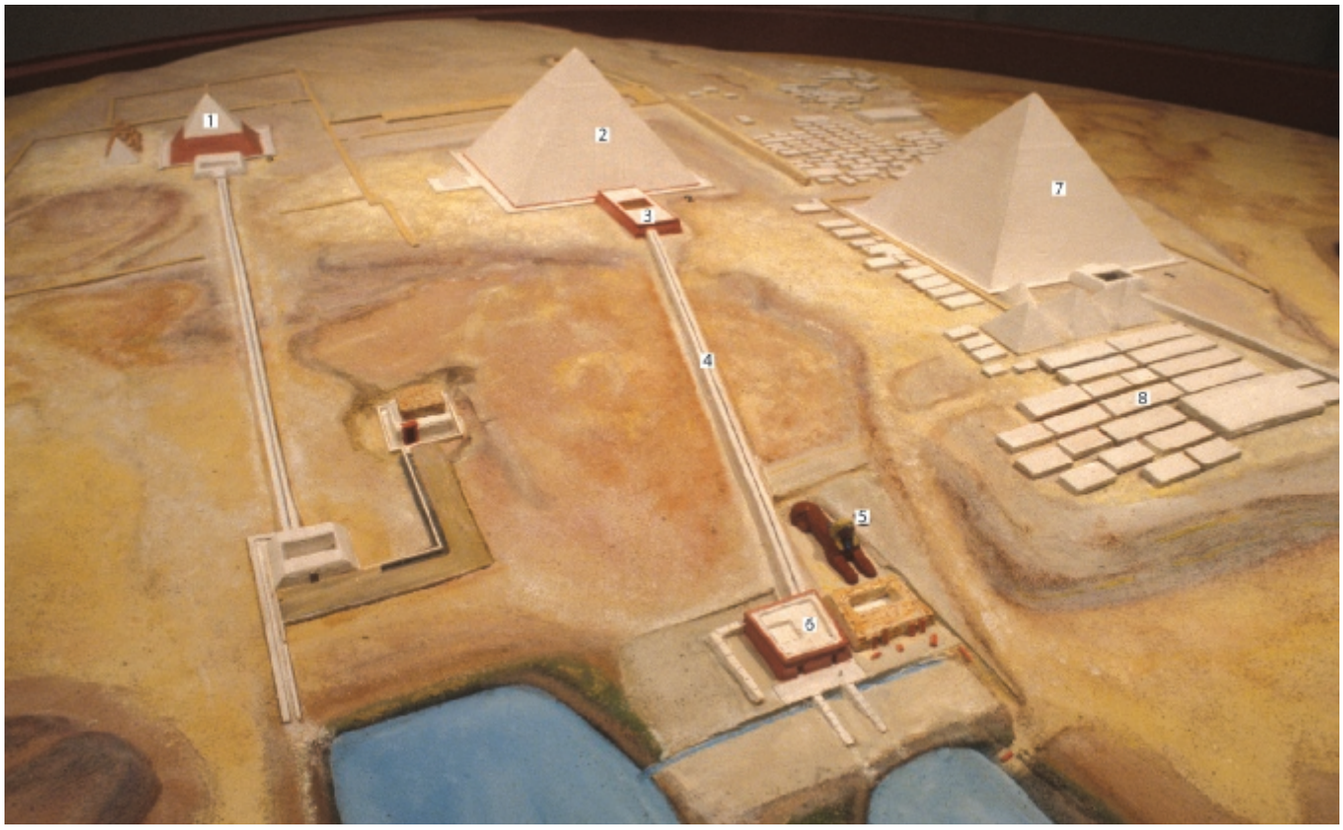

3-10 Model of the pyramid complex, Gizeh, Egypt. Harvard University Semitic Museum, Cambridge. (1) pyramid of Menkaure, (2) pyramid of Khafre, (3) mortuary temple of Khafre, (4) causeway, (5) Great Sphinx, (6) valley temple of Khafre, (7) Great Pyramid of Khufu, (8) pyramids of the royal family and mastabas of nobles.

Like Djoser's pyramid (FIG. 3-6), the Gizeh pyramids were not isolated tombs but parts of funerary complexes with a valley temple, a covered causeway, and a mortuary temple adjoining the tomb.

at the edge of the floodplain. Many Egyptologists believe that the complex served not only as the king's tomb and temple but also as his palace in the afterlife.

Great Sphinx. Beside the causeway and dominating the valley temple of Khafre rises the Great Sphinx (FIG. 3-11). Carved from a spur of rock in the Gizeh quarry, the colossal statue—the largest in Egypt, Mesopotamia, or Persia—is probably an image of Khafre (originally complete with the king's ceremonial beard and *nemes* headdress with *uraeus* cobra), although some scholars think that it portrays Khufu and predates the construction of Khafre's complex. Whomever it portrays, the *sphinx*—a lion with a human head—was an appropriate image for a king. The composite form suggests that the Egyptian king combined human intelligence with the fearsome strength and authority of the king of beasts.

3-11 Great Sphinx (with pyramid of Khafre in the background), Gizeh, Egypt, Fourth Dynasty, ca. 2520–2494 BCE. Sandstone, 65′ high.

Carved out of the Gizeh stone quarry, the Great Sphinx is of colossal size. The sphinx has the body of a lion and the head of a king (probably Khafre) and is associated with the sun god.

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

How to Portray a God-King

The Egyptian kings were divine beings, not mortal rulers, and the sculptors of the Old Kingdom needed to formulate a distinctive way to portray them in order to differentiate them from other men—beyond simply representing them wearing royal regalia. The solution they devised proved so satisfactory that, with the exception of some Middle and New Kingdom portraits discussed later in this chapter (FIGS. 3-17 and 3-29), the formula persisted for millennia.

In the portrait (FIG. **3-12**) from his valley temple at Gizeh, King Khafre wears a simple kilt and sits rigidly upright on a throne formed of two stylized lions' bodies. Intertwined lotus and papyrus plants—symbolic of the united Egypt—appear between the throne's legs. Khafre has the royal false beard fastened to his chin and wears the royal linen headdress. The headdress covers his forehead and falls in pleated folds over his shoulders. Behind Khafre's head is the falcon (compare FIG. 3-2) that identifies the king as the "Living Horus."

3-12 Khafre enthroned, from Gizeh, Egypt, Fourth Dynasty, ca. 2520–2494 BCE. Diorite, 5′ 6″ high. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

This portrait from his pyramid complex depicts Khafre as an enthroned divine ruler with a perfect body. The formality of the pose creates an aura of eternal stillness, appropriate for the timeless afterlife.

As befitting a divine ruler, the sculptor portrayed Khafre with a well-developed, flawless body and a perfect face, regardless of his real age and appearance. Khafre's portrait is not a true likeness and was not intended to be. The purpose of Egyptian royal portraiture was not to reproduce the distinctive shapes of bodies or to record individual features, as was the case, for example, in Republican Rome (FIG. 7-8). Old Kingdom sculptors sought to create idealized images that communicated the divine nature of Egyptian kingship. Nevertheless, each king's portraits incorporated enough distinctive facial traits to enable his ka to know where to reside.

The enthroned Khafre radiates serenity. The sculptor created this effect in part by giving the figure great compactness and solidity, with few projecting, breakable parts. The form of the statue expresses its purpose: to last for eternity. Khafre's body is one with the simple slab that forms the back of the king's throne. His arms follow the bend of his body and rest on his thighs, and his legs are close together. Part of the original stone block still connects the king's legs to his chair. Khafre's pose is frontal and, except for the hands, *bilaterally symmetrical* (the same on either side of an axis, in this case the vertical axis). The sculptor suppressed all movement and with it the notion of time, creating an aura of eternal stillness.

3-12A Sculptors at work, Thebes, ca. 1425 BCE.

Some extant reliefs and paintings (FIG. **3-12A**) show Egyptian sculptors at work and provide detailed information about the successive stages of carving a statue. To produce Khafre's statue, the artist first drew the front, back, and two profile views of the seated king on the four vertical faces of the stone block. Next, apprentices chiseled away the excess stone on each side. Finally, the master sculpted the parts of Khafre's body, the falcon, and so forth. The polished surface was achieved by *abrasion* (rubbing or grinding). This method of creating statuary accounts in large part for the blocklike look of the standard Egyptian statue, but that is not the necessary result of this carving method. Other sculptors, both ancient and modern, with different aims, have transformed stone blocks into dynamic, twisting human forms (for example, FIGS. I-16 and 5-85).

Sculpture

Old Kingdom sculptors were called upon to produce statues in significant numbers because they fulfilled an important function in Egyptian tombs as substitute abodes for the ka if the embalmed corpse deteriorated (see "Mummification and Immortality," page 61). Egyptian sculptors worked with wood, clay, and other materials, but most of the many preserved funerary statues are of stone.

Khafre. Perhaps the finest example of Old Kingdom royal portraiture (see "How to Portray a God-King," above) is the seated statue of Khafre illustrated here (FIG. 3-12), one of a series of similar statues carved for the god-king's valley temple (FIG. 3-10, no. 6) near the Great Sphinx. The stone is diorite, an exceptionally hard dark stone brought some 400 miles down the Nile from royal quarries in the south. (The Neo-Sumerian ruler Gudea [see "Gudea of Lagash," page 43, and FIG. 2-16] so admired diorite that he imported it to faraway Girsu.)

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Menkaure. The seated statue, although a popular choice for royal portraits, is one of only a small number of standard types that Old Kingdom sculptors employed to represent the human figure. Another is the image of a person or deity standing, either alone or in a group—for example, the two-figure group (FIG. 3-13) of Menkaure and a female figure, usually identified as one of his wives, probably the queen Khamerernebty, but perhaps the goddess Hathor. The statue once stood in the valley temple of Menkaure's pyramid complex at Gizeh. Here, too, the figures remain wedded in part to the stone block. In many Old Kingdom portraits, the stone backdrop is as high and wide as the figures and the back of the statue is an unarticulated slab. Those portraits could be classified as *high-relief* sculptures rather than freestanding statues.

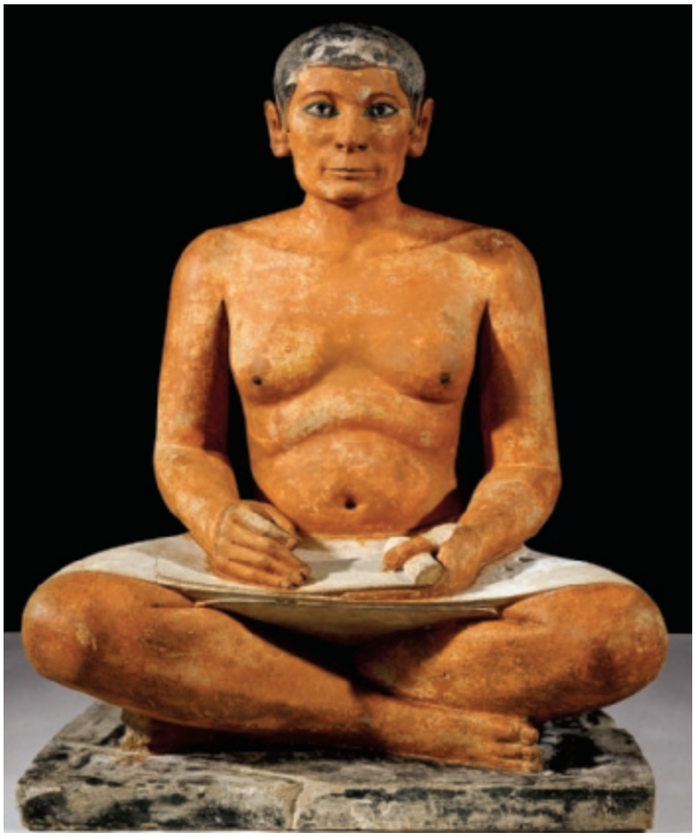
Menkaure's pose—duplicated in countless other Egyptian statues—is rigidly frontal with the arms hanging straight down and close to his well-built body. He clenches his hands into fists with the thumbs forward and advances his left leg slightly. But no shift occurs in the angle of the hips to correspond to the uneven distribution of weight. Khamerernebty(?) stands in a similar position. Her right arm, however, circles the king's waist, and her left hand gently rests on his left arm. This frozen stereotypical gesture indicates their marital status or, if king and goddess, their shared divinity. The two figures show no other sign of affection or emotion and look not at each other but out into space. As in the seated statue of Khafre (FIG. 3-12), the artist's aim was not to portray vibrant living figures but to suggest the timeless nature of the stone statue that might need to serve as an eternal substitute home for the ka.

Seated Scribe. Traces of paint remain on the portrait of Menkaure. Egyptian artists painted most of their statues, although sometimes sculptors left the natural color of the stone exposed, enhancing the sense of abstraction and timelessness. Striking examples of painted sculpture are the seated statues of Rahotep and Nofret (FIG. 3-13A) and the statue found at Saqqara portraying a Fourth Dynasty scribe (FIG. 3-14). Despite the stiff upright postures of all these statues and the frontality of head and body, the coloration lends a lifelike quality to the stone images.

3-13A Rahotep and Nofret, Maidum, ca. 2575–2550 BCE.

3-13 Menkaure and Khamerernebty(?), from Gizeh, Egypt, Fourth Dynasty, ca. 2490–2472 BCE. Graywacke, 4′ 6½″ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The statue of Menkaure and his wife (or Hathor?) displays the conventional postures used for Old Kingdom royal statues. The formalized embrace denotes the close association of the two figures.



3-14 Seated scribe, from Saqqara, Egypt, Fourth Dynasty, ca. 2500 BCE. Painted limestone, 1′ 9″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The idealism that characterizes the portraiture of the Egyptian god-kings did not extend to the depiction of non-elite individuals. The sculptor portrayed this seated scribe with clear signs of aging.

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The head of the Saqqara scribe displays an extraordinary sensitivity. With a penetration and sympathy seldom achieved at this early date, the sculptor conveyed the personality of a sharply intelligent and alert individual. The scribe sits directly on the ground, not on a throne or even on a chair. Although he occupied a position of honor in a largely illiterate society and performed a variety of official duties, the scribe was not as exalted a figure in the Egyptian hierarchy as the king, whose divinity made him superhuman. Consequently, his portrait is not idealized. Quite the contrary. For example, the sculptor reproduced the scribe's sagging chest muscles and protruding belly. These signs of age would have been disrespectful and wholly inappropriate in a depiction of an Egyptian god-king or members of his family (see "How to Portray a God-King," page 66). But the statue of the scribe is not a true portrait either. Rather, it is a composite of conventional types. Obesity, for example, characterizes many nonroyal Old Kingdom male portraits (for example, FIGS. 3-14A and especially 3-14B), perhaps because it attested to the comfortable life of the person represented and his relatively high position in society.

3-14A Kaaper, Saqqara, ca. 2450–2350 BCE.

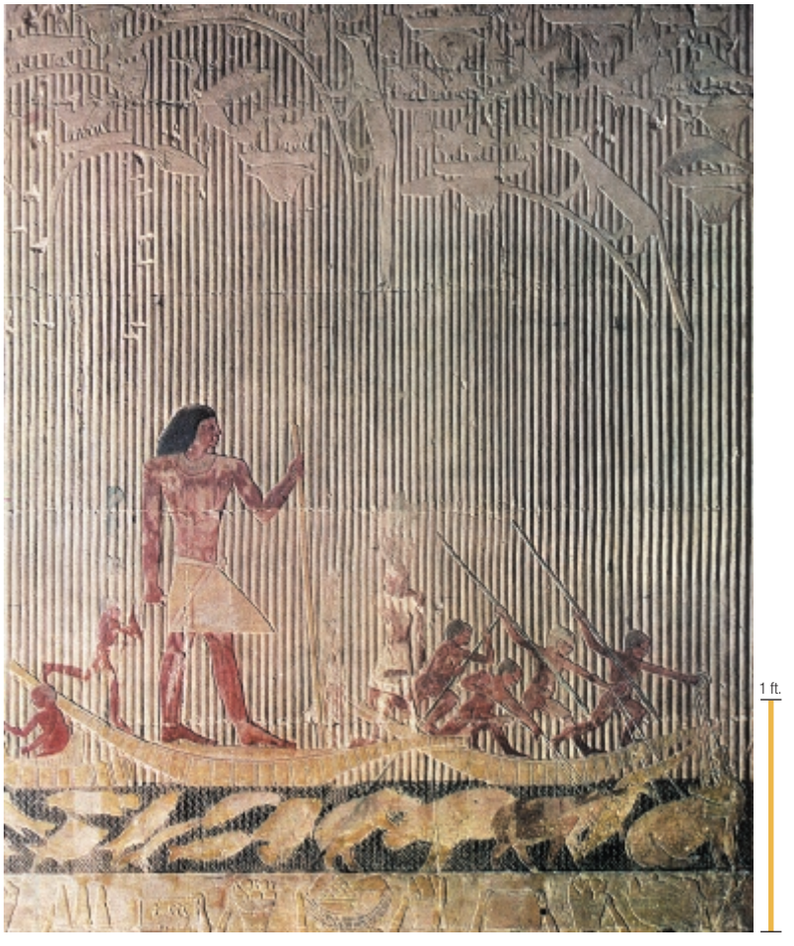
3-14B Hemiunu, Gizeh, ca. 2550–2530 BCE.

Tomb of Ti. In Old Kingdom tombs, images of the deceased also frequently appear in relief sculpture and in mural painting, sometimes singly (FIG. I-15), sometimes in a narrative context. The painted limestone relief scenes decorating the walls of the mastaba of a Fifth Dynasty official named Ti typify the subjects that Old Kingdom patrons favored for the adornment of their final resting places. Depictions of the deceased at his funerary meal and scenes of agriculture and hunting fill Ti's tomb. The Egyptians associated farming and hunting as well as dining with providing nourishment for the ka in the hereafter, but the subjects also had powerful symbolic overtones. In ancient Egypt, success in the hunt, for example, was a metaphor for triumph over the forces of evil.

On one wall (FIG. 3-15) of his tomb, Ti, his men, and his boats move slowly through the marshes, hunting hippopotami and birds in a dense growth of towering papyrus. The sculptor delineated the reedy stems of the plants with repeated fine grooves that fan out gracefully at the top into a commotion of frightened birds and stalking foxes. The water beneath the boats, signified by a pattern of wavy lines, is crowded with hippopotami and fish. Ti's men seem frantically busy with their spears, whereas Ti, depicted twice their size, stands aloof. The basic conventions of Egyptian figure representation—used a half millennium earlier for the palette of King Narmer (FIG. 3-2)—appear again here. As in the Predynastic work, the artist exaggerated the size of Ti to announce his rank, and combined frontal and profile views of Ti's body to show its most characteristic parts clearly. This approach to representation was well suited for Egyptian funerary art because it emphasizes the essential nature of the deceased, not his accidental appearance. Ti's conventional pose contrasts with the realistically rendered activities of his tiny servants and with the naturalistically carved and painted birds and animals among the papyrus buds. Ti's immobility suggests that he is not an actor in the hunt. He does not *do* anything. He simply *is,* a figure apart from time and an impassive observer of life, like his ka.

The idealized image of Ti is typical of Egyptian relief sculpture. Egyptian artists regularly ignored the endless variations in body types of real human beings. Painters and sculptors did not sketch their subjects from life but applied a strict *canon,* or system of proportions, to the human figure. They first drew a grid on the wall. Then they placed various human body parts at specific points on the network of squares. The height of a figure, for example, was a fixed number of squares, and the head, shoulders, waist, knees, and other parts of the body also had a predetermined size and place within the scheme. This approach to design continued for more than 2,500 years. Specific proportions might vary from workshop to workshop and change over time, but the principle of the canon persisted.

On another wall (FIG. 3-16) of Ti's mastaba, goats tread in seeds in the upper register, and, below, cattle ford a canal in the Nile. Here too, the scenes should be interpreted on a symbolic as well as a literal level. The fording of the Nile, for example, was a



3-15 Ti watching a hippopotamus hunt, relief in the mastaba of Ti, Saqqara, Egypt, Fifth Dynasty, ca. 2450–2350 BCE. Painted limestone, 4′ high.

In Egypt, a successful hunt was a metaphor for the triumph over evil. In this painted tomb relief, the deceased stands aloof from the hunters busily spearing hippopotami. Ti's size reflects his high rank.

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3-16 Goats treading seed and cattle fording a canal, painted limestone reliefs in the mastaba of Ti, Saqqara, Egypt, Fifth Dynasty, ca. 2450–2350 BCE.

The fording of the Nile was a metaphor for the passage to the afterlife. These reliefs combine stereotypical poses for humans and animals with unconventional postures and anecdotal details.

metaphor for the deceased's passage from life to the hereafter. Ti is absent from the scenes, and all the men and animals participate in the narrative. Despite the sculptor's repeated use of similar poses for most of the human and animal figures, the reliefs are full of anecdotal details. Especially charming is the group at the lower right. A youth, depicted in a complex unconventional posture, carries a calf on his back. The animal, not a little afraid, turns its head back a full 180 degrees (compare FIG. 1-7) to seek reassurance from its mother, who returns the calf's gaze. Scenes such as this demonstrate that Egyptian artists could be close observers of daily life. The suppression of the anecdotal (that is, of the time-bound) from their representations of the deceased both in relief and in the round was a deliberate choice. Egyptian artists' primary purpose was not storytelling but to suggest the deceased's eternal existence in the afterlife as a reflection of his life on earth.

MIDDLE KINGDOM

About 2150 BCE, the Egyptians challenged the power of the weak kings of the Sixth Dynasty, and for more than a century the land was in a state of civil unrest and near anarchy. But in 2040 BCE, the king of Upper Egypt, Mentuhotep II (r. 2050–1998 BCE), managed to unite Egypt again under a single ruler and established the Middle Kingdom (11th to 14th Dynasties), which lasted 400 years.

Sculpture

Although in most respects Middle Kingdom sculptors adhered to the conventions established during the Old Kingdom, portraying both men and women in the familiar seated (FIG. 3-16A) and standing poses, there were some notable innovations.

3-16A Lady Sennuwy, Kerma, ca. 1960–1916 BCE.

Senusret III. One of Mentuhotep II's successors was Senusret III (r. 1878–1859 BCE), who fought four brutal military campaigns in Nubia (MAP 3-1). Although Egyptian armies devastated the land and poisoned the wells, Senusret never fully achieved secure control over the Nubians. In Egypt itself, he attempted, with greater success, to establish a more powerful central government.

Senusret's portraits are of special interest because they represent a sharp break from Old Kingdom practice. Although the king's preserved statues have idealized bodies, the sculptors brought a stunning and unprecedented realism to the rendition of the king's features. This new approach to portraying the Egyptian king is evident in the colossal head of Senusret (FIG. 3-17) in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. The king, wearing the traditional nemes headdress, appears

3-17 Head of Senusret III, 12th Dynasty, ca. 1860–1850 BCE. Red quartzite, 1′ $5\frac{3}{4}$″ high. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (William Rockhill Nelson Trust purchase).

Senusret III's portraits exhibit an unprecedented realism. The king's brooding expression reflects the mood of the time and contrasts sharply with the impassive faces of Old Kingdom pharaohs.

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as a mature man with protruding ears; round eyes with heavy lids; a lined forehead; loose, aging flesh; and a downturned mouth. His pessimistic expression reflects the dominant mood of the time, echoed in Middle Kingdom literature. The portrait is very different in kind from the typically impassive faces of the Old Kingdom, and some art historians have interpreted the signs of age and emotion as projecting weakness. However, the intended message was probably that the king is old and wise—but possessing youthful physical vigor. This combination of older head and younger body, with a similar composite message, also characterizes many portraits of the Roman Republic (FIG. 7-9).

Architecture

Senusret III's tomb, at Dashur, is a mud-brick pyramid, the preferred form for royal burials. More characteristic of Middle Kingdom funerary architecture are the rock-cut tombs of wealthy private patrons. This kind of tomb, documented also in the Old Kingdom, largely replaced the mastaba as the standard Egyptian tomb type.

Beni Hasan. Some of the best-preserved Middle Kingdom tombs are those of local officials at Beni Hasan. Hollowed out of the cliffs, the most elaborate examples, such as the 12th Dynasty tomb of

3-18 Tomb of Khnumhotep II (tomb 3), Beni Hasan, Egypt, 12th Dynasty, ca. 1900–1880 BCE.

The tombs of Beni Hasan are characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. Hollowed out of the cliffs, these nonroyal tombs often have a shallow columnar porch, which leads into a columned hall and burial chamber.

3-19 Interior hall of the rock-cut tomb of Amenemhet (tomb 2), Beni Hasan, Egypt, 12th Dynasty, ca. 1900–1880 BCE.

Stonemasons carved the columnar hall of Amenemhet's tomb out of the living rock, which explains the suspended broken column at the rear. The shafts have flutes, a form that Greek architects later emulated.

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Khnumhotep II (FIG. 3-18), have a shallow columnar porch, which leads into a columned hall and then into a burial chamber featuring rock-cut statues of the deceased in niches, and paintings and painted reliefs on the walls. In the neighboring tomb of Amenemhet (FIG. 3-19), the columns in the hall serve no supporting function because, like the porch columns, they are continuous parts of the rock fabric. (Note the broken column in the rear suspended from the ceiling like an icicle.) The column shafts have *flutes,* like those in the entrance corridor (FIG. 3-6A) of Djoser's mortuary precinct at Saqqara. The Beni Hasan columns are more refined versions of Imhotep's earlier columns, which still look like bundles of reeds. The Middle Kingdom columns closely resemble later Greek columns of the Doric order (FIG. 5-13, *left*), and there is no doubt that the Greeks knew about and emulated many aspects of Egyptian architecture. Archaeologists believe that the kind of *fluting* used for the Beni Hasan column shafts derived from the carving of softwood trunks with the rounded cutting edge of the adze.

NEW KINGDOM

The Middle Kingdom collapsed when the Hyksos descended on Egypt from the Syrian and Mesopotamian uplands. They ruled the Nile Delta and Lower Egypt during what historians call the Second Intermediate Period until, in the mid-16th century, native Egyptian kings of the 17th Dynasty rose up in revolt. Ahmose I (r. 1550–1525 BCE), final conqueror of the Hyksos and first king of the 18th Dynasty, ushered in the New Kingdom, the most glorious period in Egypt's long history, when the Egyptian kings became known as *pharaohs,* the term commonly, if incorrectly, used to refer to Egyptian rulers of all periods. During the New Kingdom, Egypt extended its borders by conquest from the Euphrates River in the northeast deep into Nubia to the south (MAP 3-1). The capital remained at Memphis, but Thebes in Upper Egypt rose to prominence in large part due to the growing importance of the god worshiped there—Amen-Re. Thebes became a great metropolis with magnificent palaces, tombs, and temples along both banks of the Nile.

Architecture

If the most impressive monuments of the Old Kingdom are its pyramids, those of the New Kingdom are its grandiose temples. Some of these temples were built to worship the state gods, but others were mortuary temples, which provided the pharaohs with a place for worshiping their patron gods during their lifetimes and then served as temples in their own honor after their death. The greatest mortuary temples arose along the Nile in the Thebes district during the 18th and 19th Dynasties.

Deir el-Bahri. The most distinctive New Kingdom royal mortuary temple (FIG. 3-20) is at Deir el-Bahri, erected by and for the female pharaoh Hatshepsut, one of the most remarkable women of the ancient world (see "Hatshepsut, the Woman Who Would Be King," page 72). Some Egyptologists attribute the temple to SENENMUT (FIG. 3-27), Hatshepsut's chancellor, described in two inscriptions as the queen's architect. His association with this project is uncertain, however. Hatshepsut's temple rises from the valley floor in three column-lined terraces connected by ramps on the central axis. It is striking how well Senenmut(?) designed the complex to complement its natural setting. The long horizontals and verticals of the *colonnades* and their rhythm of light and dark repeat the pattern of the limestone cliffs above.

As imposing as it is today, Hatshepsut's mortuary temple was once part of an even larger complex with a causeway connecting it to a now-lost valley temple. The multilevel funerary temple proper incorporated shrines to Hathor, Anubis, and the most important state god of the New Kingdom, the composite Amen-Re, as well as to Hatshepsut and her father, Thutmose I. As many as 200 statues in the round portraying the queen in various guises were on display throughout the vast complex. On the lowest terrace, to either side of the processional way, statues repeatedly represented Hatshepsut as a sphinx. On the uppermost level, the royal sculptors depicted the female pharaoh standing, seated, and as Osiris (compare FIG. 3-23A). At least eight colossal kneeling statues in red granite lined the way to the entrance of the Amen-Re sanctuary. The

3-20 Mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (looking southwest), Deir el-Bahri, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1473–1458 BCE.

Hatshepsut was the first great female monarch whose name is recorded. Her immense funerary temple incorporated shrines to Amen-Re, whom she claimed was her father, and to Hathor and Anubis.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Hatshepsut, the Woman Who Would Be King

In 1479 BCE, Thutmose II, the fourth pharaoh of the 18th Dynasty (r. 1492–1479 BCE), died. His principal wife (and half sister), Queen Hatshepsut (r. 1473–1458 BCE), had not given birth to any sons who survived, so the title of king went to Thutmose III, son of Thutmose II by another of his wives. Hatshepsut became regent for the boy-king. Within a few years, however, the queen proclaimed herself pharaoh and insisted that her father, Thutmose I, had chosen her as his successor during his lifetime. Underscoring her claim, one of the reliefs decorating Hatshepsut's enormous funerary complex (FIG. 3-20) depicts Thutmose I crowning his daughter as king in the presence of the Egyptian gods. Other reliefs (FIG. 3-22) represent her many achievements during her reign.

Hatshepsut is the first great female monarch whose name has been recorded. (In the 12th Dynasty, Sobekneferu was crowned king of Egypt, but she reigned for only a few years.) As pharaoh for two decades, Hatshepsut ruled what was then the most powerful and prosperous empire in the world.

Hatshepsut commissioned numerous building projects, and sculptors produced portraits of the female pharaoh in great numbers for display in those complexes. Unfortunately, Thutmose III (r. 1458–1425 BCE), for reasons still not fully understood, late in his reign ordered Hatshepsut's portraits destroyed. Her surviving portraits are of two types. In those carved before she consolidated power, Hatshepsut appears as a woman with delicate features, a slender frame, and breasts. In her latest portraits, such as the one illustrated here (FIG. 3-21), Hatshepsut uniformly wears the costume of the male pharaohs, with royal headdress and kilt, and in some cases even a false ceremonial beard. Inscriptions of this time refer to Hatshepsut as "*His* Majesty."

3-21 Hatshepsut with offering jars, from the upper court of her mortuary temple, Deir el-Bahri, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1473–1458 BCE. Red granite, 8′ 6″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Hatshepsut's successor destroyed many of her portraits. Conservators reassembled this one, which depicts the queen as a male pharaoh, consistent with inscriptions calling her "His Majesty."

statue reproduced here (FIG. 3-21) suffered the same fate as most of Hatshepsut's portraits during the reign of Thutmose III. Vandals smashed it and threw the pieces in a dump, but conservators skillfully reassembled the portrait. Hatshepsut holds a globular offering jar in each hand as she takes part in a ritual in honor of the gods. (A king kneels only before a god, never a mortal.) She wears the royal male nemes headdress and the pharaoh's ceremonial beard (compare FIGS. 3-12, 3-13, and 3-34). The agents of Thutmose III hacked off the uraeus cobra that once adorned the front of the headdress. The figure is also anatomically male, consistent with the queen's formal assumption of the title of king and with the many inscriptions addressing her as a man (see "Hatshepsut," above).

Complementing the array of portrait statues was an extensive series of reliefs glorifying Hatshepsut and her reign—the first great tribute to a woman's achievements in the history of art. In the middle colonnade of the second level, for example, painted limestone reliefs commemorated Hatshepsut's divine birth. Hatshepsut claimed to be the daughter of Amen-Re, who had assumed the form of the pharaoh Thutmose I in order to impregnate her mother, the king's principal wife. Other reliefs depicted the impressive engineering feat of transporting huge granite *obelisks* (tall *monolithic*—one-piece—*pillars* with pyramidal tops, symbols of the sun god Re) from the Aswan quarries to the temple of Amen-Re (FIG. 3-24) at Karnak. (Several Roman emperors later transported many of the Egyptian obelisks to Rome, where they remain prominent landmarks in the modern city; FIGS. 7-49, 24-4, and 24-7.)

The relief illustrated here (FIG. 3-22) is one of those documenting Hatshepsut's successful expedition to Punt, famed for its gold,

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1 in.

3-22 King and queen of Punt and attendants, relief from the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahri, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1473–1458 BCE. Painted limestone, 1′ 3″ high. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Painted limestone reliefs throughout Hatshepsut's mortuary temple complex celebrated her reign, her divine birth, and her successful expedition to the kingdom of Punt on the Red Sea.

myrrh, and other exotic natural resources. The reliefs record the sea journey, the precious cargo of gold and frankincense trees that the Egyptians brought back with them, as well as the people, animals, and houses that the Egyptians found in Punt. In this detail, bare-chested men carry the local goods that Hatshepsut's men will load onto their ships. Leading the procession are two figures that art historians traditionally identify as the king and queen of Punt. The Egyptian sculptor depicted the queen as an obese and misshapen woman. Scholars debate whether this is an accurate portrayal or an exaggeration designed to underscore the foreignness of the Punt queen.

Abu Simbel. The sheer size of Hatshepsut's mortuary temple never fails to impress visitors, and this is no less true of the immense rock-cut temple (FIG. 3-23) of Ramses II (r. 1290–1224 BCE) at Abu Simbel in Nubia, territory that Ahmose I acquired after his victory over the Hyksos. The temple was dedicated to the worship of the pharaoh's divine essence and the three chief gods of that era—Amen-Re, Ptah, and Re-Horakhty—and was carefully designed so that at the summer and winter solstices, the rising sun illuminates the king's image inside. The temple has a remarkable modern history. In 1968, to save the Nubian monument from submersion in the Aswan High Dam reservoir, engineers cut the temple into sections and reassembled it nearly 700 feet away, resting against a new artificial mountain they had constructed—an amazing achievement in its own right.

Ramses, Egypt's last great warrior pharaoh, ruled for two-thirds of a century, an extraordinary accomplishment even in peacetime in an era when life expectancy was far shorter than it is today. The king, proud of his many campaigns to restore the

10 ft.

3-23 Facade of the temple of Ramses II, Abu Simbel, Egypt, 19th Dynasty, ca. 1290–1224 BCE. Sandstone, colossi 65′ high.

Four rock-cut images of Ramses II dominate the facade of this New Kingdom temple at Abu Simbel in Nubia. The colossal portraits are a dozen times the height of a man, even though the pharaoh is seated.

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empire, proclaimed his greatness by placing four colossal images of himself on the temple facade. The portraits are 65 feet tall—almost a dozen times the height of an ancient Egyptian, even though the pharaoh is seated. They face toward Nubia and served to intimidate the Egyptian's southern neighbor. Spectacular as Ramses's colossi are, the rock-cut statues nonetheless lack the refinement of earlier periods, because the sculptors sacrificed detailed carving to overwhelming size. This trade-off is characteristic of colossal statuary of every period and every place (compare FIG. 16-16). The immense rock-cut interior (FIG. 3-23A) of the Abu Simbel temple also makes an indelible impression.

3-23A Interior of temple of Ramses II, Abu Simbel, ca. 1290–1224 BCE.

Ramses, like other pharaohs, had many wives, and he fathered scores of sons. The pharaoh honored the most important members of his family with grandiose monuments of their own. At Abu Simbel, for example, north of his temple, Ramses ordered the construction of a temple for his principal wife, Nefertari. Huge rock-cut statues—four standing images of the king and two of the queen—dominate the temple's facade. For his sons, Ramses constructed an enormous underground tomb complex in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, which an American team rediscovered in 1987. Robbers looted the tomb within a half century of its construction, but archaeologists have yet to find the royal burial chambers in the complex, so the tomb may yet yield important artworks.

Karnak. Distinct from the New Kingdom temples that primarily honor pharaohs and queens are the edifices built for the worship of one or more of the gods. Successive kings often added to these sanctuaries until they reached gigantic size. The temple of Amen-Re (FIG. 3-24) at Karnak, for example, begun during the Middle Kingdom, was largely the work of 18th Dynasty pharaohs, including Thutmose I and III and Hatshepsut, but Ramses II (19th Dynasty) also contributed sections, and other pharaohs added chapels to the complex at least as late as the fourth century BCE. Enclosing the 247-acre complex and shutting it off from the outside world was a perimeter wall 39 feet high and 26 feet thick. Inside, next to the temple proper, was an artificial sacred lake (FIG. 3-24, *center*)—a reference to the primeval waters before creation (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Egypt," page 60). The temple of Amen-Re rises from the earth as the original sacred mound rose from the waters at the beginning of time.

The Karnak temple and similar New Kingdom temples, such as the equally huge one at nearby Luxor (FIG. 3-24A), all had similar *axial plans*. A typical *pylon temple* (the name derives from the sanctuaries' simple and massive gateways, or *pylons,* with sloping walls forming two wings flanking a central doorway) is bilaterally symmetrical along a single axis that runs from an approaching avenue through a colonnaded court and hall and then into the sanctuary proper. Axial plans are characteristic of much of Egyptian architecture. Narrow corridors on the longitudinal axis are also the approaches to the Gizeh pyramids (FIG. 3-10) and to Hatshepsut's multilevel mortuary temple (FIG. 3-20). Marking the end of the statuary-lined approach to a New Kingdom temple was the monumental facade of the pylon (FIG. 3-24, *right*). The pylon faced the Nile, from which festival processions arrived by boat, and served as a symbolic barrier between the chaotic world and the sacred ordered precinct within. New Kingdom sculptors routinely covered pylons with reliefs glorifying their rulers (FIG. 3-38), especially in their role as defenders of order who defeat all who pose a threat to Egypt's stability. Beyond the pylon was an open court with columns on two or more sides, followed by a hall (FIG. 3-24, *center*) between the court and sanctuary, its long axis placed at a right angle to the corridor of the entire building complex. Only the pharaohs and the priests could enter the mysterious dark inner shrine

3-24A Temple of Amen-Re, Luxor, begun early 14th century BCE.

3-24 Restored view of the temple of Amen-Re (looking southeast), Karnak, Egypt, major construction 15th–13th centuries BCE (Jean Claude Golvin).

The vast Karnak temple complex contains a pylon temple with a bilaterally symmetrical axial plan and an artificial lake associated with the primeval waters of the Egyptian creation myth.

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Illuminating Buildings before Lightbulbs

Until the invention of the electric lightbulb, one of the central problems all architects had to confront was how to illuminate a roofed interior without depending solely on torches and lamps, which were fire hazards. As early as the Old Kingdom, in the valley temple of Khafre at Gizeh, Egyptian architects experimented with a way to admit natural light using a device called the *clerestory.* One of the most effective examples of clerestory lighting is in the hypostyle hall (FIGS. 3-25 and 3-26) of the New Kingdom pylon temple at Karnak (FIG. 3-24).

Filling Karnak's gigantic (58,000-square-foot) hypostyle hall are massive columns, which support a roof of stone slabs carried on lintels. The 134 sandstone columns have bud-cluster or bell-shaped capitals resembling lotus or papyrus, the plants symbolizing Upper and Lower Egypt. The 12 central columns are 75 feet high, and the capitals are 22 feet in diameter at the top, large enough to hold a hundred people. The Egyptians, who used no mortar, depended on precise cutting of the joints and the weight of the huge stone blocks to hold the columns in place. The two central rows of columns are taller than those at the sides. The purpose of raising the roof's central section was to create a clerestory, an elevated additional story with openings enabling sunlight to filter into the interior, although the Karnak hall's stone grilles (FIG. 3-26) would have blocked much of the light.

The clerestory is evidently an Egyptian innovation, and its significance cannot be overstated. Clerestories played a key role in the history of architecture until very recently.

3-25 **Model of the hypostyle hall, temple of Amen-Re, Karnak, Egypt, 19th Dynasty, ca. 1290–1224 BCE. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.**

The two central rows of columns of Karnak's hypostyle hall are taller than the rest. Raising the roof's central section created a clerestory that admitted light through windows with stone grilles.

3-26 **Columns and clerestory of the hypostyle hall of the temple of Amen-Re, Karnak, Egypt, 19th Dynasty, ca. 1290–1224 BCE.**

Columns crowd the hypostyle hall of the Amen-Re temple. The tallest are 66 feet high and have capitals that are 22 feet in diameter. The columns support a roof of stone slabs carried on lintels.

at the culmination of the sacred path. The darkness called to mind the moment of creation out of the primeval waters. A chosen few were admitted to the great columnar *hypostyle hall* (a hall with a roof resting on columns; FIGS. 3-25 and 3-26), shrouded in semidarkness but with light admitted through a *clerestory* illuminating the axial corridor (see "Illuminating Buildings before Lightbulbs," above). The majority of the people could proceed only as far as the sun-drenched open court.

Sculpture and Painting

Although the Egyptians lavishly decorated the great temple complexes of the New Kingdom with statues and painted reliefs, many of the finest examples of statuary and mural painting adorned tombs, as in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

Senenmut and Nefrura. *Block statues* were popular during the New Kingdom because their large flat surfaces were well suited for

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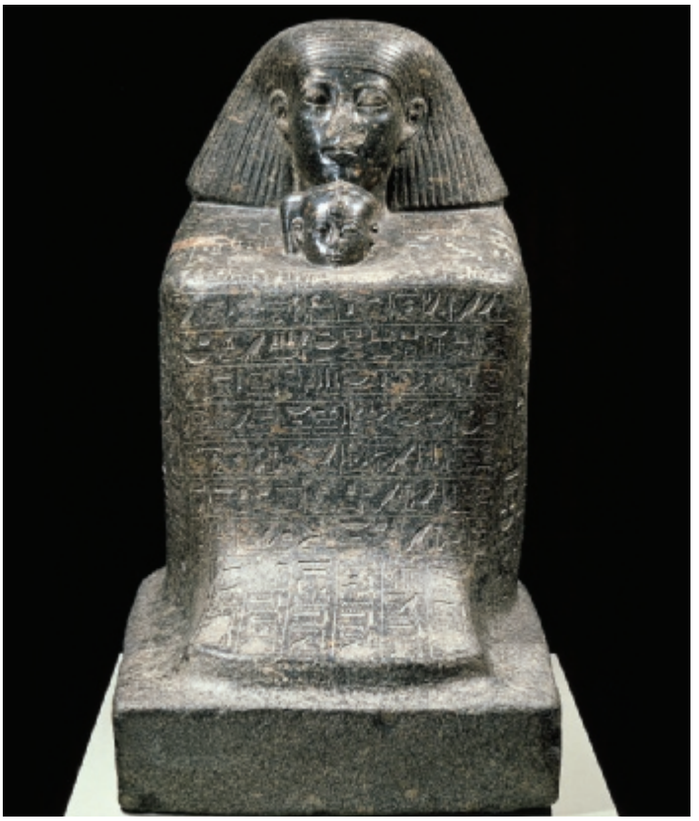

1 ft.

3-27 Senenmut with Princess Nefrura, from Thebes, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1470–1460 BCE. Granite, 3′ $\frac{1}{2}$″ high. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

Hatshepsut's chancellor holds the queen's daughter in his "lap" and envelops her in his cloak. New Kingdom block statues exhibit a radical simplification of form and are well suited for lengthy inscriptions.

lengthy inscriptions and because their simple shapes were easier to carve and less susceptible to damage. These works display an even more radical simplification of form than was common in Old Kingdom statuary, but they performed the same function—the provision of an eternal home for the deceased's ka. In the statue illustrated here (FIG. 3-27) depicting Senenmut, Hatshepsut's chancellor and possible lover, with her daughter, Nefrura, the streamlined design concentrates attention on the heads. The sculptor treated the two bodies as a single polished cubic block with smoothly rounded corners. Senenmut holds the pharaoh's daughter by Thutmose II in his "lap" and envelops the girl in his cloak. The work is one of many surviving statues depicting Senenmut with the princess, which enhanced the chancellor's stature through his association with the pharaoh's daughter (he was her tutor) and, by implication, with Hatshepsut herself.

Tomb of Nebamun. Some of the best-preserved mural paintings of the New Kingdom come from the Theban tomb of Nebamun (FIGS. 3-28 and 3-28A). The painting technique, also employed in earlier Egyptian tombs, is *fresco secco* (dry fresco), in which artists let the plaster dry before painting on it. This procedure, in contrast to true fresco painting on wet plaster (see "Fresco Painting," page 428), enabled slower and more meticulous work than painting on fresh plaster, which had to be completed before the plaster dried. As the many third- and fourth-millennium BCE Egyptian murals attest, fresco secco is a very durable medium, even though, unlike in true fresco painting, the colors do not fuse with the wall surface.

3-28A Fowling scene, tomb of Nebamun, Thebes, ca. 1400–1350 BCE.

Nebamun, whose official titles were "scribe and counter of grain," was a wealthy man who could afford to hire highly skilled painters to decorate his tomb. One of the preserved fresco fragments (FIG. 3-28) from Nebamun's tomb shows noblewomen watching and apparently participating in a musical performance in which two nimble and almost nude girls dance in front of the guests at a commemorative funerary ceremony. At these banquets, the guests consumed great quantities of wine and beer to enable them, in their drunken state, to commune with the dead. (The painter took care to include the ample supply of wine jars at the right.) Stylistically, the fresco is significant in showing that New Kingdom artists did not always adhere to the old norms for figural representation. Nebamun's painter recorded the dancers' overlapping figures, their facing in opposite directions, and their rather complicated gyrations, producing a pleasing intertwined motif at the same time. The profile view of the dancers is consistent with their lower stature in the Egyptian hierarchy. The New Kingdom

1 in.

3-28 Musicians and dancers, detail of a mural from the tomb of Nebamun, Thebes, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1400–1350 BCE. Fresco secco, 1′ × 2′ 3″. British Museum, London.

This fresco in Nebamun's tomb represents entertainers at a funerary banquet. The artist experimented with frontal views of faces and bodies—a relaxation of the Old Kingdom's strict rules of representation.

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A SECOND OPINION

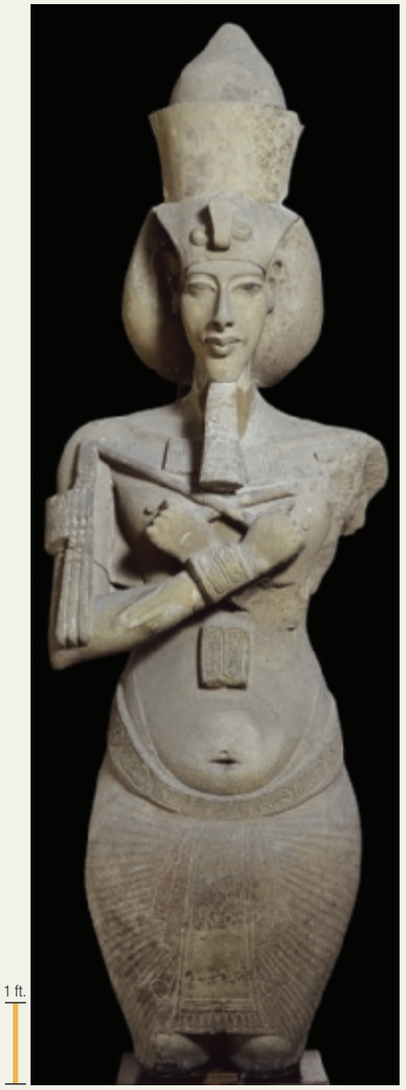
Akhenaton

When the 18th Dynasty pharaoh Akhenaton instituted his overhaul of Egyptian religion in the mid-14th century BCE, he deleted the name of Amen from all inscriptions and even from his own name and that of his father, Amenhotep III (r. 1390–1352 BCE). He emptied the traditional temples, enraged the priests, and moved his court downriver from Thebes to present-day Amarna, a site he named Akhetaton (Horizon of Aton). The pharaoh claimed to be both the son and sole prophet of Aton. To him alone did the god reveal himself. Moreover, in stark contrast to earlier practice, painters and sculptors represented Akhenaton's god neither in animal nor in human form (nor in composite human-animal form; compare FIG. 3-1) but simply as the sun disk emitting life-giving rays (FIG. 3-32).

The pharaohs who followed Akhenaton reestablished the Theban cult and priesthood of Amen at Karnak (FIG. 3-24) and elsewhere, and they restored Amen's temples and inscriptions. Akhenaton's brief religious revolution was soon undone, and his new city largely abandoned.

During the brief heretical episode of Akhenaton, profound changes also occurred in Egyptian art. A colossal statue (FIG. 3-29) of Akhenaton, one of several from Karnak toppled and buried after his death, retains the standard frontal pose of traditional Egyptian royal portraits. But the effeminate body, with its curving contours, and the long face with full lips and heavy-lidded eyes are a far cry indeed from the heroically proportioned figures of the pharaoh's predecessors (compare FIG. 3-13). Akhenaton's body is curiously misshapen, with weak arms, a narrow waist, protruding belly, wide hips, and fatty thighs.

What is the explanation for this new royal imagery? Many Egyptologists have turned to modern physicians for the answer. The doctors have tried to explain Akhenaton's physique by attributing a variety of illnesses to the pharaoh, but they have been unable to agree on a diagnosis. And their premise—that the statue is a faithful depiction of a physical deformity—is probably faulty, just as the misshapen body of the queen of Punt (FIG. 3-22) may be an artistic convention and not anatomically accurate. Some art historians have expressed a second opinion.



3-29 Akhenaton, colossal statue from the temple of Aton, Karnak, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1353–1335 BCE. Sandstone, 13′ high. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Akhenaton initiated both religious and artistic revolutions. This androgynous figure is a deliberate reaction against tradition. It may be an attempt to portray the pharaoh as Aton, the sexless sun disk.

They think that Akhenaton's portrait is a deliberate artistic reaction against the established style, paralleling the suppression of traditional religion. They argue that because Akhenaton was the child and image of Aton on earth, his artists tried to formulate a new androgynous image of the pharaoh as the manifestation of Aton, the sexless sun disk. Confirmation for this view can be found in the representation of other members of the royal family (FIG. 3-32), whose body types also break sharply with tradition.

artist reserved the composite view for Nebamun and his family. Of the four seated women, the two at the left are represented conventionally, but the other two face the observer in what is a rarely attempted frontal pose. They clap and beat time to the dance, while one of them plays the reeds. The painter took careful note of the soles of their feet as they sit cross-legged, and suggested the movement of the women's heads by the loose arrangement of their hair strands. This informality also constitutes a relaxation of the Old Kingdom's strict rules of representation.

The frescoes in Nebamun's tomb testify to the luxurious life of the Egyptian nobility, filled with good food and drink, fine musicians, lithe dancers, and leisure time to hunt and fish in the marshes (FIG. 3-28A). Still, as in the earlier tomb of Ti, the scenes should be read both literally and allegorically. Although Nebamun enjoys himself in the afterlife, the artist symbolically asked viewers to recall how he got there. Hunting scenes reminded Egyptians of Horus, the son of Osiris, hunting down his father's murderer, Seth, the god of disorder (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Egypt," page 60). Successful hunts were metaphors for triumphing over death and disorder, ensuring a happy existence in the afterlife. Music and dance were sacred to Hathor, who aided the dead in their passage to the other world. The sensual women at the banquet are a reference to fertility, rebirth, and regeneration.

Akhenaton and the Amarna Period

Not long after his family laid Nebamun to rest in his tomb at Thebes, a revolution occurred in Egyptian religion and society. In the mid-14th century BCE, Amenhotep IV, later known as Akhenaton (r. 1353–1335 BCE), abandoned the worship of most of the Egyptian gods in favor of Aton, identified with the sun disk, whom the pharaoh declared to be the universal and only god (see "Akhenaton," above).

Nefertiti and Tiye. Akhenaton's religious revolution was accompanied by a break with artistic tradition, seen both in portraiture (FIGS. 3-29, 3-30, and 3-31) and relief sculpture (FIG. 3-32). The new

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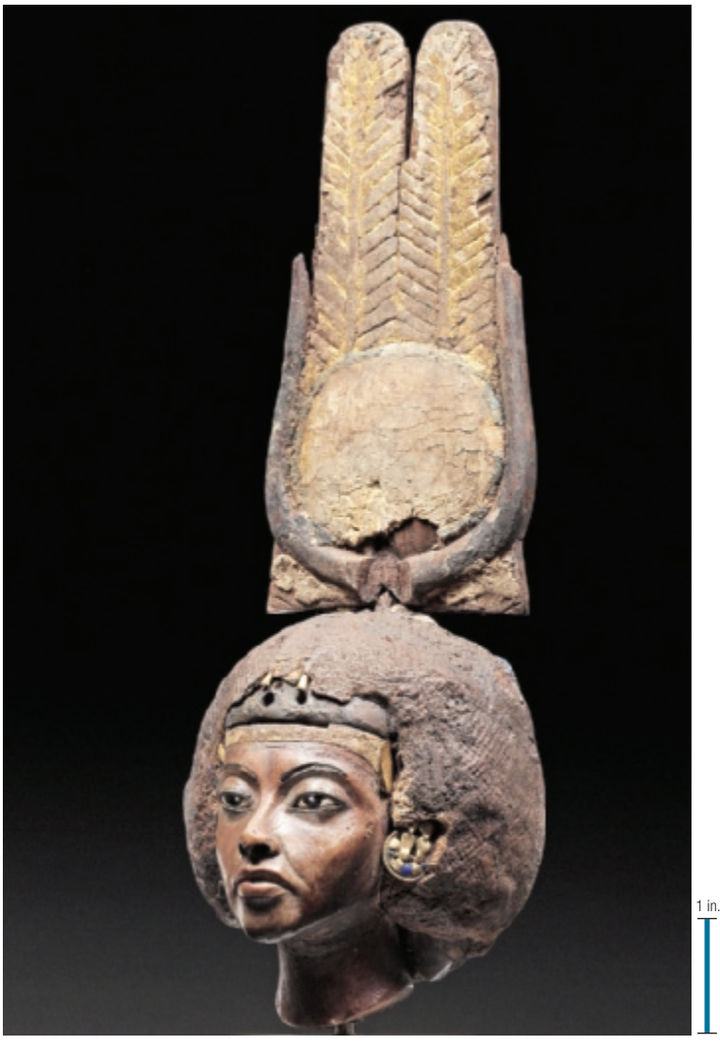
3-30 Thutmose, bust of Nefertiti, from Amarna, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1353–1335 BCE. Painted limestone, 1′ 8″ high. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

Found in the sculptor's workshop, Thutmose's bust of Nefertiti portrays Akhenaton's influential wife as an elegant beauty with a thoughtful expression and a long, delicately curved neck.



3-31 Portrait of Tiye, from Ghurab, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1353–1335 BCE. Yew wood, gold, silver, alabaster, faience, and lapis lazuli, $8\frac{7}{8}$″ high. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

This portrait of Akhenaton's mother is carved of dark yew wood, possibly to match the queen's complexion. The tall gold crown with the sun disk and cow horns was added during her son's reign.

Amarna style is on display in a painted limestone bust (FIG. 3-30) of Akhenaton's queen, Nefertiti (The Beautiful One Has Come). The portrait exhibits an expression of entranced musing and an almost mannered sensitivity and delicacy of curving contour. Excavators discovered the bust in the Amarna workshop of the sculptor THUTMOSE. It appears to be a deliberately unfinished model very likely by the master's own hand. The left eye socket still lacks the inlaid eye, making the face a kind of before-and-after demonstration piece. With this elegant bust, Thutmose may have been alluding to a heavy flower on its slender stalk by exaggerating the weight of the crowned head and the length of the almost serpentine neck. The sculptor seems to have adjusted the likeness of his subject to meet the era's standard of spiritual beauty.

By contrast, the miniature head (FIG. 3-31) of Queen Tiye, mother of Akhenaton, is a moving portrait of old age. Although not of royal birth, Tiye was the daughter of a high-ranking official and became the chief wife of Amenhotep III. Archaeologists unearthed her portrait, carved of dark yew wood (possibly to match her complexion), at Ghurab with other objects connected with the funerary cult of Amenhotep III. A sculptor probably remodeled the portrait during her son's reign to eliminate all reference to deities of the old religion. That is when the head acquired the present wig of plaster and linen with small blue beads and the tall crown consisting of cow horns, Aton's sun disk, and a pair of feathers. This type of crown is worn only by goddesses in Egyptian art, and it indicates that Tiye, like Egypt's god-kings, is divine. Nonetheless, Akhenaton's mother appears as an older woman with lines and furrows, consistent with the new relaxation of artistic rules in the Amarna age. The sculptor inlaid her heavy-lidded slanting eyes with alabaster and ebony, and painted the lips red. The earrings (one is hidden by the later wig) are of gold and lapis lazuli. The wig covers what was originally a silver-foil headdress. A gold band still adorns the forehead, and the tall crown is also made of hammered gold.

Both Nefertiti and Tiye figured prominently in the art and life of the Amarna age. Tiye, for example, regularly appeared in art beside her husband during his reign, and she apparently played an important role in his administration as well as her son's. Letters survive from foreign rulers advising the young Akhenaton to seek his mother's counsel in the conduct of international affairs. Nefertiti,

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3-32 Akhenaton and Nefertiti with three daughters, from Amarna, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1353–1335 BCE. Limestone, 1′ $\frac{1}{4}$″ high. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

In this sunken relief, the Amarna artist provided a rare intimate look at the royal family in a domestic setting. Akhenaton, Nefertiti, and three of their six daughters bask in the life-giving rays of Aton, the sun disk.

too, was an influential woman. She frequently appears in reliefs of this period in which she not only equals her husband in size but also sometimes wears pharaonic headgear.

Family of Akhenaton. A relief stele (FIG. 3-32), perhaps from a private shrine, provides a rare look at this royal family. The style is familiar from the colossus of Akhenaton (FIG. 3-29) and the portrait head of Nefertiti (FIG. 3-30). Undulating curves have replaced rigid lines, and the figures possess the prominent bellies that characterize figures of the Amarna period. The pharaoh, his wife, and three of their six daughters bask in the rays of Aton, the sun disk, which end in hands holding the *ankh,* the sign of life. The mood is informal and anecdotal. Akhenaton lifts one of his daughters in order to kiss her. Another daughter sits on Nefertiti's lap and gestures toward her father, while the youngest daughter reaches out to touch a pendant on her mother's crown. This kind of intimate portrayal of the pharaoh and his family is unprecedented in Egyptian art, but it typifies the radical upheaval in art that accompanied Akhenaton's religious revolution.

The Akhenaton family portrait is a *sunken relief.* In this technique, the sculptor chisels deep outlines below the stone's surface instead of cutting back the stone around the figures to make them project from the surface. Sunken reliefs are much less subject to damage than high reliefs and, when used on columns, such as those in Karnak's hypostyle hall (FIG. 3-26), have the additional advantage of maintaining the shafts' contours.

The Tomb of Tutankhamen and the Post-Amarna Period

The most famous figure of the Post-Amarna period is Tutankhamen (r. 1333–1323 BCE), who was probably Akhenaton's son by a minor wife. Tutankhamen ruled for a decade and died at age 18. (Although some have speculated foul play, examination of the king's mummy in 2005 ruled out murder.) Tutankhamen was a very unimportant figure in Egyptian history, however. The public remembers him today solely because in 1922, Howard Carter (1874–1939), a British archaeologist, discovered the boy-king's tomb with its fabulously rich treasure of sculpture, furniture, and jewelry largely intact.

Tutankhamen's Mummy. The principal item that Carter found in Tutankhamen's tomb was the enshrined body of the pharaoh himself. The royal mummy reposed in the innermost of three coffins, nested one within the other. The innermost coffin (FIG. 3-33) is the most luxurious of the three. Made of beaten gold (about a quarter ton of it) and inlaid with semiprecious stones such as lapis lazuli, turquoise, and carnelian, it is a supreme monument to the sculptor's and goldsmith's crafts. The portrait mask, which covered the king's face, is also made of gold with inlaid semiprecious stones.

3-33 Innermost coffin of Tutankhamen, from his tomb at Thebes, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1323 BCE. Gold with inlay of enamel and semiprecious stones, 6′ 1″ long. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

The boy-king Tutankhamen owes his fame today to his treasure-laden tomb. His mummy was encased in three nested coffins. The innermost one, made of gold, portrays the pharaoh as Osiris.

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3-34 Death mask of Tutankhamen, from the innermost coffin in his tomb at Thebes, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1323 BCE. Gold with inlay of semiprecious stones, 1′ 9 1/4″ high. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

The treasures in Tutankhamen's tomb include this mummy mask portraying the teenaged pharaoh with idealized features and wearing the traditional false beard and uraeus cobra headdress.

It is a sensitive portrayal of the serene adolescent king dressed in his official regalia, including the nemes headdress and false beard (FIG. 3-34). The general effect of the mask and the tomb treasures as a whole is one of grandeur and richness expressive of Egyptian power, pride, and limitless wealth.

Tutankhamen at War. Although Tutankhamen died young, recent research suggests that he fought in several wars. But even if he had never commanded an army, his position as king required that artists represent him as a conqueror, and he appears as a victorious general on a painted wood chest deposited in his tomb. The lid panel shows the king as a successful hunter pursuing droves of fleeing animals in the desert. On the side panels, the pharaoh, larger than all other figures, rides in a war chariot pulled by spirited, plumed horses. On the side illustrated here (FIG. 3-35), he draws his bow against a cluster of bearded Asian enemies (he battles Africans on the other side), who fall in confusion before him. (The absence of a ground line in an Egyptian painting or relief often implies chaos and death.) Tutankhamen slays the enemy, like game, in great numbers. Behind him are three tiers of smaller war

3-35 Painted chest, from the tomb of Tutankhamen, Thebes, Egypt, 18th Dynasty, ca. 1333–1323 BCE. Wood, 1′ 8″ long. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

In this representation of Tutankhamen triumphing over Asian enemies, the artist contrasted the orderly registers of Egyptian chariots with the chaotic pile of foreign soldiers who fall before the king.

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chariots, which serve to magnify the king's figure and to increase the count of his warriors. The themes are traditional, but the fluid, curvilinear forms are features reminiscent of the Amarna style.

FIRST MILLENNIUM BCE

During the first millennium BCE, Egypt lost the commanding role it had once played in the ancient world. Egypt's fertile lands and immense riches had long made it desirable territory. Foreign powers invaded and occupied the land, and the empire dwindled away until, beginning in the fourth century BCE, Alexander the Great of Macedon and his Greek successors and, eventually, the emperors of Rome replaced the pharaohs as rulers of the Kingdom of the Nile.

Kingdom of Kush

One of those foreign powers was Egypt's gold-rich neighbor to the south, the kingdom of Kush, part of which is in present-day Sudan. Called Nubia by the Romans, perhaps from the Egyptian word for "gold," Kush appears in Egyptian texts as early as the Old Kingdom. During the New Kingdom, the pharaohs colonized Nubia and appointed a viceroy of Kush to administer the Kushite kingdom, which included Abu Simbel (FIG. 3-23) and controlled the major trade route between Egypt and sub-Saharan Africa. But in the eighth century BCE, the Nubians conquered Egypt and established themselves as the 25th Dynasty.

3-36 **Taharqo as a sphinx, from temple T, Kawa, Sudan, 25th Dynasty, ca. 680 BCE. Granite, 1′ 4″ × 2′ 4¾″. British Museum, London.**

The Nubian kings who ruled Egypt during the 25th Dynasty adopted traditional Egyptian statuary types, such as the sphinx, but sculptors incorporated the Kushite pharaohs' distinctly African features.

Taharqo. Around 680 BCE, the Kushite pharaoh Taharqo (r. 690–664 BCE) constructed a temple at Kawa and placed a portrait of himself in it. Emulating traditional Egyptian types, the sculptor portrayed Taharqo as a sphinx (FIG. 3-36; compare FIG. 3-11) with the ears, mane, and body of a lion but with a human face and a headdress featuring two uraeus cobras. The king's name is inscribed on his chest, and his features are distinctly African, although, as in most pharaonic portraits, they record a physiognomic and ethnic type and should not be considered a specific likeness.

Thebes

The Kushite 25th Dynasty fell in turn to the Assyrians, who sacked Thebes in 660 BCE. At this time, a rich and powerful man named Mentuemhet was mayor of the city.

Mentuemhet. In addition to his role as chief magistrate, Mentuemhet was the Fourth Prophet (priest) of Amen, and according to the inscriptions on works that he commissioned, he was responsible for restoring the temples that the Assyrians had razed. Reflecting his wealth and position, Mentuemhet placed numerous portrait statues of himself in those temples and also in the tomb he constructed in a prominent place in the Theban necropolis. More than a dozen of Mentuemhet's portraits survive, including the somewhat under-life-size granite statue illustrated here (FIG. 3-37).

3-37 **Portrait statue of Mentuemhet, from Karnak, Egypt, 26th Dynasty, ca. 660–650 BCE. Granite, 4′ 5″ high. Egyptian Museum, Cairo.**

This late portrait of the mayor of Thebes combines a realistic face with the idealized body and conventional pose of Old Kingdom statuary, a testimony to the longevity of artistic modes in Egypt.

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3-38 Temple of Horus (looking east), Edfu, Egypt, ca. 237–47 BCE.

The pylon temple at Edfu is more than a thousand years later than that at Karnak (FIG. 3-24), but it adheres to the same basic architectural scheme. Egyptian artistic forms tended to have very long lives.

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The Theban mayor's portrait statues are typical of Egyptian sculpture at about the time the Greeks first encountered the art of the Nile region. The pose is traditional, and Mentuemhet has the trim, muscular body of a young man characteristic of Old Kingdom royal statues, but he wears a Middle Kingdom kilt and a New Kingdom wig. This eclecticism is typical of later Egyptian art. So too is the treatment of the face, which is much more realistic than most earlier representations of elite men and frankly portrays Mentuemhet's advanced age. The sculptor removed the slab of stone that forms a backdrop to most earlier royal portraits, but left the stone block intact between the arms and the torso and between the legs, an artistic decision that contributes significantly to the immobile look of the statue, so appropriate for a timeless image of the deceased in his eternal afterlife.

After Alexander

As Mentuemhet's portrait demonstrates, Egyptian artistic conventions, once formulated, tended to have very long lives. This is also true of architecture, even after Alexander the Great brought Greek rule and Greek culture to the Kingdom of the Nile.

Temple of Horus, Edfu. The temple of Horus (FIG. 3-38) at Edfu, built during the third, second, and first centuries BCE, still follows the basic pylon temple scheme that architects worked out more than a thousand years before (compare the New Kingdom temples at Karnak, FIG. 3-24, and Luxor, FIG. 3-24A).

The great entrance pylon at Edfu is especially impressive. The broad surface of its massive facade, with its characteristic sloping walls, is broken only by the doorway and its overshadowing *moldings* at the top and sides, deep channels to hold great flagstaffs, and over-lifesize sunken reliefs. The reliefs celebrate King Ptolemy XIII (r. 51–47 BCE), coruler with (and younger brother and husband of) Egypt's last queen, Cleopatra VII (r. 51–30 BCE). Cleopatra, who outlived her brother-husband by nearly two decades, was one of Egypt's most important female pharaohs and patrons of art and architecture.

On the Edfu pylon, Horus and Hathor witness a gigantic Ptolemy XIII smiting diminutive enemies—a motif first used in Egyptian reliefs and paintings in Predynastic times (FIGS. 3-1A and 3-2). The Edfu temple is eloquent testimony to the persistence of age-old Egyptian architectural and pictorial types even under Greek rule.

Indeed, the exceptional longevity of formal traditions in Egypt is one of the marvels of the history of art. It attests to the invention of an artistic vocabulary so satisfactory that it endured in Egypt for millennia. Everywhere else in the ancient Mediterranean world, stylistic change was the only common denominator.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Egypt from Narmer to Cleopatra

Predynastic and Early Dynastic ca. 3500–2575 BCE

- The unification of Upper and Lower Egypt into a single kingdom under the rule of a divine king occurred around 3000–2920 BCE. The palette of King Narmer probably commemorates events from the wars leading to the formation of the "Kingdom of the Two Lands." This and other Predynastic works established the basic principles of most Egyptian representational art for 3,000 years.
- Imhotep, the first artist in history whose name is known, was the earliest master of monumental stone architecture. He designed the funerary complex and stepped pyramid of King Djoser (r. 2630–2611 BCE) at Saqqara.

Palette of King Narmer, ca. 3000–2920 BCE

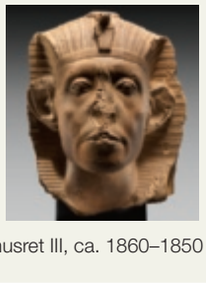
Old Kingdom ca. 2575–2134 BCE

- The Old Kingdom was the first golden age of Egyptian art and architecture, the time when three kings of the Fourth Dynasty erected the pyramids at Gizeh, the oldest of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. The pyramids were emblems of the sun on whose rays the god-kings ascended to the heavens when they died.
- Old Kingdom sculptors created seated and standing statuary types in which all movement was suppressed in order to express the eternal nature of divine kingship. These types would dominate Egyptian art for 2,000 years.

Pyramid of Khafre and Great Sphinx, Gizeh, ca. 2520–2494 BCE

Middle Kingdom ca. 2040–1640 BCE

- After an intermediate period of civil war, Mentuhotep II (r. 2050–1998 BCE) reestablished central rule and founded the Middle Kingdom.
- The major artistic innovation of this period was a new kind of royal portrait with heightened realism and emotional content.
- Rock-cut tombs in which sculptors hewed both the facade and interior chambers out of the living rock replaced the mastaba as the standard Egyptian burial monument.



Senusret III, ca. 1860–1850 BCE

New Kingdom ca. 1550–1070 BCE

- During the New Kingdom, Egypt extended its borders to the Euphrates River in the east and deep into Nubia in the south.
- The most significant architectural innovation of this period was the axially planned pylon temple incorporating an immense gateway, columnar courtyards, and a hypostyle hall with clerestory lighting.
- Powerful pharaohs such as Hatshepsut (r. 1473–1458 BCE) and Ramses II (r. 1290–1224 BCE) erected gigantic temples in honor of their patron gods and themselves.
- Akhenaton (r. 1353–1335 BCE) abandoned the traditional Egyptian religion in favor of Aton, the sun disk, and initiated a short-lived artistic revolution in which undulating curves and anecdotal content replaced the cubic forms and impassive stillness of earlier Egyptian art.

Temple of Ramses II, Abu Simbel, ca. 1290–1224 BCE

First Millennium BCE 1000–30 BCE

- After the demise of the New Kingdom, Egypt's power in the ancient world declined, and the Nile came under the control of foreigners. These included the Kushite kings of Nubia and, after 332 BCE, Alexander the Great and his Greek successors. In 30 BCE, Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire.
- The traditional forms of Egyptian art and architecture lived on even under foreign rule.

Temple of Horus, Edfu, ca. 237–47 BCE

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◀**4-1a** The Hagia Triada sarcophagus provides insight into Minoan rituals. On one side, four women (with light skin) and a dark-skinned male double-flute player take part in a ceremony involving a sacrificial ox.

▶**4-1b** On the other side of the sarcophagus, the painter depicted a woman pouring a liquid (ox blood?) between two double axes. Accompanying her are a male harp player and a second woman carrying vessels.

◀**4-1c** Three men (with dark skin) moving in the opposite direction carry sculptures of two sacrificial animals and a model of a boat, offerings to the deceased man shown standing in front of his tomb.

4-1 **Sarcophagus, from Hagia Triada (Crete), Greece, ca. 1450–1400 BCE. Painted limestone, 4′ 6″ long. Archaeological Museum, Iraklion.**

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THE PREHISTORIC AEGEAN 4

FRAMING THE ERA

Greece in the Age of Heroes

When, in the eighth century BCE, Homer immortalized in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the great war between the Greeks and the Trojans and the subsequent adventure-packed journey home of Odysseus, the epic poet was describing a time long before his own—a golden age of larger-than-life heroes. Since the late 19th century, archaeologists have gradually uncovered impressive remains of that heroic age, including the palaces of the legendary King Minos at Knossos (FIG. 4-4) on Crete and of King Agamemnon at Mycenae (FIG. 4-19) on the Greek mainland. But they have also recovered thousands of less glamorous objects and inscriptions that provide a contemporaneous view of life in the prehistoric Aegean unfiltered by the romantic lens of Homer and later writers.

One of the most intriguing finds to date is the painted *Minoan* (named after King Minos) *sarcophagus* (FIG. 4-1) from Hagia Triada on the southern coast of Crete. The paintings adorning the sides of the small coffin are closely related in technique, color scheme, and figure style to the much larger frescoes (FIGS. 4-7 and 4-8) on the walls of Minoan palaces, but the subject is foreign to the royal repertoire. Befitting the function of the sarcophagus as a burial container, the paintings illustrate the funerary rites in honor of a man. They furnish welcome information about Minoan religion, which still remains obscure despite more than a century of excavation on Crete.

On one long side of the sarcophagus, four women and a male double-flute player take part in a ritual centered on an ox tied up on a table. One of the women makes an offering at an altar. In contrast to this unified narrative, the other side is divided into two scenes. At the left, a woman pours liquid (perhaps the blood of the sacrificial ox) from a jar into a large vessel on a stand between two double axes. Behind her, a second woman carries two more jars, and a male figure plays the harp. Consistent with the common convention in many ancient cultures, all of the women have light skin and the men dark skin (compare FIG. 3-13A). To their right, three men carry two sculpted sacrificial animals and a model of a boat to offer to a dead man, whom the painter represented as standing in front of his tomb, just as the biblical Lazarus, raised from the dead, will later appear in medieval art.

The precise meaning of the sarcophagus paintings is uncertain, but there is no doubt that they document well-established Minoan rites in honor of the dead, which included the sacrifice of animals accompanied by music and the deposit of gifts in the tomb. Until scholars can decipher the written language of the Minoans, artworks such as the Hagia Triada sarcophagus will be the primary tools for reconstructing life on Crete, and in Greece as a whole, during the millennium before the birth of Homer.

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GREECE BEFORE HOMER

In the *Iliad,* Homer describes the might and splendor of the Greek armies poised before the walls of Troy.

> Clan after clan poured out from the ships and huts onto the plain . . . innumerable as the leaves and blossoms in their season . . . the Athenians from their splendid citadel, . . . the citizens of Argos and Tiryns of the Great Walls . . . troops . . . from the great stronghold of Mycenae, from wealthy Corinth, . . . from Knossos, . . . Phaistos, . . . and the other troops that had their homes in Crete of the Hundred Towns.[1]

The Greeks had come from far and wide, from the mainland and the islands (MAP 4-1), to seek revenge against Paris, the Trojan prince who had abducted Helen, wife of King Menelaus of Sparta. The *Iliad,* composed around 750 BCE, is the first great work of Greek literature. Until about 1870, the world regarded Homer's epic poem as pure fiction. Scholars paid little heed to the bard as a historian, instead attributing the profusion of names and places in his writings to the rich abundance of his imagination. The prehistory of Greece remained shadowy and lost in an impenetrable world of myth.

Troy and Mycenae. In the late 1800s, however, Heinrich Schliemann (1822–1890), a wealthy German businessman turned archaeologist, proved that scholars had not given Homer his due. Between 1870 and his death 20 years later, Schliemann (whose methods later archaeologists have harshly criticized) uncovered some of the very cities that Homer named. In 1870, he began work at Hissarlik on the northwestern coast of Turkey, which a British archaeologist, Frank Calvert (1828–1908), had postulated was the site of Homer's Troy. Schliemann dug into a vast mound and found a number of fortified cities built on the remains of one another. Fire had destroyed one of them in the 13th century BCE. This, scholars now agree, was the Troy of King Priam and his son Paris.

Schliemann continued his excavations at Mycenae on the Greek mainland, where, he believed, King Agamemnon, Menelaus's brother, had once ruled. Here his finds were even more startling, among them a massive fortress-palace with an imposing gateway (FIG. 4-19) and a circle of royal graves (FIG. 4-21A); other tombs featuring stone domes beneath earthen mounds (FIGS. 4-20 and 4-21); quantities of gold jewelry, drinking cups, and masks (FIG. 4-22); and inlaid bronze weapons (FIG. 4-23). Schliemann's discoveries revealed a magnificent civilization far older than the famous vestiges of Classical Greece that had remained visible in Athens and elsewhere. Subsequent excavations proved that Mycenae had not been the only center of this fabulous civilization.

MAP 4-1 The prehistoric Aegean.

Minoan Crete. Another legendary figure was Minos, the king of Knossos on the island of Crete, who exacted from Athens a tribute of youths and maidens to be fed to the *Minotaur,* a creature half bull and half man that inhabited a vast labyrinth. In 1900, an Englishman, Arthur Evans (1851–1941), began work at Knossos, where he uncovered a palace (FIGS. 4-4 and 4-5) resembling a maze. Evans named the people who had constructed it *Minoans* after their mythological king. Other archaeologists soon discovered further evidence of the Minoans at Phaistos (FIG. 4-11), Hagia Triada (FIGS. 4-1 and 4-14), and other sites, including Gournia, which Harriet Boyd Hawes (1871–1945), an American archaeologist (and one of the first women of any nationality to direct a major excavation), explored between 1901 and 1904.

More recently, archaeologists have excavated important Minoan remains at many other locations on Crete. They have also explored contemporaneous sites on other islands in the Aegean Sea (named after Aegeus, father of King Theseus of Athens), most notably Thera (FIGS. 4-9, 4-9A, and 4-10). Together, the buildings,

THE PREHISTORIC AEGEAN

3000–2000 BCE

- Early Cycladic sculptors create marble figurines for placement in graves to accompany the dead into the afterlife

2000–1700 BCE

- Minoans construct major palaces on Crete during the Old Palace period
- Cretan ceramists produce Kamares Ware painted pottery

1700–1400 BCE

- Minoans construct large administrative complexes with extensive fresco decoration during the second (New Palace) period on Crete
- Minoan potters manufacture Marine Style vases, and sculptors carve small-scale images of gods
- Volcanic eruption buries Akrotiri, 1628 BCE
- Mycenaeans bury their dead in shaft graves with gold funerary masks and cups and inlaid daggers

1400–1200 BCE

- Mycenaeans erect fortification walls around their citadels at Mycenae, Tiryns, and elsewhere, and build tombs featuring corbeled domes
- The oldest known large-scale sculptures in Greece appear at Mycenae
- Mycenaean civilization comes to an end with the destruction of their palace-citadels, ca. 1200 BCE

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A SECOND OPINION

Cycladic Statuettes

One way that the ancient world is fundamentally different from the world today is that ancient art is largely anonymous and undated. The systematic signing and dating of artworks—a commonplace feature in the contemporary art world—has no equivalent in antiquity. That is why the role of archaeology in the study of ancient art is so important. Only the scientific excavation of ancient artworks can establish their context. Exquisite and strikingly "modern" sculptures, such as the marble Cycladic figurines illustrated in FIGS. 4-2 and 4-3, may be appreciated as masterpieces when displayed in splendid isolation in glass cases in museums or private homes. But to understand the role that these or any other artworks played in ancient society—in many cases, even to determine the date of an object—the art historian must learn the *provenance* (place of origin) of the piece. Only when the context of an artwork is known can anyone go beyond an appreciation of its formal qualities and begin to analyze its place in art history and its role in the society that produced it.

The extraordinary popularity of Cycladic figurines in recent decades has had unfortunate consequences. Clandestine treasure hunters, anxious to meet the insatiable demand of collectors, have plundered many sites and smuggled their finds out of Greece to sell to the highest bidder on the international art market. This looting has destroyed entire prehistoric cemeteries and towns.

It also poses a serious dilemma for the study of Cycladic art. Attempts have been made to establish a chronology for the Cycladic statuettes, even to attribute most examples to different workshops. The largest and most unusual pieces, of course, figure prominently in the effort to write a coherent history of Cycladic art. However, two British scholars have expressed a cautionary second opinion.* They have calculated that only about 10 percent of the known Cycladic marble statuettes (including the two discussed here) come from secure archaeological contexts. Many of the rest could be forgeries produced after World War II, when developments in modern art fostered a new appreciation of these abstract renditions of human anatomy and created a boom in demand for "Cycladica" among collectors. For some categories of Cycladic sculptures—those of unusual type or size—not a single piece with a documented provenance exists. Those groups may be 20th-century inventions—made by sophisticated forgers using marble from the same quarries and replicas of ancient tools—designed to fetch even higher prices in the marketplace due to their rarity. Consequently, most of the conclusions that art historians have drawn about Cycladic sculpture are highly speculative and suspect. The importance of the information that the original contexts would have provided cannot be overestimated. That information, however, can probably never be recovered.

4-2 Figurine of a woman, from Syros (Cyclades), Greece, ca. 2600–2300 BCE. Marble, 1′ 6″ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

Most Cycladic statuettes depict nude women. This one comes from a grave, but whether it represents the deceased is uncertain. The sculptor rendered the female body schematically as a series of triangles.

*David W. J. Gill and Christopher Chippindale, "Material and Intellectual Consequences of Esteem for Cycladic Figures," *American Journal of Archaeology* 97 (1993): 601–659.

paintings, sculptures, and other finds on the Greek mainland and on the Aegean islands attest to the wealth and sophistication of the people who occupied Greece in that once-obscure heroic age celebrated in later Greek mythology.

Aegean Archaeology Today. Archaeologists know much more today about the prehistoric societies of the Aegean than they did a generation ago. Arguably more important for the understanding of Aegean prehistory than the art objects that tourists flock to see in the museums of Athens and Iraklion (near Knossos) are the many documents that archaeologists have found written in scripts conventionally called Linear A and Linear B. The progress made during the past several decades in deciphering Linear B texts has provided a welcome corrective to the romantic treasure-hunting approach of Schliemann and Evans. Scholars now recognize Linear B as an early form of Greek, and they have begun to reconstruct Mycenaean civilization by referring to records made at the time and not just to Homer's heroic account. Archaeologists now also know that humans inhabited Greece as far back as the early Paleolithic period and that village life was firmly established in Greece and on Crete in Neolithic times. The heyday of the ancient Aegean, however, did not arrive until the second millennium BCE, well after the emergence of the river valley civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and South Asia.

The prehistoric Aegean has three geographic areas, and each has its own distinctive artistic identity. *Cycladic* art is the art of the Cyclades islands (so named because they "circle" around Delos), as well as of the adjacent islands in the Aegean, excluding Crete. *Minoan* art encompasses the art of Crete. *Helladic* art is the art of the Greek mainland (*Hellas* in Greek). Archaeologists subdivide each area chronologically into early, middle, and late periods, designating the art of the Late Helladic period *Mycenaean* after Agamemnon's great citadel of Mycenae.

CYCLADIC ART

Marble was abundantly available in the superb quarries of the Aegean islands, especially on Naxos, and the sculptors of the Early Cycladic period produced large quantities of marble statuettes (FIGS. 4-2 and 4-3) of distinctive form. Today, collectors revere those Cycladic figurines (see "Cycladic Statuettes," above) because

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of their striking abstract forms, which call to mind some modern sculptures (FIGS. 30-00 and 30-00A).

Syros Woman. Most of the Cycladic sculptures represent nude women, as do many of their Stone Age predecessors in the Aegean, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and western Europe (FIG. 1-4). The Cycladic examples often depict women with their arms folded across their abdomens. The sculptures, which excavators have found both in graves and in settlements, vary in height from a few inches to almost life-size. The statuette illustrated here (FIG. 4-2) comes from a grave on the island of Syros and is about a foot-and-a-half tall—but only about a half-inch thick. Using obsidian tools, the sculptor carved the figurine and then polished the surface with emery. The Cycladic artist's rendition of the human body is highly schematic. Large, simple triangles dominate the form—the head, the body itself (which tapers from exceptionally broad shoulders to tiny feet), and the incised triangular pubis. Other examples have more rounded forms, but the feet always have the toes pointed downward, so the figurines cannot stand upright. All of the statuettes must have been placed on their backs in the grave—lying down, like the deceased.

Archaeologists speculate whether the Syros statuette and the many other similar Cycladic figurines known today represent dead women or fertility figures or goddesses. Whether those depicted are mortals or deities, the sculptors took pains to emphasize the breasts as well as the pubic area. In the Syros statuette, a slight swelling of the belly may suggest pregnancy (compare FIG. 1-5). Traces of paint found on some of the Cycladic figurines indicate that at least parts of these sculptures were colored. The now almost featureless faces would have had painted eyes and mouths in addition to the sculpted noses. Red and blue necklaces and bracelets, as well as painted dots on the cheeks and necks (compare FIG. 4-26), characterize a number of the surviving figurines.

Keros Musician. Fewer Cycladic statuettes represent men. The most elaborate of the male figurines portray seated musicians, such as the harp player (FIG. 4-3) from Keros. Wedged between the echoing shapes of chair and instrument, he may be playing for the deceased in the afterlife, although, again, the meaning of these sculptures remains elusive. The harpist reflects the same preference for simple geometric shapes and large, flat planes as do the female figures. Still, the artist showed a keen interest in recording the elegant shape of what must have been a prized possession: the harp with a duck-bill or swan-head ornament. (Compare the form of Sumerian harps, FIGS. 2-6 and 2-10, *top right.*)

One woman's grave contained figurines of both a musician and a reclining woman. The burial of a male figure together with the body of a woman suggests that the harp players are not images of dead men, but it does not prove that the female figurines represent dead women. The musician might be entertaining the deceased herself, not her image, or be engaged in commemorative rites honoring the dead. (The harp player on the Hagia Triada *sarcophagus* [FIG. 4-1b] may indicate some continuity in funerary customs and beliefs from the Cycladic to the Minoan period in the Aegean.) Given the absence of written documents in Greece at this date, as everywhere else in prehistoric times, and the lack of contextual information for most Cycladic sculptures, art historians cannot be sure of the meaning of these statuettes. It is likely, in fact, that the same form took on different meanings in different contexts.

4-3 Male harp player, from Keros (Cyclades), Greece, ca. 2600–2300 BCE. Marble, 9″ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

The meaning of all Cycladic figurines is elusive, but this seated musician may be playing for the deceased in the afterlife. The statuette displays simple geometric shapes and flat planes.

MINOAN ART

During the third millennium BCE, both on the Aegean islands and on the Greek mainland, most settlements were small and consisted only of simple buildings. Rarely were the dead buried with costly offerings such as the Cycladic statuettes just examined. By contrast, the hallmark of the opening centuries of the second millennium (the Middle Minoan period on Crete) is the construction of large palaces.

Architecture

The first, or Old Palace, period ended abruptly around 1700 BCE, when fire destroyed these grand structures, probably following an earthquake. Rebuilding began almost immediately, and archaeologists consider the ensuing Late Minoan (New Palace) period the golden age of Crete, an era when the first great Western civilization emerged. Although conventionally called palaces, the rebuilt structures may not have served as royal residences. They were administrative, commercial, and religious centers with courtyards for pageants, ceremonies, and games, and dozens of offices, shrines, and storerooms for the collection and distribution of produce and

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4-4 Restored view of the palace (looking northwest), Knossos (Crete), Greece, ca. 1700–1370 BCE (John Burge).

The Knossos palace, the largest on Crete, was the legendary home of King Minos. Its layout features a large central court surrounded by scores of residential and administrative units.

4-5 Plan of the palace, Knossos (Crete), Greece, ca. 1700–1370 BCE. (1) "theater," (2) magazines, (3) north-south corridor, (4) throne room, (5) central court, (6) east-west corridor, (7) grand stairwell.

The mazelike plan of the Knossos palace gave rise to the Greek myth of the Cretan labyrinth inhabited by the Minotaur, a half-man, half-bull monster that King Theseus of Athens slew.

goods. These huge complexes were the centers of Minoan life. The principal "palaces" on Crete are at Knossos, Phaistos, Malia, Kato Zakro, and Khania. The Minoans laid out all of them along similar lines. The size and number of these important centers, as well as the rich finds they have yielded, attest to the power and prosperity of the Minoans.

Knossos. The largest Cretan palace—at Knossos (FIGS. 4-4 and 4-5)—was the legendary home of King Minos. Here, the hero Theseus hunted the bull-man Minotaur in his labyrinth. According to the myth, after defeating the monster, Theseus found his way out of the mazelike complex only with the aid of the king's daughter, Ariadne. She had given Theseus a spindle of thread to mark his path through the labyrinth and safely find his way out again. In fact, the English word *labyrinth* derives from the intricate plan and scores of rooms of the Knossos palace. The *labrys* ("double ax") serves as a recurring motif in the Minoan palace and in Minoan art generally (FIG. 4-1b), referring to sacrificial slaughter. The labyrinth was the "House of the Double Ax."

The Knossos palace was a rambling structure built against the upper slopes and across the top of a low hill that rises from a fertile plain. All around the palace proper were mansions and villas of the Minoan elite. The central feature of the palace was its great rectangular court (FIG. 4-5, no. 5). The builders carefully planned

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4-6 Stairwell in the residential quarter of the palace (FIG. 4-5, no. 7), Knossos (Crete), Greece, ca. 1700–1370 BCE.

The Knossos palace was complex in elevation as well as plan. It had at least three stories on all sides of the court. Minoan columns taper from top to bottom, the opposite of Egyptian and Greek columns.

the structure with clusters of rooms of similar function grouped around this primary space. On the west side of the court, a north-south corridor (FIG. 4-5, no. 3) separates official and ceremonial rooms from the magazines (no. 2), where the Minoans stored wine, grain, oil, and honey in large jars. On the east side of the court, a smaller east-west corridor (no. 6) separates the administrative areas (to the south) from the workrooms (to the north). At the northwest corner of the palace is a theater-like area (no. 1) with steps on two sides that may have served as seats. This arrangement is a possible forerunner of the later Greek theater (FIG. 5-71). Its purpose is unknown, but the feature also appears in the Phaistos palace.

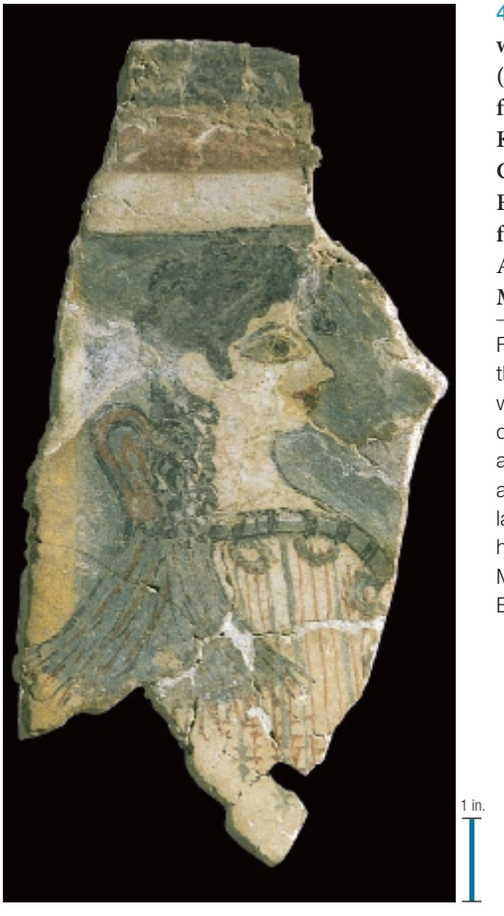
The Knossos palace was complex in elevation as well as plan. Around the central court, there were as many as three stories, and on the south and east sides, where the terrain sloped off sharply, the palace had four or five stories. Interior light and air wells, some with staircases (FIGS. 4-5, no. 7, and 4-6), provided necessary illumination and ventilation. The Minoans also addressed such issues as drainage of rainwater. At Knossos, a remarkably efficient system of terracotta (baked clay) pipes lies under the enormous building.

The Cretan palaces were sturdy structures, with thick walls composed of rough, unshaped fieldstones embedded in clay. For corners and around door and window openings, the builders used large stone blocks, especially for the walls facing the central court. The painted wood columns (which Evans restored in cement at Knossos) have distinctive capitals and shafts (FIG. 4-6). The bulbous, cushionlike Minoan capitals resemble those of the later Greek Doric order (FIG. 5-13, *left*), but the column shafts—essentially stylized inverted tree trunks—taper from a wide top to a narrower base, the opposite of both Egyptian and later Greek columns.

Painting

Mural paintings liberally adorned the palace at Knossos, constituting one of its most striking features. The brightly painted walls and the red shafts and black capitals of the wood columns produced an extraordinarily rich effect. The paintings depict many aspects of Minoan life (bull-leaping, processions, and ceremonies) and of nature (birds, animals, flowers, and marine life).

La Parisienne. From a ceremonial scene of uncertain significance comes the fragment dubbed *La Parisienne* (*The Parisian Woman*; FIG. 4-7) on its discovery because of the elegant dress, elaborate coiffure, and full rouged lips of the young woman depicted.



4-7 Minoan woman or goddess (*La Parisienne*), from the palace, Knossos (Crete), Greece, ca. 1500 BCE. Fragment of a fresco, 10″ high. Archaeological Museum, Iraklion.

Frescoes decorated the Knossos palace walls. This fragment depicts a woman or a goddess—perhaps a statue—with a large frontal eye in her profile head, as in Mesopotamian and Egyptian art.

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Some have identified her as a priestess taking part in a religious ritual, but because the figure has no arms, it is more likely a statue of a goddess. Although the representation is still convention-bound (note especially the oversized frontal eye in the profile head), the charm and freshness of the mural are undeniable. Unlike the Egyptians, who painted in *fresco secco* (dry fresco), the Minoans coated the rough fabric of their rubble walls with a fine white lime plaster and were apparently the first to use a true *buon fresco* method in which the painter applies the pigments while the walls are still wet (see "Fresco Painting," page 428). The color consequently becomes chemically bonded to the plaster after it dries. The Minoan painters therefore had to execute their work rapidly, in contrast to Egyptian practice, which permitted slower, more deliberate work.

Bull-Leaping. Another fresco (FIG. 4-8) from the palace at Knossos depicts the Minoan ceremony of bull-leaping, in which young men grasped the horns of a bull and vaulted onto its back—a perilous and extremely difficult acrobatic maneuver. Excavators recovered only fragments of the full composition. (The dark patches are original; the rest is a modern restoration.) The Minoan artist provided no setting, instead focusing all attention on the three protagonists and the fearsome bull. The young women have fair skin and the leaping youth has dark skin, in accordance with the widely accepted ancient convention for distinguishing male and female, as on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus (FIG. 4-1; compare FIGS. 3-13A and 5-20A). The painter brilliantly suggested the powerful charge of the bull (which has all four legs off the ground) by elongating the animal's shape and using sweeping lines to form a funnel of energy, beginning at the very narrow hindquarters of the bull and culminating in its large, sharp horns. The highly animated human figures also have stylized shapes, with typically Minoan pinched waists. Although the profile pose with frontal eye was a familiar convention in Egypt and Mesopotamia, the elegant Cretan figures, with their long, curly hair and proud and self-confident bearing, have no parallels in the art of other early cultures. In contrast to the angularity of the figures in Egyptian wall paintings, the curving lines that the Minoan artist employed suggest the elasticity of living and moving beings.

Thera. Much better preserved than the Knossos frescoes are the mural paintings that Greek archaeologists have discovered in their ongoing excavations at Akrotiri on the island of Thera in the Cyclades, some 60 miles north of Crete. In the Late Cycladic period, Thera was artistically (and possibly also politically) within the Minoan orbit. The Akrotiri murals are invaluable additions to the fragmentary and frequently misrestored frescoes from Crete. The excellent condition of the Theran paintings is due to an enormous volcanic explosion on the island that buried Akrotiri in volcanic pumice and ash, making it a kind of Pompeii of the prehistoric Aegean (see "The Theran Eruption and the Chronology of

4-8 Bull-leaping, from the palace, Knossos (Crete), Greece, ca. 1500 BCE. Fresco, 2′ 8″ high, including border. Archaeological Museum, Iraklion.

The subjects of the Knossos frescoes are often ceremonial scenes, such as this one of bull-leaping. The women have fair skin and the man has dark skin, a common convention in ancient painting.

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ART AND SOCIETY

The Theran Eruption and the Chronology of Aegean Art

Today, ships bound for the beautiful Greek island of Thera (formerly Santorini), with its picture-postcard white houses, churches, shops, and restaurants, weigh anchor in a bay beneath steep cliffs. Until about 20,000 BCE, however, Thera had gentler slopes. Then, suddenly, a volcanic eruption blew out the center of the island, leaving behind the crescent-shaped main island and several lesser islands grouped around a bay that roughly corresponds to the shape of the gigantic ancient volcano. The volcano erupted again, thousands of years later, during the zenith of Aegean civilization.

The later explosion buried the site of Akrotiri, which Greek excavators have been gradually uncovering since 1967, under a layer of pumice more than a yard deep in some areas and by an even larger volume of volcanic ash (*tephra*) often exceeding 5 yards in depth, even after nearly 37 centuries of erosion. Tephra filled whole rooms, and boulders spewed forth by the volcano pelted the walls of some houses. Closer to the volcano's cone, the tephra is almost 60 yards deep in places. In fact, the force of the eruption was so powerful that sea currents carried the pumice, and wind blew the ash, throughout much of the eastern Mediterranean, not only to Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus but also as far away as Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and Israel.

A generation ago, most scholars embraced the theory formulated by Spyridon Marinatos (1901–1974), an eminent Greek archaeologist, that the otherwise unexplained demise of Minoan civilization on Crete around 1500 BCE was the by-product of the volcanic eruption on Thera. According to Marinatos, devastating famine followed the rain of ash that fell on Crete. But archaeologists now know that after the eruption, life went on in Crete, if not on Thera.

Teams of researchers, working closely in an impressive and most welcome interdisciplinary effort, have determined that a major climatic event occurred during the last third of the 17th century BCE. In addition to collecting evidence from Thera, they have studied tree rings at sites in Europe and in North America for evidence of retarded growth and have examined ice cores in Greenland for peak acidity layers. The scientific data pinpoint a significant disruption in weather patterns in 1628 BCE. Most scholars now believe that the cause of this disruption was the cataclysmic volcanic eruption on Thera. The date of the Aegean catastrophe remains the subject of much debate, however, and many archaeologists favor placing the eruption in the 16th century BCE. In either case, the date of Thera's destruction has profound consequences for determining the chronology of Aegean art. If the Akrotiri frescoes (FIGS. 4-9, 4-9A, and 4-10) date between 1650 and 1625 BCE, they are at least 150 years older than scholars thought not long ago, and are much older than the Knossos palace murals (FIGS. 4-7 and 4-8).

4-9 Landscape with swallows (*Spring Fresco*), south and west walls of room Delta 2, Akrotiri, Thera (Cyclades), Greece, ca. 1650–1625 BCE. Fresco, 7′ 6″ high. Reconstructed in National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

Aegean muralists painted true frescoes, which required rapid execution. In this wraparound landscape, the painter used vivid colors and undulating lines to capture the essence of nature.

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Aegean Art," page 92, and "An Eyewitness Account of the Eruption of Mount Vesuvius," page 191). The Akrotiri frescoes decorated the walls of houses and shrines, not the walls of a great palace, such as Minos's at Knossos, and therefore the number of painted walls from the site is especially impressive.

The almost perfectly preserved mural painting from Akrotiri known as the *Spring Fresco* (FIG. 4-9) is the largest and most complete prehistoric example of a pure landscape painting. *Landscapes* (pictures of a natural setting in its own right, without any narrative content) and seascapes (FIG. 4-9A) are key elements of many of the mural paintings found at Akrotiri. In each case, however, the artist's aim was not to render the rocky island terrain realistically but rather to capture its essence. In FIG. 4-9, the irrationally undulating and vividly colored rocks, the graceful lilies swaying in the cool island breezes, and the darting swallows express the vigor of growth, the delicacy of flowering, and the lightness of birdsong and flight. In the lyrical language of curving line, the artist celebrated the rhythms of nature. The *Spring Fresco* represents the polar opposite of the first efforts at mural painting in the caves of Paleolithic Europe (see "The Dawn of Art," page 15), where animals (and occasionally humans) appeared as isolated figures with no indication of setting.

4-9A *Miniature Ships Fresco,* Akrotiri, ca. 1650–1625 BCE.

Crocus Gatherers. A rocky landscape is also the setting for the figures depicted in room 3 of building Xeste 3 at Akrotiri. The room probably served as a shrine in which girls took part in puberty initiation rites. Frescoes decorated the walls on two levels. In one section (not illustrated), a young girl with a bleeding foot sits on a rock. Approaching her from behind is a bare-breasted woman carrying a necklace, probably a gift for the bleeding girl. In the section reproduced here (FIG. 4-10), two elegantly dressed young women bedecked with bracelets and hoop earrings gather crocuses. One has a shaved head with a serpentine lock of hair at the back, indicating that she is a young girl. Crocus flowers produce saffron, used for the yellow dye of some of the garments that the figures wear. Saffron may also have been used as a painkiller for menstrual cramps. In another section of the mural (not illustrated), girls carry baskets full of the flowers they have picked. They bring the flowers to a woman seated on a stepped platform. Scholars have identified the woman, who is flanked by a blue monkey and a *griffin* (a mythical winged lion with an eagle's head), as a goddess rather than a mortal, but the precise meaning of the scenes depicted in the fresco remains uncertain.

Minoan Pottery. Nature as a preferred subject for paintings is documented on Minoan pottery, even before the period of the new Cretan palaces. During the Middle Minoan period, Cretan ceramists fashioned sophisticated shapes using newly introduced potters' wheels, and decorated their vases in a distinctive and fully polychromatic style. These Kamares Ware vessels, named for the

4-10 Crocus gatherers, detail of the east wall of room 3 of building Xeste 3, Akrotiri, Thera (Cyclades), Greece, ca. 1650–1625 BCE. Fresco, 8′ $\frac{1}{8}$″ high. Reconstructed in National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

In a room at Akrotiri probably used for puberty rites, young girls pick crocus flowers in a rocky landscape recalling the *Spring Fresco* (FIG. 4-9) and present them to a seated goddess (not shown).

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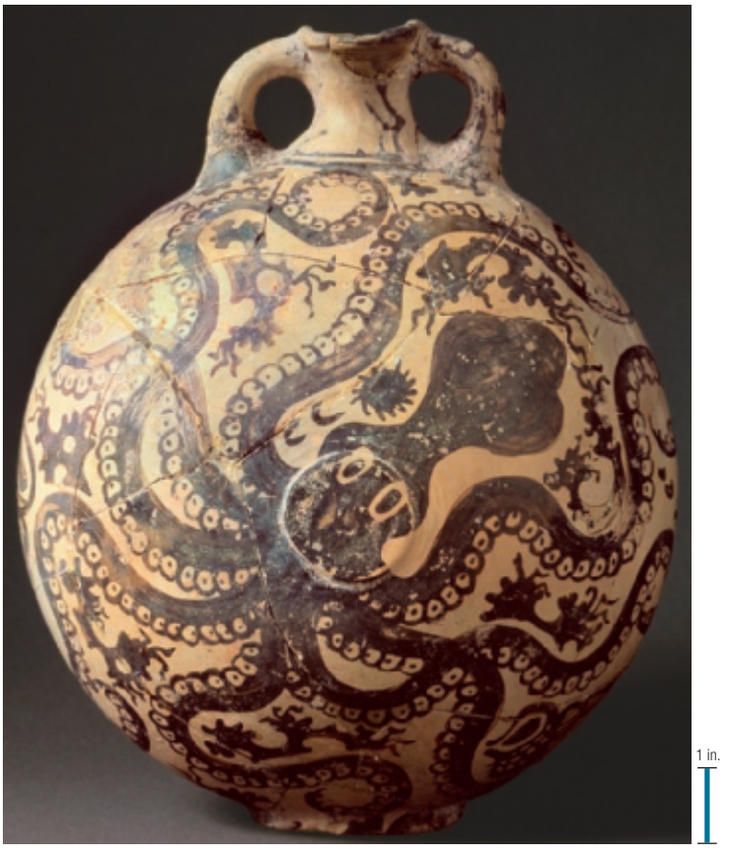
4-11 Kamares Ware jar, from Phaistos (Crete), Greece, ca. 1800–1700 BCE. 1′ 8″ high. Archaeological Museum, Iraklion.

Kamares Ware vases have creamy white and reddish-brown decoration on a black background. This jar combines a fish (and a net?) with curvilinear abstract patterns, including spirals and waves.



4-12 Marine Style octopus flask, from Palaikastro (Crete), Greece, ca. 1500 BCE. 11″ high. Archaeological Museum, Iraklion.

Marine Style vases have dark figures on a light ground. On this octopus flask, the tentacles of the sea creature reach out over the curving surface of the vessel to fill the shape perfectly.

cave on the slope of Mount Ida where they were first discovered, have been found in quantity at Phaistos and Knossos. Some examples come from as far away as Egypt and testify to the expansive trade network of the Minoans. On the jar shown here (FIG. 4-11), as on other Kamares vases, the painter applied creamy white and reddish-brown decoration to a rich black ground. The central motif is a great leaping fish and perhaps a fishnet surrounded by a host of curvilinear abstract patterns, including waves and spirals. The swirling lines evoke life in the sea, and both the abstract and the natural forms beautifully complement the shape of the vessel.

The sea and the creatures inhabiting it also inspired the Late Minoan octopus flask (FIG. 4-12) from Palaikastro decorated in what art historians have dubbed the Marine Style. The tentacles of the octopus reach out over the curving surfaces of the vessel, embracing the piece and emphasizing its volume. The flask is a masterful realization of the relationship between the vessel's decoration and its shape, always an issue for the vase painter. This later jar, which is contemporaneous with the new palaces at Knossos and elsewhere, differs markedly from its Kamares Ware predecessor in color. Not only is the octopus vase more muted in tone, but the Late Minoan artist also reversed the earlier scheme and placed dark silhouettes on a light ground. Dark-on-light coloration remained the norm for about a millennium in Greece, until about 530 BCE, when light figures and a dark background emerged once again, albeit in a very different form, as the preferred manner (see "The Invention of Red-Figure Painting," page 121).

Sculpture

In contrast to the contemporaneous civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt, Minoan Crete has yielded no trace of temples or life-size statues of gods, kings, or monsters. Large painted wood images may once have existed—*La Parisienne* (FIG. 4-7) may be a depiction of one of them—but what remains of Minoan sculpture is uniformly small in scale.

Snake Goddess. One of the most striking finds from the palace at Knossos is the *faience* (low-fired opaque glasslike silicate) statuette popularly known as the *Snake Goddess* (FIG. 4-13). Reconstructed from many pieces and in large part modern in its present form, it is one of several similar figurines that some scholars believe may represent mortal priestesses rather than a deity. The prominently exposed breasts suggest, however, that these figurines stand in the long line of prehistoric fertility images usually considered divinities. The Knossos woman holds snakes in her hands and, as reconstructed, supports a tamed leopardlike feline on her head. When archaeologists discovered the statuette, the feline was not associated with the other fragments. If it was part of the figurine, the implied power over the animal world would be appropriate for a deity. The frontality of the figure is reminiscent of Egyptian and Mesopotamian statuary, but the costume, with its open bodice and flounced skirt, is distinctly Minoan. If the statuette represents a goddess, then the Minoan is yet another example of a culture

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1 in.

4-13 *Snake Goddess,* **from the palace, Knossos (Crete), Greece, ca. 1600 BCE. Faience, 1′ 1½″ high. Archaeological Museum, Iraklion.**

This figurine may represent a priestess, but it is more likely a bare-breasted goddess. The snakes in her hands (and the feline on her head, if it belongs) imply that she has power over the animal world.

fashioning its gods in the image of its people. Another Cretan example is the gold-and-ivory statuette (FIG. 4-13A) of a nude youthful god from Palaikastro.

4-13A Young god(?), Palaikastro, ca. 1500–1450 BCE.

Harvesters Vase. The finest surviving example of Minoan relief sculpture is the so-called *Harvesters Vase* (FIG. 4-14) from Hagia Triada. Only the upper half of the ostrich-egg-shaped body and neck of the vessel remain. Missing are the lower parts of the harvesters (or, as some think, sowers) and the ground on which they stand, as well as the gold leaf that originally covered the relief figures. Formulaic scenes of sowing and harvesting were staples of Egyptian funerary art (FIG. 3-16), but the Minoan artist shunned static repetition in favor of a composition filled with individually characterized figures bursting with energy. The relief shows a riotous crowd of young men singing and shouting as they go to or return from the fields. The artist vividly captured the youths' forward movement and lusty exuberance.

Although most of the "harvesters" conform to the age-old convention of combined profile and frontal views, the relief sculptor singled out one figure (FIG. 4-14, *right of center*) from his companions. He shakes a *sistrum* (a percussion instrument or rattle) to beat time, and the artist depicted him in full profile with his lungs so inflated with air that his ribs show. This is one of the first instances in the history of art of a sculptor showing a keen interest in the underlying muscular and skeletal structure of the human body. The Minoan artist's painstaking study of human anatomy is a singular achievement, especially given the size of the *Harvesters Vase,* barely 5 inches at its greatest diameter. Equally noteworthy is how the sculptor recorded the tension and relaxation of facial muscles with astonishing exactitude, not only for this figure but for his nearest companions as well. This degree of animation of the human face is without precedent in ancient art.

1 in.

4-14 *Harvesters Vase,* **from Hagia Triada (Crete), Greece, ca. 1500 BCE. Steatite, originally with gold leaf, greatest diameter 5″. Archaeological Museum, Iraklion.**

The relief sculptor of the singing young farmers on this small stone vase was one of the first artists in history to represent the underlying muscular and skeletal structure of the human body.

Minoan Decline. Scholars dispute the circumstances ending the Minoan civilization, although most now believe that Mycenaeans had already moved onto Crete and established themselves at Knossos at the end of the New Palace period. From the palace at Knossos, these intruders appear to have ruled the island for at least a half century, perhaps much longer. Parts of the palace continued to be occupied until its final destruction around 1200 BCE, but its importance as a cultural center faded soon after 1400 BCE, as the focus of Aegean civilization shifted to the Greek mainland.

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

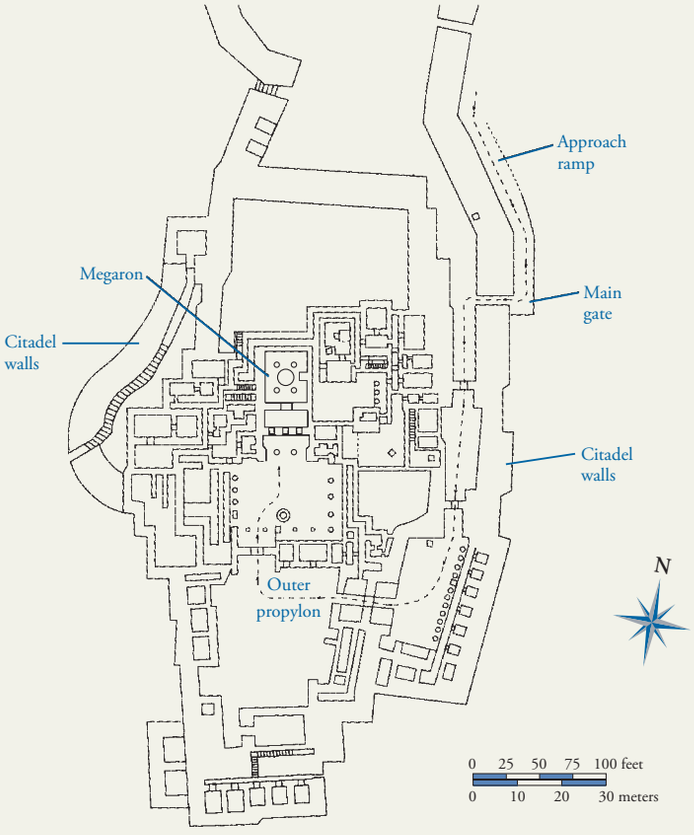
Fortified Palaces for a Hostile World

In contrast to the Minoans, whose sprawling palaces (FIGS. 4-4 and 4-5) were unprotected by enclosing walls, the Mycenaeans were fearsome warriors who inhabited a hostile world. The palatial administrative centers of their Cretan predecessors did not provide useful models for royal residences on the mainland. Consequently, the Mycenaeans had to develop an independent solution for housing—and protecting—their kings and their families and attendants.

Construction of the citadels of Tiryns (FIGS. **4-15** and **4-16**) and Mycenae (FIG. 4-19) began about 1400 BCE. Both burned (along with all the other Mycenaean strongholds) between 1250 and 1200 BCE when northern invaders overran the Mycenaeans, they fell victim to internal warfare, or they suffered a natural catastrophe—or a combination of these factors. Homer called Tiryns the city "of the great walls." In the second century CE, when Pausanias, author of an invaluable Roman guidebook to Greece, visited the long-abandoned site, he marveled at the towering fortifications and considered the walls of Tiryns to be as spectacular as the pyramids of Egypt. Indeed, the Greeks of the historical age believed that mere humans could not have erected these enormous edifices. They attributed the construction of the great Mycenaean citadels to the mythical *Cyclopes,* a race of one-eyed giants. Architectural historians still employ the term *Cyclopean masonry* to refer to the huge, roughly cut stone blocks forming the massive fortification walls of Tiryns and other Mycenaean sites.

The Mycenaean engineers who designed the circuit wall of Tiryns compelled would-be attackers to approach the palace (FIG. 4-15) within the walls via a long ramp that forced the soldiers (usually right-handed; compare FIG. 4-27) to expose their unshielded sides to the Mycenaean defenders above. Then—if they got that far—the enemy forces had to pass through a series of narrow gates that also could be defended easily.

Inside, at Tiryns as elsewhere, the most important element in the palace plan was the *megaron,* or reception hall and throne room, of the *wanax* (Mycenaean king). The main room of the megaron had a throne against the right wall and a central hearth bordered by four Minoan-style wood columns serving as supports for the roof. A vestibule with a columnar facade preceded the throne room. The remains of the megarons at Tiryns and Mycenae are scant, but at Pylos, home of Homer's King Nestor (and the Griffin Warrior), archaeologists found sufficient evidence to enable them to visualize the original appearance of its megaron, complete with mural and ceiling paintings (FIG. 4-18A).



4-15 Plan of the palace and southern part of the citadel, Tiryns, Greece, ca. 1400–1200 BCE.

The plan of the Mycenaean fortress at Tiryns incorporated an entrance ramp designed to expose attacking soldiers' unprotected right sides to the spears and arrows of the defending Mycenaean warriors.

4-16 Aerial view of the citadel (looking east), Tiryns, Greece, ca. 1400–1200 BCE.

In the *Iliad,* Homer called the fortified citadel of Tiryns the city "of the great walls." Its huge, roughly cut stone blocks are examples of Cyclopean masonry, named after the mythical one-eyed giants.

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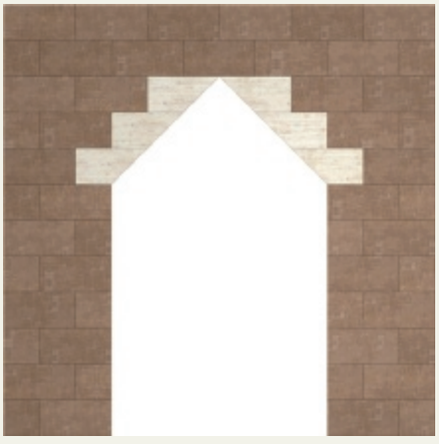
Corbeled Arches, Vaults, and Domes

The simplest method of spanning a passageway, documented in Neolithic times and in Old Kingdom Egypt, is the post-and-lintel system (FIG. 1-19).

A more sophisticated construction technique is the *corbeled arch* (FIG. 4-17), which, when extended, forms a *corbeled vault,* seen in primitive form at the citadel of Tiryns in the galleries (FIG. 4-18) of its fortified wall circuit.

At Tiryns, the Mycenaean builders piled the large, irregular blocks in horizontal courses and then cantilevered them inward until the two walls met in a *pointed arch.* The Mycenaeans used no mortar. The vault is held in place only by the weight of the blocks (often several tons each), by the smaller stones used as wedges, and by the clay filling some of the empty spaces. This crude but effective vaulting scheme possesses an earthy monumentality. It is easy to see how a later age came to believe that the uncouth Cyclopes were responsible for these massive but unsophisticated fortifications.

The corbeling principle was also used in antiquity to construct *relieving triangles* above horizontal lintel blocks, as in Mycenae's Lion Gate (FIG. 4-19) and Treasury of Atreus (FIG. 4-20), and stone domes. The finest example of a *corbeled dome* in the ancient world is the burial chamber (FIG. 4-21) of the Treasury of Atreus. The Mycenaean builders probably constructed the vault using rough-hewn blocks. But after they set the stones in place, the stonemasons had to finish the surfaces with great precision to make them conform to both the horizontal and vertical curvature of the wall. Hence, although the principle involved is no different from that of the corbeled gallery of Tiryns, the problem of constructing a complete dome is far more complicated, and the execution of the vault in the Treasury of Atreus is much more sophisticated than that of the vaulted gallery at Tiryns. About 43 feet high, this Mycenaean dome was at the time the largest vaulted space without interior supports that had ever been built. The achievement was not surpassed until the Romans constructed the Pantheon (FIG. 7-51) almost 1,500 years later using a new technology—concrete construction—unknown to the Mycenaeans or their Greek successors.



4-17 Corbeled-arch construction (John Burge).

Builders construct a corbeled arch by piling stone blocks in horizontal courses and then cantilevering them inward until the walls meet in a pointed arch. The stones are held in place by their own weight.

4-18 Corbel-vaulted gallery in the circuit wall of the citadel, Tiryns, Greece, ca. 1400–1200 BCE.

In this long gallery within the circuit walls of Tiryns, the Mycenaeans piled irregular Cyclopean blocks in horizontal courses and then cantilevered them until the two walls met in a corbeled arch.

MYCENAEAN ART

The origin of the Mycenaeans is also a subject of continuing debate among archaeologists and historians. The only certainty is the presence of these forerunners of the Greeks on the mainland about the time of the construction of the old palaces on Crete—that is, about the beginning of the second millennium BCE. By the middle of that millennium, a distinctive Mycenaean culture was flourishing—one that filled a prior artistic vacuum on the mainland. Archaeologists and historians have discussed the reasons for the sudden flourishing of Mycenaean art and architecture, but the phenomenon must reflect newfound wealth. Many scholars believe that the Mycenaeans were mercenaries who fought for the Egyptians and returned home with rich war booty. That the Mycenaeans accumulated great wealth and that their leaders were successful warriors was reconfirmed in 2015 when a team from the University of Cincinnati discovered at Pylos the extraordinarily rich burial of a man now known as the Griffin Warrior. The dramatic discoveries of Schliemann and his successors have fully justified Homer's characterization of mid-second-millennium BCE Mycenae as "rich in gold," even if today's archaeologists no longer view the Mycenaeans solely through the eyes of Homer. The Minoans also possessed gold, but they derived their wealth from a wide network of trading partners instead of from plunder. And that is only one of the many differences between these two great prehistoric Aegean cultures.

Architecture

The destruction of the Cretan palaces left the Late Helladic mainland culture supreme. Although historians refer to this civilization as Mycenaean, Mycenae was but one of several large citadel complexes. Archaeologists have also unearthed Mycenaean remains at Tiryns, Orchomenos, Pylos, and elsewhere (MAP 4-1), and a section of a Mycenaean fortification wall is still in place on the Acropolis of Athens, where Theseus ruled as king. The best-preserved and most impressive Mycenaean remains are those of the citadels at Tiryns and Mycenae (see "Fortified Palaces for a Hostile World," page 96).

Tiryns. The walls of the Tiryns citadel (FIGS. 4-15 and 4-16) average about 20 feet in thickness and impress visitors today as much as they did in antiquity, when they were thought to be the work of giants. In one section, the Tiryns circuit walls incorporate a long

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4-18A Megaron, Palace of Nestor, Pylos, ca. 1300 BCE.

gallery (FIG. 4-18) covered by *corbeled vaults* (see "Corbeled Arches, Vaults, and Domes," page 97). The severity of the exterior aspect of the Mycenaean citadels did not, however, extend to their interiors, where frescoed walls (FIG. 4-18A) were commonplace, as in the Cretan palaces. Sculptural decoration was nonetheless rare. Agamemnon's Mycenae was the exception.

Lion Gate, Mycenae. The so-called Lion Gate (FIG. 4-19) is the outer gateway of the stronghold at Mycenae. It is protected on the left by a wall built on a natural rock outcropping and on the right by a projecting bastion of large blocks. Any approaching enemies would have had to enter this 20-foot-wide channel and face Mycenaean defenders above them on both sides. The gate itself consists of two great upright monoliths (posts) capped with a huge horizontal lintel (FIG. 1-19). Above the lintel, the masonry courses form a *corbeled arch* (FIG. 4-17), leaving an opening that lightens the weight that the lintel carries. Filling this *relieving triangle* is a great limestone slab with two lions in high relief facing a central Minoan-type column. The whole design admirably matches its triangular shape, harmonizing in dignity, strength, and scale with the massive stones forming the walls and gate. Similar groups appear in miniature on Cretan seals, but the concept of placing monstrous guardian figures at the entrances to palaces, tombs, and sacred places has its origin in Mesopotamia and Egypt (FIGS. 2-18A and 2-20; a notable later example is FIG. 3-11). At Mycenae, the sculptors fashioned the animals' heads separately. Because those heads are lost, some scholars have speculated that the "lions" may be composite beasts, possibly sphinxes or griffins.

Treasury of Atreus. The Mycenaeans erected the Lion Gate and the adjoining fortification wall circuit a few generations before the presumed date of the Trojan War. At that time, elite families buried their dead outside the citadel walls in beehive-shaped tombs covered by enormous earthen mounds. Nine such tombs remain at Mycenae and scores more at other sites. The best preserved of these *tholos tombs* is Mycenae's so-called Treasury of Atreus (FIG. 4-20), which in the Greco-Roman era people mistakenly believed was the repository of the treasures of Atreus, father of Agamemnon and Menelaus. A long passageway (*dromos*) leads to a doorway surmounted by a relieving triangle similar to that in the roughly contemporaneous Lion Gate, but without figural ornamentation. Both the doorway and the relieving triangle, however, once

4-19 Lion Gate (looking east), Mycenae, Greece, ca. 1300–1250 BCE. Limestone, relief panel 9′ 6″ high.

The largest sculpture in the prehistoric Aegean is this relief of confronting lions that fills the relieving triangle of Mycenae's main gate. The gate itself consists of two great monolithic posts and a huge lintel.

4-20 Exterior of the Treasury of Atreus (looking west), Mycenae, Greece, ca. 1300–1250 BCE.

The best-preserved Mycenaean tholos tomb is named after Homer's King Atreus. An earthen mound covers the burial chamber, reached through a doorway at the end of a long dromos (passageway).

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4-21 Interior of the Treasury of Atreus (looking east toward entrance), Mycenae, Greece, ca. 1300–1250 BCE.

The beehive-shaped tholos of the Treasury of Atreus consists of corbeled courses of stone blocks laid on a circular base. The 43-foot-high dome was the largest in the world for almost 1,500 years.

had engaged columns on each side, preserved in fragments today. The burial chamber, or *tholos* (FIG. 4-21), consists of a series of stone corbeled courses laid on a circular base to form a lofty dome (see "Corbeled Arches, Vaults, and Domes," page 97).

Metalwork, Sculpture, and Painting

The Treasury of Atreus was thoroughly looted long before its modern rediscovery, but archaeologists have unearthed spectacular grave goods elsewhere at Mycenae (and in the grave of the Griffin Warrior at Pylos). Just inside the Lion Gate, Schliemann uncovered what archaeologists call Grave Circle A (FIG. 4-21A). It predates the Lion Gate and the walls of Mycenae by some three centuries, and encloses six deep shafts that served as tombs for the kings and their families. The royal corpses that the Mycenaeans lowered into their deep graves had masks covering the men's faces, recalling the Egyptian funerary practice (see "Mummification and Immortality," page 61). Jewelry adorned the bodies of the women, and weapons and gold cups accompanied the men into the afterlife.

4-21A Grave Circle A, Mycenae, ca. 1600 BCE.

Masks and Daggers. The Mycenaeans used the *repoussé* technique to fashion the masks that Schliemann found—that is, goldsmiths hammered the shape of each mask from a single sheet of metal and pushed the features out from behind. Art historians have often compared the mask illustrated here (FIG. 4-22) to Tutankhamen's gold mummy mask (FIG. 3-34), but it is important to remember that the Mycenaean metalworker was one of the first in Greece to produce a sculpted image of the human face at life-size. By contrast, Tutankhamen's mask stands in a long line of large-scale Egyptian sculptures going back more than a millennium. No one knows whether the Mycenaean masks were intended as portraits, but the artists took care to record different physical types. The masks found in Grave Circle A portray youthful faces as well as mature ones. The mask shown in FIG. 4-22, with its full beard, must depict a mature man, perhaps a king—although not Agamemnon, as Schliemann wished. If Agamemnon was a real king, he lived some 300 years after the death of the man buried in Grave Circle A. Clearly the Mycenaeans were "rich in gold" long before Homer's heroes fought at Troy.

Also found in Grave Circle A were several magnificent bronze dagger blades inlaid with gold, silver, and *niello* (a black metallic alloy), again attesting to the wealth of the Mycenaean kings as

4-22 Funerary mask, from Grave Circle A (FIG. 4-21A), Mycenae, Greece, ca. 1600–1500 BCE. Beaten gold, 1′ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

Homer described the Mycenaeans as "rich in gold." This beaten-gold (repoussé) mask of a bearded man comes from a royal shaft grave. It is one of the first attempts at life-size sculpture in Greece.

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4-23 Inlaid dagger blade with lion hunt, from Grave Circle A (FIG. 4-21A), Mycenae, Greece, ca. 1600–1500 BCE. Bronze, inlaid with gold, silver, and niello, 9″ long. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

The burial goods in Grave Circle A included costly weapons. The lion hunters on this bronze dagger are Minoan in style, but the metalworker borrowed the subject from Egypt and Mesopotamia.

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well as to their warlike nature. On one side of the largest and most elaborate dagger (FIG. 4-23) from Circle A is a scene of four hunters attacking a lion that has struck down a fifth hunter, while two other lions flee. The other side (not illustrated) depicts lions attacking deer. The slim-waisted, long-haired figures are Minoan in style, but the artist borrowed the subject from the repertoire of Egypt and Mesopotamia. (There were no lions in Greece at this date.) It is likely that a Minoan metalworker made the dagger for a Mycenaean patron who admired Minoan art, but whose tastes in subject matter differed from those of his Cretan counterparts.

Vapheio Cups. Excavations at other Mycenaean sites have produced several additional luxurious objects decorated with Minoan-style figures. Chief among them is the pair of gold drinking cups from a tholos tomb at Vapheio. The Vapheio cup illustrated here (FIG. 4-24), also made using the repoussé technique, is probably the work of a Cretan goldsmith. Both cups represent hunters attempting to capture wild bulls—probably for the bull games (FIG. 4-8) staged in the courtyards of the Cretan palaces. The men have long hair, bare chests, and narrow waists, and they closely resemble the figures on the Minoan *Harvesters Vase* (FIG. 4-14) and the hunters on the dagger blade (FIG. 4-23) from Grave Circle A. The other cup (not illustrated) depicts hunters trying to snare bulls in nets. One bull has already been trapped. The artist's choice of an unusual contorted posture for the bull effectively suggests the animal's struggle to free itself. To either side, a bull gallops away from the trap. One of them tramples his would-be captor.

Most art historians think that the goldsmith depicted three successive episodes in the hunters' attempt to capture a bull using a cow as bait. If so, the story reads from right to left. First, the bull follows the decoy cow. Then (at the right in FIG. 4-24), the bull and cow "converse." Finally, a hunter sneaks up behind the bull and succeeds in catching its left hind leg in a noose. Whatever the significance of the theme, the setting in a carefully delineated landscape of trees and rocks is noteworthy, as is the exceptional technical and artistic quality of the cups.

4-24 Hunter capturing a bull, drinking cup from Vapheio, near Sparta, Greece, ca. 1600–1500 BCE. Gold, $3\frac{1}{2}$″ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

The cups from a tholos tomb at Vapheio are probably the work of a Cretan goldsmith. They complement the finds in Grave Circle A at Mycenae and suggest that gold objects were common in elite Mycenaean burials.

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4-25 Two goddesses(?) and a child, from Mycenae, Greece, ca. 1400–1250 BCE. Ivory, $2\frac{3}{4}$″ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

Made of rare imported ivory, perhaps by a Cretan artist, this statuette may represent deities later paralleled in Greek mythology, but their identity and even the gender of the child are uncertain.

Ivory Goddesses. Gold was not the only luxurious material that elite Mycenaean patrons demanded for the objects they commissioned. For a shrine within the palace at Mycenae, a master sculptor carved an intricately detailed group of two women and a child (FIG. 4-25) from a single piece of costly imported ivory. The women's costumes with breasts exposed have the closest parallels in Minoan art (FIG. 4-13), and this statuette, like the Vapheio cups, is probably of Cretan manufacture. The intimate and tender theme also is foreign to the known Mycenaean repertoire, in which scenes of hunting and warfare dominate.

The identity of the three figures remains a mystery. Some scholars have suggested that the two women are the "two queens" mentioned in inscriptions found in the excavation of the Mycenaean palace at Pylos (FIG. 4-18A). Others have speculated that the two women are deities, Mycenaean forerunners of the Greek agricultural goddesses Demeter and Persephone (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Mount Olympus," page 107), and that the child is Triptolemos, the hero who spread the gift of agriculture to the Greeks. That myth, however, probably postdates the Mycenaean era.

Life-Size Statuary. In the second millennium BCE, large-scale figural art was very rare on the Greek mainland, as on Crete, other than the paintings that once adorned the walls of Mycenaean palaces (FIG. 4-18A). The triangular relief of the Lion Gate (FIG. 4-19) at Mycenae is exceptional, as is the painted plaster head (FIG. 4-26) of a woman or goddess—or, perhaps, a sphinx—found at Mycenae. The white flesh tone indicates that the head is female. The hair and eyes are dark blue, almost black, and the lips, ears, and headband are red. The artist decorated the cheeks and chin with red circles surrounded by a ring of red dots, recalling the facial paint or tattoos recorded on Early Cycladic figurines of women. Although the large, staring eyes give the face a menacing, if not terrifying, expression appropriate for a guardian figure such as a sphinx, the closest parallels to this work in the prehistoric Aegean are terracotta images of goddesses. This head may therefore be a fragment of a very early life-size *cult statue* in Greece, many times the height of the Palaikastro youth (FIG. 4-13A).

Were it not for this plaster head and a few other exceptional pieces, art historians might have concluded, wrongly, that the Mycenaeans had no large-scale freestanding statuary—a reminder that it is always dangerous to generalize from the chance remains of an ancient civilization. Nonetheless, Mycenaean life-size statuary must have been rare, and no large stone statue has ever been found in the prehistoric Aegean world, in striking contrast to Egypt and Mesopotamia. After the collapse of Mycenaean civilization and for the next several hundred years, no attempts at large-scale statuary in any material are evident in the Aegean until, after the waning of the so-called Dark Ages, Greek sculptors became exposed to the great sculptural tradition of Egypt.

4-26 Female head, from Mycenae, Greece, ca. 1300–1250 BCE. Painted plaster, $6\frac{1}{2}$″ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

This painted white plaster head of a woman with staring eyes may be a fragment of a very early life-size statue of a goddess in Greece, but some scholars think that it is the head of a sphinx.

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4-27 *Warrior Vase* **(krater), from Mycenae, Greece, ca. 1200 BCE. 1′ 4″ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.**

This bowl for mixing wine and water shows a woman bidding farewell to heavily armed Mycenaean warriors depicted using both silhouette and outline and a combination of frontal and profile views.

Warrior Vase. An art form that did continue throughout the period after the downfall of the Mycenaean palaces was vase painting. One of the latest examples of Mycenaean painting is the *krater* (bowl for mixing wine and water) commonly called the *Warrior Vase* (FIG. 4-27) after its prominent frieze of soldiers marching off to war. At the left, a woman bids farewell to the column of heavily armed warriors moving away from her. The painting on this vase has no indication of setting and lacks the landscape elements that commonly appear in earlier Minoan and Mycenaean art. Although the painter depicted the soldiers using both silhouette and outline, all repeat the same pattern of combined frontal and profile views, a far cry from the variety and anecdotal detail of the lively procession shown on the Minoan *Harvesters Vase* (FIG. 4-14).

This simplification of narrative has parallels in the increasingly schematic and abstract treatment of marine life on other painted vases. The octopus, for example, eventually became a stylized motif composed of concentric circles and spirals that are almost unrecognizable as a sea creature. By Homer's time, the greatest days of Aegean civilization were but a distant memory, and the men and women of Crete and Mycenae—Minos and Ariadne, Agamemnon and Helen—had assumed the stature of heroes from a lost golden age.

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THE BIG PICTURE

The Prehistoric Aegean

Early Cycladic Art ca. 3000–2000 BCE

- The islands of the Aegean Sea boast excellent marble quarries, and marble statuettes are the major surviving artworks of the Cyclades during the third millennium BCE.
- Unfortunately, little is known about the function of the Cycladic figurines because few have secure provenances. Most of the statuettes represent nude women with their arms folded across their abdomens. They probably came from graves and may represent the deceased, but others—for example, musicians—almost certainly do not. Whatever their meaning, these statuettes mark the beginning of the long history of marble sculpture in Greece.

Harp player, Keros, ca. 2600–2300 BCE

Middle and Late Minoan Art ca. 1700–1200 BCE

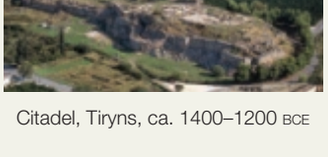
- The construction of the first palaces on Crete occurred during the Old Palace period (ca. 2000–1700 BCE), but the golden age of Crete was the Middle and Late Minoan periods. The Minoan "palaces" were administrative, commercial, and religious centers that may not have been royal residences.
- The greatest Minoan palace was at Knossos. A vast multistory structure arranged around a central court, the Knossos palace was so complex in plan that it gave rise to the myth of the Minotaur in the labyrinth of King Minos.
- The major pictorial art form in the Minoan world was fresco painting. The murals depicted rituals (such as bull-leaping), landscapes, seascapes, and other subjects. Some of the best examples, such as the *Spring Fresco,* come from Akrotiri on the island of Thera, buried during the volcanic eruption of 1628 BCE.
- Vase painting also flourished. Sea motifs—the octopus, for example—were popular subjects.
- Surviving examples of Minoan sculpture are of small scale. They include statuettes of "snake goddesses" and reliefs on small objects, for example, the *Harvesters Vase.*

Palace, Knossos, ca. 1700–1370 BCE

Spring Fresco, Akrotiri, ca. 1650–1625 BCE

Mycenaean (Late Helladic) Art ca. 1600–1200 BCE

- As early as 1600–1500 BCE, the Mycenaeans, who with their Greek allies later waged war on Troy, buried their kings in deep shaft graves in which the excavator, Heinrich Schliemann, also found gold funerary masks and bronze daggers inlaid with gold and silver.
- By 1400 BCE, the Mycenaeans had occupied Crete, and between 1400 and 1200 BCE, they erected great citadels on the mainland at Mycenae, Tiryns, and elsewhere with "Cyclopean" walls of huge, irregularly shaped stone blocks. The Greeks of the historical period did not believe that mere humans could have constructed these fortifications.
- Masters of corbel vaulting, the Mycenaeans also erected beehive-shaped tholos tombs. The best example—the Treasury of Atreus—boasts the largest dome in the pre-Roman world.
- The oldest preserved large-scale sculptures in Greece, most notably Mycenae's Lion Gate, date to the end of the Mycenaean period.
- The Mycenaeans also excelled in small-scale ivory carving, metalworking, and pottery painting. Many of the Mycenaean objects known today may have been the work of Cretan artists, however.



Citadel, Tiryns, ca. 1400–1200 BCE

Gold drinking cup, Vapheio, ca. 1600–1500 BCE

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▼**5-1a** The reliefs depicting Greeks battling semihuman centaurs are allegories of the triumph of civilization and rational order over barbarism and chaos—and of the Greek defeat of the Persians in 479 BCE.

▶**5-1b** The costliest part of the Parthenon's lavish sculptural program was inside—Phidias's colossal gold-and-ivory statue depicting Athena holding the personification of Victory (of the Greeks over the Persians).

5-1 IKTINOS, Parthenon (looking southeast), Acropolis, Athens, Greece, 447–438 BCE.

▶**5-1c** An unusual feature of the Parthenon is the addition of an inner frieze depicting a cavalcade of Athenian citizens during a religious festival—the first depiction of a human event on a Greek temple.

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ANCIENT GREECE 5

FRAMING THE ERA

The Perfect Temple

Although the Greeks borrowed many ideas, motifs, conventions, and skills from the artists and architects of the older Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations, they quickly developed an independent artistic identity. Their many innovations in painting, sculpture, and architecture became the foundation of the Western tradition in the history of art. Indeed, no building type has ever had a longer and more profound impact on the later history of architecture than the Greek temple, which was itself a multimedia monument, richly adorned with painted statues and reliefs.

The most famous Greek building today is the Parthenon (FIG. 5-1), considered by many to be the "perfect temple," although, ironically, it lacks some of the key features of all other Greek temples. Erected on the Acropolis of Athens in the mid-fifth century BCE, the Parthenon represents the culmination of a century-long effort by Greek architects to design a building with ideal proportions. Applying the thinking of the influential philosopher Pythagoras of Samos, who believed that beauty resided in harmonic numerical ratios, the architect IKTINOS calculated the dimensions of every part of the Parthenon in terms of a fixed proportional scheme. Thus the ratio of the length to the width of the building, the number of columns on the long versus the short sides, and even the relationship between the diameter of a column and the space between neighboring columns conformed to an all-encompassing mathematical formula.

The Athenians did not, however, construct the Parthenon to solve a purely formal problem of architectural design. Nor did the shrine honor Athena Parthenos (Athena the Virgin) alone. The Parthenon also celebrated the Athenian people, who a generation earlier had led the Greeks to victory over the Persians after they had sacked the Acropolis in 480 BCE. Under the direction of PHIDIAS, a team of gifted sculptors lavishly decorated the building with statues and reliefs that in many cases alluded to that triumph. For example, the sculptural program included reliefs depicting nude Greek warriors battling with the part-horse, part-human *centaurs*—an allegory of the triumph of civilization (that is, Greek civilization) over barbarism (in this case, the Persians). And the Athenians themselves are the subject of the Parthenon's inner frieze—the first time that a human event was depicted on a Greek temple. The costliest and most prestigious sculpture Phidias reserved for himself: the colossal gold-and-ivory statue of Athena inside, which depicted the warrior goddess holding the winged personification of Victory—an unmistakable reference to the Greek defeat of the Persians.

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MAP 5-1 The Greek world.

THE GREEKS AND THEIR GODS

Ancient Greek art occupies a special place in the history of art through the ages. Many of the cultural values of the Greeks, especially the exaltation of humans as the "measure of all things," remain fundamental principles of Western civilization today. This humanistic worldview led the Greeks to create the concept of democracy (rule by the *demos,* the people) and to make groundbreaking contributions in the fields of art, literature, philosophy, mathematics, and science. Because ancient Greek ideas are so completely part of modern Western habits of mind, most people are scarcely aware that the concepts originated in Greece 2,500 years ago.

The Greeks, or *Hellenes,* as they called themselves, were the product of an intermingling of Aegean and Indo-European peoples who established independent city-states, or *poleis* (singular, *polis*). The Dorians of the north, who many believe brought an end to Mycenaean civilization, settled in the Peloponnesos (MAP 5-1). The Ionians settled the western coast of Asia Minor (modern Turkey) and the islands of the Aegean Sea, possibly because they were native to Asia Minor, developing out of a mixed stock of settlers between the 11th and 8th centuries BCE. Whatever the origins of the various regional populations, in 776 BCE the separate Greek-speaking city-states held their first athletic games in common at Olympia, a sanctuary dedicated to Zeus, king of the Greek gods (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Mount Olympus," page 107). From then on, despite their differences and rivalries, the Greeks regarded themselves as citizens of *Hellas,* joined by a common culture and language distinct from "barbarians" who did not speak Greek.

Just as the Greeks saw themselves as unique, so too their gods were distinct from those of neighboring civilizations. Unlike Mesopotamian and Egyptian deities, the Greek gods and goddesses were conceived in human form and differed from men and women only in being immortal. Humans, conversely, had the potential to become gods by fulfilling heroic ideals. The same ideals of perfection that the designers of the Parthenon (FIG. 5-1) sought in architecture applied to ideals of beauty in individuals. Greek sculptors and painters focused on portraying ideal beauty in human form.

The sculptures, paintings, and buildings discussed in this chapter come from cities all over Greece and their many colonies abroad

ANCIENT GREECE

900–600 BCE	600–480 BCE	480–400 BCE	400–323 BCE	323–30 BCE
Geometric and Orientalizing	**Archaic**	**Early and High Classical**	**Late Classical**	**Hellenistic**
■ Greek artists revive figure painting during the Geometric period ■ Eastern motifs enter Greek sculpture and painting during the Orientalizing period	■ Greek architects erect the first peripteral Doric and Ionic temples ■ Greek sculptors carve life-size stone statues with "Archaic smiles" ■ Greek ceramists perfect black- and, later, red-figure vase painting	■ Sculptors introduce weight shift in Greek statuary ■ Polykleitos formulates his canon of proportions for statues of ideal humans ■ Pericles rebuilds the Athenian Acropolis after the Persian sack	■ Praxiteles and other sculptors humanize the Greek gods and goddesses ■ Corinthian capitals are introduced in Greek architecture ■ Lysippos is appointed the official court artist of Alexander the Great	■ Hellenistic kingdoms replace Athens as leading cultural centers ■ Artists explore new subjects in sculpture and painting ■ Architects break the rules of the Classical orders

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The Gods and Goddesses of Mount Olympus

The names of scores of Greek gods and goddesses appear as early as the eighth century BCE in Homer's epic tales of the war against Troy (*Iliad*) and of the adventures of the Greek hero Odysseus on his long journey home (*Odyssey*). The poet Hesiod enumerated even more names, especially in his *Theogony* (*Genealogy of the Gods*), composed around 700 BCE.

The Greek deities most often represented in art are all ultimately the offspring of the two key elements of the Greek universe: Earth (*Gaia/Ge*; all names appear here in their Greek and Latin forms respectively) and Heaven (*Ouranos/Uranus*). Earth and Heaven mated to produce 12 *Titans,* including Ocean (*Okeanos/Oceanus*) and his youngest brother *Kronos* (*Saturn*). Kronos castrated his father in order to rule in his place, married his sister *Rhea,* and then swallowed all his children as they were born, because a prophecy said that one of them would seek in turn to usurp him. When *Zeus* (*Jupiter*) was born, Rhea deceived Kronos by feeding him a stone wrapped in clothes in place of the infant. After growing to manhood, Zeus forced Kronos to vomit up Zeus's siblings. Together they overthrew their father and the other Titans, and ruled the world from their home on Mount Olympus, Greece's highest peak.

This cruel and bloody tale of the origin of the Greek gods has parallels in Mesopotamian and Egyptian mythology and is clearly pre-Greek in origin, one of many Greek borrowings from the East. The Greek version of the creation myth, however, appears infrequently in painting and sculpture. Instead, the later 12 Olympian gods and goddesses figure most prominently in art—not only in antiquity but also in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and up to the present.

ZEUS AND HIS SIBLINGS

- ***Zeus* (*Jupiter*)** King of the gods, Zeus ruled the sky and allotted the sea to his brother Poseidon and the Underworld to his other brother, Hades. His weapon was the thunderbolt, and with it he led the other gods to victory over the giants, who had challenged the Olympians for control of the world.
- ***Hera* (*Juno*)** Wife and sister of Zeus, Hera was the goddess of marriage.
- ***Poseidon* (*Neptune*)** Poseidon, one of the three sons of Kronos and Rhea, was lord of the sea. He controlled waves, storms, and earthquakes with his three-pronged pitchfork (*trident*).
- ***Hestia* (*Vesta*)** Sister of Zeus, Poseidon, and Hera, Hestia was goddess of the hearth.
- ***Demeter* (*Ceres*)** Third sister of Zeus, Demeter was the goddess of grain and agriculture.

ZEUS'S CHILDREN

- ***Ares* (*Mars*)** God of war, Ares was the son of Zeus and Hera and the lover of Aphrodite. His Roman counterpart, Mars, was the father of the twin founders of Rome, Romulus and Remus.
- ***Athena* (*Minerva*)** Goddess of wisdom and warfare, Athena was a virgin (*parthenos* in Greek), born not from a woman's womb but from the head of her father, Zeus.
- ***Hephaistos* (*Vulcan*)** God of fire and of metalworking, Hephaistos, son of Zeus and Hera, fashioned the armor Achilles wore in battle against Troy. He also provided Zeus his scepter and Poseidon his trident, and was the "surgeon" who split open Zeus's head to facilitate the birth of Athena. Hephaistos was born lame and, uncharacteristically for a god, ugly. His wife, Aphrodite, was unfaithful to him.
- ***Apollo* (*Apollo*)** God of light and music, Apollo was the son of Zeus with ***Leto/Latona,*** daughter of one of the Titans. His epithet, *phoibos,* means "radiant," and the young, beautiful Apollo was sometimes identified with the sun (***Helios/Sol***).
- ***Artemis* (*Diana*)** Sister of Apollo, Artemis was goddess of the hunt and of wild animals. As Apollo's twin, she was occasionally regarded as the moon (***Selene/Luna***).
- ***Aphrodite* (*Venus*)** Daughter of Zeus and ***Dione*** (daughter of Okeanos and one of the *nymphs*—the goddesses of springs, caves, and woods), Aphrodite was the goddess of love and beauty. In one version of her myth, she was born from the foam (*aphros* in Greek) of the sea. She was the mother of Eros with Ares and of the Trojan hero Aeneas with a mortal named Anchises.
- ***Hermes* (*Mercury*)** Son of Zeus and another nymph, Hermes was the fleet-footed messenger of the gods and possessed winged sandals. He was also the guide of travelers, including the dead journeying to the Underworld. He carried the herald's rod (*kerykeion/caduceus*) and wore a winged traveler's hat.

SOME NON-OLYMPIAN DEITIES

- ***Hades* (*Pluto*)** One of the children of Kronos who fought with his brothers against the Titans, Hades was equal in stature to the Olympians but never resided on Mount Olympus. He was the god of the dead and lord of the Underworld (also called Hades).
- ***Dionysos* (*Bacchus*)** The son of Zeus and a mortal woman, Dionysos was the god of wine.
- ***Eros* (*Amor* or *Cupid*)** The son of Aphrodite and Ares, Eros was the winged child-god of love.
- ***Asklepios* (*Aesculapius*)** The son of Apollo and a mortal woman, Asklepios was the Greek god of healing, whose serpent-entwined staff is the emblem of modern medicine.

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(MAP 5-1), but Athens, where the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were first performed and where many of the most famous artists and architects worked, has justifiably become symbolic of ancient Greek culture. There, Socrates engaged his fellow citizens in philosophical argument, and Plato formulated his prescription for the ideal form of government in his *Republic.* Complementing the rich intellectual life of Athens was a strong interest in athleticism. Through athletics, Athenian men balanced intellectual and physical perfection to achieve an ideal of humanistic education, well expressed in the familiar phrase "a sound mind in a sound body."

Although deserving, a high estimation of Greek art and culture should not blind anyone to the realities of Hellenic life and society. Athenian "democracy," for example, was a political reality for only one segment of the demos. Of the roughly 500,000 people who lived in Athens in the year 309, only about 2 percent were male citizens,

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who alone had the right to vote. The rest were women, children, foreigners, and slaves. Slavery was a universal institution among the Greeks, as among other ancient peoples. Likewise, Greek women were in no way the equals of Greek men. Well-born women normally remained secluded in their homes, emerging usually only for weddings, funerals, and religious festivals, in which they played prominent roles. Otherwise, they took little part in public or political life. Despite the fame of the poet Sappho, only a handful of female artists' names are known, and none of their works survive. The existence of slavery and the exclusion of women from public life are both reflected in Greek art. Freeborn men and women often appear with their slaves in large-scale public sculpture. The *symposium* (a dinner party that only men and prostitutes attended) is a popular subject on painted vases used in private homes.

GEOMETRIC AND ORIENTALIZING PERIODS

The destruction of the Mycenaean palaces around 1200 BCE brought with it the disintegration of the traditional social order in the prehistoric Aegean. The disappearance of powerful kings and their retinues led to the loss of the knowledge of how to cut masonry, construct citadels and tombs, paint frescoes, and sculpt in stone. Depopulation, poverty, and an almost total loss of contact with the outside world characterized the succeeding centuries, sometimes called the Dark Age of Greece. Only in the eighth century BCE did economic conditions improve and the population begin to grow again. This era was in its own way a heroic age, when the Greeks established the Olympic Games and wrote down Homer's epic poems, formerly passed orally from bard to bard. During the eighth century BCE, the Greeks broke free of their isolation and once again began to trade with cities in both the east and the west.

Geometric Art

The eighth century also brought the return of the human figure to Greek art—not in large-scale statuary, which was exceedingly rare even in Mycenaean Greece, but in small bronze figurines and in paintings on ceramic pots.

Dipylon Krater. One of the earliest examples of Greek figure painting is a huge *krater* (FIG. 5-2) found in the Dipylon cemetery of Athens. The vase marked the grave of a man who died around 740 BCE. At well over 3 feet tall, the krater is a considerable technical achievement and a testament both to the potter's skill and to the wealth and position of the deceased's family in the community. The bottom of the great vessel is open, perhaps to enable visitors to the grave to pour libations in honor of the dead, perhaps simply to provide a drain for rainwater, or both.

The artist covered much of the krater's surface with precisely painted abstract angular motifs in horizontal bands. Especially prominent is the *meander,* or key, pattern around the rim of the krater. The decoration of most early Greek vases consists exclusively of abstract motifs—hence the designation of this formative phase of Greek art as the *Geometric* period. On this krater, however, although abstract motifs abound, the painter reserved the widest part of the vase for two bands of human figures and horse-drawn chariots rather than for geometric ornament.

Befitting the vase's function, the scenes depict the mourning for a man laid out on his bier and the grand chariot procession

5-2 Geometric krater, from the Dipylon cemetery, Athens, Greece, ca. 740 BCE. 3′ 4½″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure painting returned to Greek art in the Geometric period, named for the abstract motifs on vases such as this funerary krater featuring a mourning scene and procession in honor of the deceased.

5-2A DIPYLON PAINTER, Geometric funerary amphora, ca. 750 BCE.

in his honor, scenes that appear frequently on other large Geometric vessels that served as grave markers—for example, the 5-foot-tall *amphora* (two-handled storage jar; FIG. 5-2A) by the DIPYLON PAINTER, so named because this vase, his masterpiece, stood in the Dipylon cemetery, where it marked the grave of a woman. On both the amphora and the krater, all empty space around the figures is filled with circles and M-shaped ornaments, negating any sense that the mourners or soldiers inhabit open space. The human figures, animals, and furniture are as two-dimensional as the geometric shapes elsewhere on the vessel. In the upper band, the shroud, raised to reveal the corpse, is a flat, abstract checkerboard-like backdrop. The figures are composite silhouettes constructed of triangular (frontal) torsos with attached profile arms, legs, feet, and heads with a single large frontal eye in the center, following the age-old convention. To distinguish male from female, the painter added a penis protruding from the deceased's right thigh. The mourning women, who tear their hair out in grief, have breasts indicated as short lines beneath

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their armpits. In both cases, the artist's concern was specifying gender, not representing human anatomy accurately. Below, the warriors look like walking shields, and, in the old conceptual manner, the two wheels of the chariots appear side by side. The horses have the correct number of heads and legs but seem to share a common body, another indication that representing spatial depth was not the artist's purpose. Despite the highly stylized and conventional manner of representation, this krater and the Dipylon Painter's amphora (FIG. 5-2A) mark a significant turning point in the history of Greek art. Not only did the human figure reenter the painter's repertoire, but the Geometric artists also revived the art of storytelling in pictures. It is no coincidence that the rebirth of narrative art in Geometric Greece occurred at the same time that Homer's epic poems were codified in written form.

Herakles and Nessos. One of the most impressive surviving Geometric sculptures is a characteristically small solid-cast bronze group (FIG. 5-3) made up of two schematic figures locked in a hand-to-hand struggle. The man is a hero, probably Herakles (see "Herakles, the Greatest Greek Hero," page 126). His opponent is a centaur, possibly Nessos, who had volunteered to carry the hero's bride across a river but then assaulted her. Whether or not the pair is Herakles and Nessos, the mythological nature of the group is certain. The repertoire of the Geometric artist was not limited to scenes inspired by daily life (and death). Composite monsters were staples of the artistic cultures of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and renewed contact with the East may have inspired the human-animal monsters of Geometric Greece.

The centaur, however, is a purely Greek invention—and one that posed a problem for the artist, who had, of course, never seen such a creature. The Geometric artist conceived the centaur as a man in front and a horse in back, a rather unconvincing configuration in which the forelegs and hind legs belong to different species. In this example, the sculptor rendered the figure of the hero and the human part of the centaur in a similar fashion. Both have beards and wear helmets, but (contradictory to nature) the man is larger than the horse to indicate that he will be the victor. Like other Geometric male figures, both painted and sculpted, this hero is nude, in contrast to the foreign statuettes that might have inspired the Greek works. Greek youths exercised without their clothes and even competed nude in the Olympic Games from very early times. Here, at the beginning of Greek figural art, the Hellenic instinct for the natural beauty of the human figure is evident. So too is a second theme that characterizes Greek art throughout the centuries: in the struggle between humans and animals, man wins the day, and reason always overcomes chaos.

5-3 Hero and centaur (Herakles and Nessos?), from Olympia(?), Greece, ca. 750–730 BCE. Bronze, 4 1/2″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917).

Sculpture of the Geometric period is small in scale, and the figures have simple, stylized shapes. This statuette depicts a hero battling a centaur—an early example of mythological narrative.

Orientalizing Art

During the seventh century BCE, the pace and scope of Greek trade and colonization accelerated, and Greek artists became exposed more than ever before to Eastern artworks, especially small portable objects such as Syrian ivory carvings. The closer contact had a profound effect on the development of Greek art. Indeed, so many motifs borrowed from or inspired by Egyptian and Mesopotamian art entered the Greek pictorial vocabulary at this time that art historians have dubbed the seventh century BCE the *Orientalizing* period.

Mantiklos Apollo. One of the masterworks of the early seventh century BCE is the *Mantiklos Apollo* (FIG. 5-4), a small bronze statuette dedicated to Apollo by an otherwise unknown man named Mantiklos. Scratched into the thighs of the figure is a message to the deity: "Mantiklos dedicated me as a tithe to the

5-4 *Mantiklos Apollo,* statuette of a youth dedicated by Mantiklos to Apollo, from Thebes, Greece, ca. 700–680 BCE. Bronze, 8″ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Mantiklos dedicated this statuette to Apollo, and it probably represents the god. The treatment of the body reveals the interest that seventh-century BCE Greek artists had in representing human anatomy.

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Greek Vase Painting

The techniques that Greek ceramists used to shape and decorate fine vases required great skill, acquired over many years as apprentices in the workshops of master potters. During the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, when the art of vase painting was at its height in Greece, both potters and painters frequently signed their work. These signatures reveal the pride of the artists. In the ancient world, the Greeks were unique in celebrating individual artists as creative geniuses and in systematically recording artists' names for posterity. Many artists achieved great renown even during their lifetimes. No earlier civilization held artists in such high esteem (Egypt's deification of Imhotep was exceptional)—nor would any later culture bestow such high regard on painters, sculptors, and other artisans until the Renaissance in Italy 2,000 years later.

The signatures on Greek vases also might have functioned as "brand names" for a large export market. The products of the workshops in Corinth and Athens in particular were highly prized and have been found all over the Mediterranean world. For example, the Corinthian Orientalizing amphora shown here (FIG. 5-5) was found on Rhodes, an island at the opposite side of the Aegean from mainland Corinth (MAP 5-1). The Etruscans of central Italy (MAP 6-1) were especially good customers. Athenian vases, with their distinctive red-orange clay, were staples in Etruscan tombs, and all of the illustrated sixth-century BCE examples came from Etruscan sites. Other painted Athenian pots have been unearthed as far away as France, Russia, and the Sudan.

The first step in manufacturing a Greek vase was to remove any impurities found in the natural clay and then to knead it, like dough, to remove air bubbles and make it flexible. The Greeks used dozens of different kinds and shapes of pots, and produced most of them in several parts. Potters constructed the vessel's body by placing the clay on a rotating horizontal wheel. While an apprentice turned the wheel by hand, the potter pulled up the clay with the fingers to form the desired shape. The master or the apprentice modeled the handles separately and attached them to the vase body by applying *slip* (liquefied clay) to the joints.

Painting was usually the job of a specialist, although many potters decorated their own work. (Today, most people tend to regard painters as more elevated artists than potters, but in ancient Greece, the potters owned the shops and employed the painters.) Art historians customarily refer to the "pigment" that vase painters applied to the clay surface as *glaze,* but the black areas on Greek pots are neither pigment nor glaze but a slip of finely sifted clay that originally was of the same rich red-orange color as the clay of the pot. In the three-phase firing process that Athenian ceramists used, the first (oxidizing) phase turned both pot and slip red. During the second (reducing) phase, the potter shut off the oxygen supply into the kiln, and both pot and slip turned black. In the final (reoxidizing) phase, the pot's coarser material reabsorbed oxygen and became red again, while the smoother, silica-laden slip did not and remained black. After long experimentation, Greek ceramists developed a velvety jet-black "glaze" of this kind, produced in kilns heated to temperatures as high as 950° Celsius (about 1742° Fahrenheit). The firing process was the same whether the painter worked in black-figure or in the later red-figure technique (see "The Invention of Red-Figure Painting," page 121). In fact, Athenian vase painters sometimes employed both manners on the same vessel (FIGS. 5-21 and 5-22). A special advantage of the Greek manufacturing process is that the painted decoration fused with the clay fabric of the pot. Black- and red-figure pottery can be broken, but the colors cannot fade.

5-5 Corinthian black-figure amphora with animal friezes, from Rhodes, Greece, ca. 625–600 BCE. 1′ 2″ high. British Museum, London.

The Corinthians invented the black-figure technique of vase painting in which artists incised linear details into black-glaze silhouettes. This early example features Orientalizing animals.

far-shooting Lord of the Silver Bow; you, Phoibos [Apollo], might give some pleasing favor in return." Because the Greeks conceived their gods in human form, it is uncertain whether the figure represents the youthful Apollo or Mantiklos (or neither). But if the left hand at one time held a bow, the statuette is certainly an image of the deity. In any case, the purpose of the votive offering is clear. Equally apparent is the increased interest that Greek artists at this time had in reproducing details of human anatomy, such as the pectoral and abdominal muscles, which define the stylized triangular torso. The sculptor also took care to represent the long hair framing

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the unnaturally elongated neck. The triangular face once had inlaid eyes, and the figure may have worn a separately fashioned helmet pegged into the hole and groove at the top of the head.

Orientalizing Amphora. Dominated by the Greek city-state of Corinth, a thriving trade in exported ceramics arose in the late seventh century BCE. The Corinthian amphora illustrated here (FIG. 5-5) typifies the new Greek fascination with the Orient. In a series of bands recalling the organization of Geometric painted vases, animals such as the native boar appear beside exotic lions and panthers and composite creatures inspired by Eastern monsters such as the sphinx and lamassu—in this instance, the *siren* (part bird, part woman) prominently displayed on the amphora's neck. The Orientalizing animal friezes of these vases had wide appeal in the marketplace, but so too did the new ceramic technique that the Corinthians invented. Art historians call this type of vase decoration *black-figure painting* (see "Greek Vase Painting," page 110). The black-figure painter first put down black silhouettes on the clay surface, as in Geometric times, but then used a sharp, pointed instrument to incise linear details within the forms, usually adding highlights in white or purplish red over the black figures before firing the vase. The combination of the weighty black silhouettes with the delicate detailing against the pale, creamy Corinthian clay and the bright polychrome overlay proved to be irresistible. Athenian painters soon copied the technique that the Corinthians pioneered.

Daedalic Art. The founding of the Greek trading colony of Naukratis in Egypt (MAP 3-1) before 630 BCE brought the Greeks into direct contact with the impressive stone architecture of the Egyptians. Soon after, Greek builders began to erect the first stone edifices since the fall of the Mycenaean kingdoms. One of the oldest is Temple A—noteworthy too for its extensive sculptural adornment (FIG. 5-5A)—at Prinias on Crete. Once the heart of Minoan civilization, Crete was also a center of innovation during the Orientalizing period. There, an early Greek sculptor carved the limestone statuette popularly known as the *Lady of Auxerre* (FIG. 5-6) after the French town that is her oldest recorded location. The *Lady of Auxerre* is the masterpiece of the style usually referred to as *Daedalic,* after the legendary artist Daedalus, whose name means "the skillful one."

5-5A Lintel, Temple A, Prinias, ca. 625 BCE.

As with the figure that Mantiklos dedicated (FIG. 5-4), it is uncertain whether the Auxerre "lady" is a goddess or a maiden (*kore;* plural, *korai*). In contrast to the nude figures of men, she is clothed, as are all images of goddesses and women of this period. Yet her unadorned head (the goddesses of Temple A at Prinias wear headdresses; FIG. 5-5A) and the placement of her right hand across her chest in what is probably a gesture of prayer indicate that this is a kore. Evidence suggests that the findspot of the *Lady of Auxerre* was a cemetery at Eleutherna in Crete, which would confirm that the statue represents a deceased woman and not a goddess. The style is much more naturalistic than in Geometric times, but the love of abstract shapes is still evident. Note, for example, the triangular flat-topped head framed by long strands of hair that form triangles complementary to the shape of the face, and the decoration of the long skirt with its incised concentric squares, once brightly

1 ft.

5-6 *Lady of Auxerre,* from Crete, probably Eleutherna, Greece, ca. 650–625 BCE. Limestone, 2′ 1½″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Carved on Crete, this praying kore (maiden) typifies the Daedalic sculptural style of the seventh century BCE with its triangular face and hair and lingering Geometric fondness for abstract pattern.

painted, as were all Greek stone statues. The modern notion that Greco-Roman statuary was pure white is mistaken. The Greeks did not, however, color their statues garishly. They left the flesh in the natural color of the stone, which they waxed and polished, and painted the eyes, lips, hair, and drapery in *encaustic* (see "Encaustic Painting," page 223, and FIG. 5-63A). In this technique, the painter mixed the pigment with hot wax and applied it to the statue to produce a durable coloration.

ARCHAIC PERIOD

In addition to his status as a great sculptor, Daedalus reputedly built the labyrinth (FIG. 4-5) in Crete to house the Minotaur and also designed a temple at Memphis in Egypt. The historical Greeks

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attributed to him almost all the great achievements in early sculpture and architecture. The legend that Daedalus worked in Egypt reflects the enormous influence of Egyptian art and architecture on the Greeks, not only during the Orientalizing age of the seventh century BCE but also in the succeeding *Archaic* period, which lasted from 600 to 480 BCE.

Statuary

According to the first-century BCE Greek historian Diodorus Siculus, Daedalus used the same compositional patterns for his statues as the Egyptians used for their own.[1] The earliest surviving large-scale stone statues of the Greeks do, in fact, follow very closely the standard Egyptian format.

New York Kouros. One of the earliest Greek examples of life-size statuary (FIG. 5-7) is the marble *kouros* ("youth"; plural, *kouroi*) now in New York, which emulates the stance of Egyptian statues (FIG. 3-13). In both Egypt and Greece, the figure is rigidly frontal with the left foot advanced slightly. The arms are held beside the body, and the fists are clenched with the thumbs forward. Like most Egyptian statues, the New York kouros also had a funerary function. It stood over a grave in the countryside of Attica, the region around Athens, possibly in the same cemetery as the later statue of Kroisos (FIG. 5-9). Statues such as this one replaced the huge vases (FIGS. 5-2 and 5-2A) of Geometric times as the preferred form of grave marker in the sixth century BCE. The Greeks also used kouroi as votive offerings in sanctuaries. The kouros type, because of its generic quality, could be employed in several different contexts.

Despite the adherence to Egyptian prototypes, Greek kouros statues differ from their models in two important ways. First, the Greek sculptors liberated the figures from the stone block. The Egyptian obsession with permanence was alien to the Greeks, who were preoccupied with finding ways to represent motion rather than stability in their sculpted figures. Second, the kouroi are nude (this kouros wears only a choke necklace), and in the absence of identifying attributes, they, like Mantiklos's bronze statuette (FIG. 5-4), are formally indistinguishable from Greek images of deities with their perfect bodies exposed for all to see.

The New York kouros shares many traits with the *Mantiklos Apollo* and other Orientalizing works such as the *Lady of Auxerre,* especially the triangular shape of head and hair and the flatness of the face—hallmarks of the Daedalic style. Eyes, nose, and mouth all sit on the front of the head, and ears on the sides. The long hair forms a flat backdrop behind the head. The placement of the various anatomical parts is the result of the sculptor's having drawn these features on four independent sides of the marble block, following the same workshop procedure used in Egypt for millennia. The New York kouros also has the slim waist of earlier Greek statues and exhibits the same love of pattern. The pointed arch of the rib cage, for example, echoes the V-shaped ridge of the hips, which suggests but does not accurately reproduce the rounded flesh and muscle of the human body.

Calf Bearer. A generation later than the New York kouros is the statue (FIG. 5-8) of a *moschophoros,* or calf bearer, found in fragments on the Athenian Acropolis. Its inscribed base (not visible in the photograph) states that an otherwise unknown man named Rhonbos, son of Palos, dedicated the statue to Athena. Rhonbos is almost certainly the calf bearer himself, bringing an offering to the goddess. He stands in the left-foot-forward manner of the kouroi, but he is bearded and therefore no longer a youth. He wears a thin cloak (once painted to set it off from the otherwise nude body). No one dressed this way in ancient Athens. The sculptor adhered to the artistic convention of male nudity and attributed to the calf bearer the noble perfection that nudity imparts, yet indicated that this mature gentleman is clothed, as any respectable citizen would be in this context. The Archaic sculptor's love of pattern is evident once again in the handling of the difficult problem of representing man and animal together. The calf's legs and the man's arms form a bold X that unites the two bodies both physically and formally.

5-7 Kouros, from Attica, possibly Anavysos, Greece, ca. 600 BCE. Marble, 6′ $\frac{1}{2}$″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The sculptors of the earliest life-size statues of kouroi (young men) adopted the Egyptian pose for standing figures (FIG. 3-13), but the kouroi are nude and liberated from the stone block.

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5-8 Calf bearer, dedicated by Rhonbos on the Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 560 BCE. Marble, restored height 5′ 5″; fragment 3′ 11½″ high. Acropolis Museum, Athens.

This statue of a bearded man bringing a calf to sacrifice to Athena is one of the first to employ the so-called Archaic smile—probably the Greek sculptor's way of indicating that a person is alive.

The calf bearer's face differs markedly from those of earlier Greek statues (and those of Egypt and Mesopotamia) in one notable way. The man smiles—or at least seems to. From this time on, Archaic Greek statues always smile, even in the most inappropriate contexts (see, for example, FIG. 5-28, which shows a dying warrior with an arrow in his chest—yet grinning broadly). Art historians have interpreted this so-called *Archaic smile* in various ways, but the happy face should not be taken literally. Rather, the Archaic smile is the way that Greek sculptors of this era indicated that the person portrayed is alive. By adopting this convention, Greek artists signaled that their intentions were very different from those of their Egyptian counterparts.

Anavysos Kouros. Sometime around 530 BCE, a young man named Kroisos died a hero's death in battle, and, to commemorate his life, his family erected a kouros statue (FIG. 5-9) over his grave at Anavysos, not far from Athens. Fortunately, some of the paint remains, giving a good sense of the statue's original appearance. The inscribed base invites visitors to "stay and mourn at the tomb of dead Kroisos, whom raging Ares destroyed one day as he fought in the foremost ranks." The smiling statue is no more a portrait of a specific youth than is the New York kouros. But two generations later, without rejecting the Egyptian stance, the Greek sculptor rendered the human body in a far more naturalistic manner. The head is no longer too large for the body, and the face is more rounded, with swelling cheeks replacing the flat planes of the earlier work. The long hair does not form a stiff backdrop to the head but falls naturally over the back, and the V-shaped ridges of the New York kouros have become rounded, fleshy hips.

5-9 Kroisos, from Anavysos, Greece, ca. 530 BCE. Marble, 6′ 4″ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

This later kouros stood over the grave of Kroisos, a young man who died in battle. The statue displays more naturalistic proportions and more rounded modeling of face, torso, and limbs.

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Peplos Kore. A stylistic "sister" to the Anavysos kouros is the statue of a woman traditionally known as the *Peplos Kore* (FIG. 5-10) because until recently scholars thought that this kore wore a peplos. A *peplos* is a simple, long, woolen belted garment. Careful examination of the statue has revealed, however, that she wears four different garments, one of which only goddesses wore. The attribute that the goddess held in her missing left hand would immediately have identified her. Whichever goddess she is, the contrast with the *Lady of Auxerre* (FIG. 5-6) is striking. Although in both cases the drapery conceals the entire body save for head, arms, and feet, the sixth-century BCE sculptor rendered the soft female form much more naturally. This softer treatment of the flesh also sharply differentiates later korai from kouroi, which have hard, muscular bodies.

Traces of paint remain on the *Peplos Kore* because the statue lay buried for more than two millennia, which protected the painted surface from the destructive effects of exposure to the atmosphere and bad weather. The Persians had knocked over this statue, Rhonbos's (FIG. 5-8), and many other votive offerings in Athena's sanctuary during their sack of the Acropolis in 480 BCE. Shortly thereafter, the Athenians buried all the damaged Archaic sculptures, which accounts for the preservation of the coloration today.

Kore in Ionian Dress. By the late sixth century BCE, the light linen Ionian *chiton,* worn in conjunction with a heavier *himation* (mantle), was the garment of choice for fashionable women. Archaic sculptors of korai in Ionian dress (FIG. 5-11) delighted in rendering the intricate patterns created by the cascading folds of thin, soft material. The asymmetry of the folds greatly relieves the stiff frontality of the body and makes the figure appear much more lifelike than the typical kouros. The sculptor achieved added variety by showing the kore grasping part of her chiton in her left hand (unfortunately broken off) to lift it off the ground in order to take a step forward. This is the equivalent of the advanced left foot of the kouroi and became standard for statues of korai. Despite the varied surface treatment of brightly colored garments on the korai, the kore postures are as fixed as those of their male counterparts.

5-10 ***Peplos Kore,*** **from the Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 530 BCE. Marble, 4′ high. Acropolis Museum, Athens.**

Unlike men, women are always clothed in Archaic statuary. This kore is a votive statue representing a goddess wearing four garments. She held her identifying attribute in her missing left hand.

5-11 Kore in Ionian dress, from the Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 520–510 BCE. Marble, 1′ 9″ high. Acropolis Museum, Athens.

Archaic sculptors delighted in rendering the intricate asymmetrical patterns created by the cascading folds of garments, such as the Ionian chiton and himation worn by this smiling Acropolis kore.

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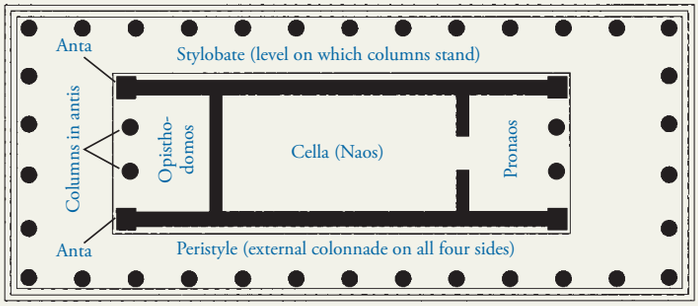
Greek Temple Plans

Although Greek temple plans (FIG. 5-12) vary, in all cases what strikes the eye first is the remarkable order, compactness, and symmetry of the design, reflecting the Greeks' sense of proportion and their effort to achieve ideal forms in terms of numerical relationships and geometric rules (see "The Perfect Temple," page 105).

The core of the ancient Greek temple plan was the *naos,* or *cella,* a windowless room that usually housed the cult statue of the deity. In front of the naos was a *pronaos,* or porch, often with two columns between the *antae,* or extended walls (columns *in antis*). A smaller second room might be placed behind the cella (FIG. 5-15) to store votive offerings, but in its canonical form, the Greek temple had a porch at the rear (*opisthodomos*) set against the blank back wall of the cella. The second porch served only a decorative purpose, satisfying the Greek passion for balance and symmetry.

Around this core, Greek builders might erect a colonnade across the front of the temple (*prostyle*; FIG. 5-52), across both front and back (*amphiprostyle*; FIG. 5-55), or, more commonly, all around the cella and its porch(es) to form a *peristyle,* as in FIG. 5-12 (compare FIGS. 5-1 and 5-14). Single (*peripteral*) colonnades were the norm, but double (*dipteral*) colonnades were features of especially elaborate temples (FIGS. 5-75 and 5-76).

The Greeks' insistence on balance and order guided their experiments with the proportions of temple plans. The earliest temples tended to be long and narrow, with the proportion of the ends to the sides roughly expressible as a ratio of 1:3. From the sixth century BCE on, the ratio of front to side was closer to but not usually exactly 1:2. That is, Classical temples tended to be a little longer than twice their width. To the Greek mind, proportion in architecture and sculpture was comparable to harmony in music (see "Polykleitos's Prescription for the Perfect Statue," page 131). Both were reflections and embodiments of the beauty and perfection of the cosmos.



5-12 Plan of a typical Greek peripteral temple.

The canonical Greek temple plan is compact and symmetrical. The core of the building—the cella—housed the deity's statue. The altar was outside, on the east, where the worshipers assembled.

Architecture and Architectural Sculpture

The earliest Greek temples do not survive because their builders constructed them of wood and mud brick. Pausanias, the author of a famous second-century CE guidebook to Greece, noted that in the even-then-ancient Temple of Hera at Olympia, one oak column was still in place.[2] (Stone columns had replaced the others.) For Archaic and later Greek temples, however, Greek builders used more permanent materials—limestone or, where it was available, marble, which was more beautiful and durable (and more expensive). In Greece proper, if not in its western colonies, marble was readily available. Bluish-white Hymettian marble came from Mount Hymettus, just east of Athens, and glittering white Pentelic marble from Mount Pentelicus, northeast of the city. Fine white marble was also quarried on some of the Aegean Islands, especially Paros.

As early as the Orientalizing seventh century BCE, the Greeks had built at Prinias a stone temple (FIG. 5-5A) embellished with stone sculptures, but the Cretan temple was small and simple, without the familiar, later external ring of columns (FIG. 5-1). In the Archaic age of the sixth century BCE, when the Greeks began to travel and trade widely in the Mediterranean, they became familiar with Egyptian columnar halls, such as those at Luxor (FIG. 3-24A) and Karnak (FIGS. 3-24, 3-25, and 3-26). It was then that Greek architects began to build the columnar stone temples that have become synonymous with Greek architecture and influenced countless later structures in the Western world.

The Canonical Greek Temple. Greek temples differed in function from most later religious shrines. The altar lay outside the temple—at the east end, facing the rising sun—and the Greeks gathered to worship outside, not inside, the building. The temple proper housed the so-called *cult statue* of the deity, the grandest of all votive offerings. In both its early and its mature manifestations, the Greek temple (see "Greek Temple Plans," above, and FIG. 5-12) was the house of the god or goddess, not of his or her followers.

Figural sculpture played a major role in the exterior program of the Greek temple from early times, partly to embellish the god's shrine, partly to tell something about the deity represented within, and partly to serve as a votive offering. But Greek architects also conceived the building itself, with its finely carved *capitals* and moldings, as sculpture, abstract in form and possessing the power of sculpture to evoke human responses. To underscore the commanding importance of the sculptured temple and its inspiring function in public life, the Greeks usually erected their temples on elevated sites, often on a hill above the city (*acropolis* means "high city").

Most of the sculptural ornament was on the upper part of the building, in the *frieze* and *pediments* (see "Doric and Ionic Orders," page 116). The Greeks painted their architectural sculptures (FIGS. 5-17 and 5-27), as they did their freestanding statues (FIG. 5-63A), and usually placed sculpture only in the building parts that had no structural function. This is true particularly of the *Doric order* (FIG. 5-13, *left*), in which decorative sculpture appears only in the "voids" of the *metopes* and pediments. In the *Ionic order* (FIG. 5-13, *right*), builders were willing to decorate the entire frieze and sometimes even the lower part of the column. Occasionally, Ionic architects replaced columns with female figures, known as *caryatids* (FIGS. 5-17 and 5-54). The Greeks also painted capitals, decorative moldings, and other architectural elements. The original

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Doric and Ionic Orders

Architectural historians describe the elevation (FIG. 5-13) of a Greek temple in terms of the platform, the colonnade, the *entablature* (the section between the columns and the roof), and the roof. In the Archaic period, two basic systems, or *orders,* evolved—the *Doric* and the *Ionic,* which differ both in the nature of the details and in the relative proportions of the parts. The orders are like sentences in a language, which are constructed according to rules of grammar and syntax. Placing a Doric frieze above an Ionic colonnade would be comparable to using a plural verb with a singular subject in a sentence.

The names of the two orders derive from the Greek regions where they were most commonly employed. The Doric, formulated on the mainland, remained the preferred style there and in Greece's western colonies. The Ionic was the order of choice in the Aegean Islands and on the western coast of Asia Minor. The geographical distinctions are by no means absolute. The Ionic order, for example, was a frequent choice for buildings in Athens (where, according to some ancient authors, the Athenians considered themselves Ionians who never migrated).

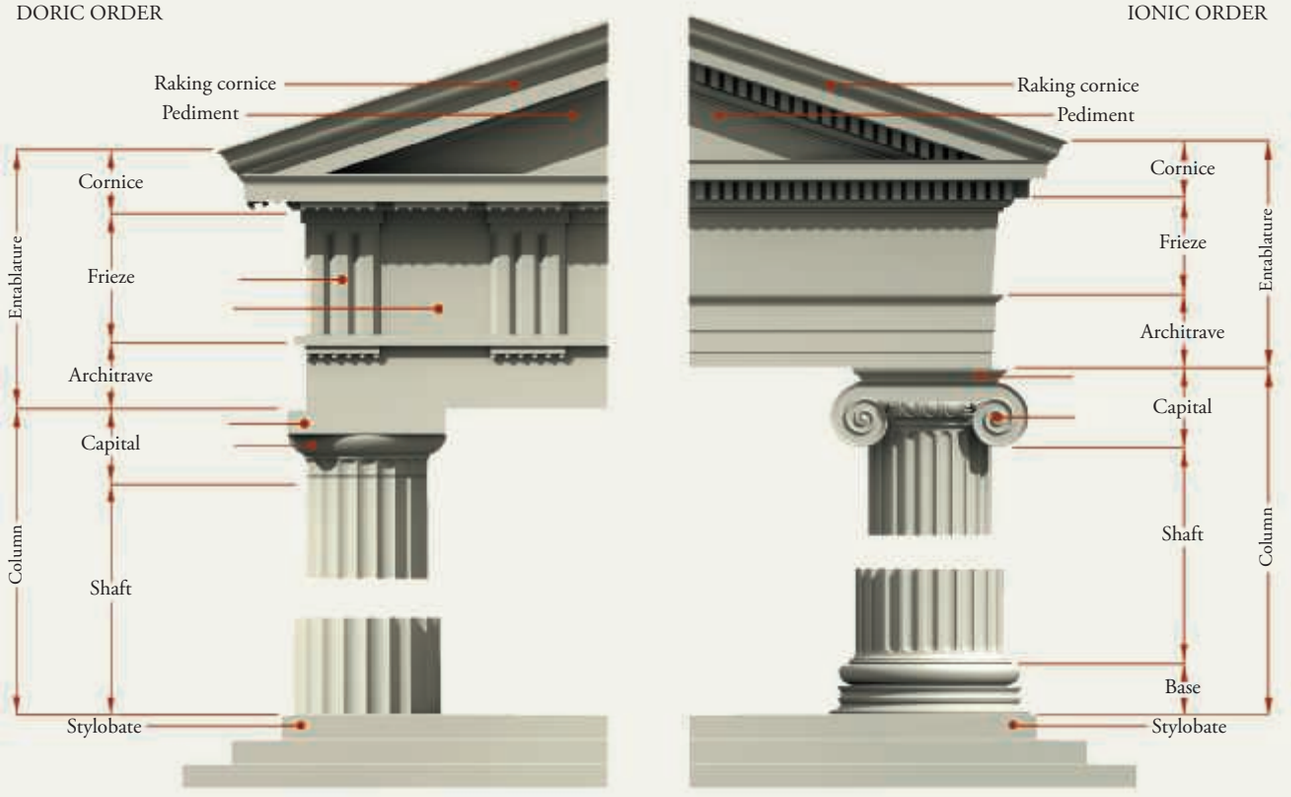
In both orders, the columns rest on the *stylobate,* the uppermost course of the platform. Metal clamps held together the stone blocks in each horizontal course, and metal dowels joined the blocks of different courses vertically. The columns have two or three parts, depending on the order: the *shaft,* usually marked with vertical channels (*flutes*); the *capital* ("head"); and, in the Ionic order, the *base.* Greek column shafts, in contrast to Minoan and Mycenaean examples, taper gradually from bottom to top. They usually are composed of separate *drums* joined by metal dowels to prevent turning as well as shifting, although occasionally the Greeks erected *monolithic* (single-piece) columns.

Greek column capitals have two elements. The lower part (the *echinus*) varies with the order. In the Doric, it is convex and cushionlike, similar to the echinus of Minoan (FIG. 4-6) and Mycenaean (FIG. 4-19) capitals. In the Ionic, it is small and supports a bolster ending in scroll-like spirals (the *volutes*). The upper element, present in both orders, is a block (the *abacus*) that provides the immediate support for the entablature. The abacus takes different shapes in the Doric and Ionic systems.

The entablature has three parts: the *architrave,* the main weight-bearing and weight-distributing element; the *frieze;* and the *cornice,* a molded horizontal projection that together with two sloping (*raking*) cornices forms a triangle framing the *pediment.* In the Ionic order, the architrave is usually subdivided into three horizontal bands. Doric architects subdivided the frieze into *triglyphs* and *metopes,* whereas Ionic builders left the frieze open to provide a continuous field for relief sculpture.

The Doric order is massive in appearance, its sturdy columns firmly planted on the stylobate. Compared with the weighty and severe Doric, the Ionic order seems light, airy, and much more decorative. Its columns are more slender and rise from molded bases.

The most obvious differences between the two orders are, of course, the capitals—the Doric, severely plain, and the Ionic, highly ornamental.



5-13 Elevations of the Doric and Ionic orders (John Burge).

The major differences between the Doric and Ionic orders are the form of the capitals and the treatment of the frieze. The Doric frieze is subdivided into triglyphs and metopes.

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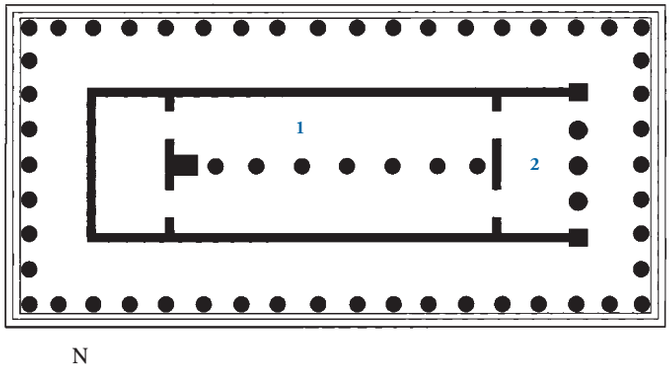
5-14 Temple of Hera I ("Basilica," looking northeast), Paestum, Italy, ca. 550 BCE.

The peristyle of this huge early Doric temple consists of heavy, closely spaced, cigar-shaped columns with bulky, pancakelike capitals, characteristic features of Archaic Greek architecture.



5-15 Plan of the Temple of Hera I, Paestum, Italy, ca. 550 BCE.

The Hera temple's plan also reveals its early date. The building has an odd number of columns on the facade and a single row of columns in the cella, leaving no place for a central cult statue.

appearance of Greek temples was therefore quite different than their gleaming white, if ruined, state today.

Although the Greeks used color for emphasis and to relieve what might have seemed too bare, Greek architects primarily sought clarity and balance. To the Greeks, it was unthinkable to use surfaces in the way that the Egyptians used their gigantic columns—as fields for complicated ornamentation (FIGS. 3-25 and 3-26). The history of Greek temple architecture is the history of Greek architects' efforts to find the most satisfactory (that is, what they believed were most perfect) proportions for each part of the building and for the structure as a whole.

Basilica, Paestum. The premier example of early Greek efforts at Doric temple design is not in Greece but in one of their many settlements in Italy, at Paestum (Greek Poseidonia), south of Naples. The huge (80-by-170-foot) Archaic temple (FIG. 5-14) erected there around 550 BCE retains its entire peripteral colonnade, but most of the frieze and pediment, and the entire roof, have vanished. Called the "Basilica" by early investigators, who believed that it resembled the Roman columnar hall building type, the structure was a shrine to the goddess Hera. Today, the Basilica is known as the Temple of Hera I to distinguish it from its neighbor, the later Temple of Hera II (FIG. 5-30). The misnomer is partly due to the building's plan (FIG. 5-15), which differs from that of most other Greek temples. The unusual feature, found only in early Archaic temples, is the central row of columns dividing the *cella* into two aisles. Placing columns underneath the *ridge beam* (the timber beam running the length of the building below the peak of the gabled roof) might seem the logical way to provide interior support for the roof structure, but it had several disadvantages. The row of columns on the cella's axis precluded a central cult statue. Further, in order to correspond with the interior, the temple's facade required an odd number of columns (nine in this case). At Paestum, there are also three columns in antis instead of the standard two, which in turn ruled out a central doorway for viewing the statue. (This design, however, was well suited for two statues, and some scholars have speculated that the Paestum cella housed statues of Zeus and Hera.) In any case, the architect chose to employ a simple 1:2 ratio of facade and flank columns, and erected 18 columns on each side of the temple.

Another early aspect of the Paestum temple is the shape of its heavy, closely spaced columns (FIG. 5-14) with their large, bulky, pancakelike Doric capitals, which seem compressed by the overbearing weight of what probably was a high, massive entablature. The columns have a pronounced swelling (*entasis*) at the middle of the shafts, giving them a profile akin to that of a cigar. The columns and capitals thus express in a vivid manner their weight-bearing function. One reason for the heaviness of the design and the narrowness of the spans between the columns might be that the Archaic builders were afraid that thinner and more widely spaced columns would result in the superstructure's collapse. In later Doric temples (FIGS. 5-1, 5-25, and 5-30), the builders placed the columns farther apart and refined the forms. The shafts became more slender, the entasis subtler, the capitals smaller, and the entablature lighter. Greek architects sought the ideal proportional relationship among the parts of their buildings. The sculptors of Archaic kouroi and korai grappled with similar problems. Architecture and sculpture developed in a parallel manner during the sixth century BCE.

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5-16 West pediment, Temple of Artemis, Corfu, Greece, ca. 600–580 BCE. Limestone, greatest height 9′ 4″. Archaeological Museum, Corfu.

The hideous Medusa and two panthers at the center of this early pediment served as temple guardians. To either side, and much smaller, are scenes from the Trojan War and the battle of gods and giants.

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Temple of Artemis, Corfu. Architects and sculptors frequently worked together, as at Corfu (ancient Corcyra), where, soon after 600 BCE, the Greeks constructed a large Doric temple in honor of Artemis. Corfu is an island off the western coast of Greece and was an important stop on the trade route between the mainland and the Greek settlements in Italy (MAP 5-1). Prosperity made possible the erection of one of the earliest stone peripteral temples in Greece, one also lavishly embellished with sculpture. Sculptors decorated the metopes with reliefs (unfortunately very fragmentary today) and filled both pediments with huge high-relief sculptures (more than 9 feet tall at the center). It appears that the pediments on both ends of the temple were decorated in an identical manner. The west pediment (FIG. 5-16) is better preserved.

Designing figural decoration for a pediment was never an easy task for the Greek sculptor because of the pediment's awkward triangular shape. The central figures had to be of great size. By contrast, as the pediment tapered toward the corners, the available area became increasingly cramped. At the center of the Corfu pediment is the *gorgon* Medusa, a demon with a woman's body and a bird's wings. Medusa also had a hideous face and snake hair, and anyone who gazed at her turned to stone. The Corfu sculptor depicted her in the conventional Archaic bent-leg, bent-arm, pinwheel-like posture that signifies running or, for a winged creature, flying. To her left and right are two great felines. Together they serve as temple guardians, repulsing all enemies from the sanctuary of the goddess. Similar panthers stood sentinel on the lintel (FIG. 5-5A) of the seventh-century BCE temple at Prinias. The Corfu felines are in the tradition of the guardian lions of Mycenae (FIG. 4-19) and the beasts that stood guard at the entrances to Hittite and Assyrian palaces (FIGS. 2-18A and 2-20). Medusa herself is also an *apotropaic* figure—that is, she protects the temple and wards off evil. The triad of Medusa and the felines recalls as well Mesopotamian heraldic human-and-animal compositions (FIG. 2-10). The Corfu figures are, in short, still further examples of the Orientalizing manner in early Greek sculpture.

Between Medusa and the two felines are two smaller figures—the human Chrysaor at her left and the winged horse Pegasus at her right (only the rear legs remain, next to Medusa's right foot). Chrysaor and Pegasus were Medusa's children. According to legend, they sprang from her head when the Greek hero Perseus severed it with his sword. Their presence here on either side of the living Medusa is therefore a chronological impossibility. The Archaic artist's interest was not in telling a coherent story but in identifying the central figure by depicting her offspring. Narration was, however, the purpose of the much smaller groups situated in the pediment corners. To the viewer's right is Zeus, brandishing his thunderbolt and slaying a kneeling giant. In the extreme corner (not preserved) was a dead giant. The *gigantomachy* (battle of gods and giants) was a popular theme in Greek art of all periods and was a metaphor for the triumph of reason and order over chaos. In the pediment's left corner is one of the Trojan War's climactic events: Achilles's son, Neoptolemos, kills the enthroned King Priam. The fallen figure to the left of this group may be a dead Trojan.

The master responsible for the Corfu pediments was a pioneer, and the composition shows all the signs of experimentation. The lack of narrative unity in the Corfu pediment and the figures' extraordinary diversity of scale eventually gave way to pedimental designs in which all the figures are the same size and act out a single event. But the Corfu designer already had shown the way. That sculptor realized, for example, that the area beneath the raking cornice could be filled with gods and heroes of similar size by employing a combination of standing, leaning, kneeling, seated, and lying figures. The Corfu master also discovered that animals could be very useful space fillers because, unlike humans, they have one end taller than the other.

Siphnian Treasury, Delphi. With the sixth century BCE also came the construction of grandiose Ionic temples on the Aegean Islands and the west coast of Asia Minor. Yet the gem of Archaic Ionic architecture and architectural sculpture is not a temple but a *treasury* erected by the citizens of Siphnos in the Sanctuary of Apollo (FIG. 5-16A) at Delphi. Greek treasuries were small buildings set up by individual city-states for the safe storage of their votive offerings. At Delphi, many Greek poleis expressed

5-16A Sanctuary of Apollo, Delphi.

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5-17 Restored view of the Siphnian Treasury, Sanctuary of Apollo, Delphi, Greece, ca. 530 BCE (John Burge).

Treasuries were storehouses for a city's votive offerings. The Ionic treasury that the Siphnians erected in Apollo's sanctuary had caryatids in the porch, and sculptures in the pediment and frieze.

their civic pride by erecting these templelike but nonperipteral structures. Athens built one with Doric columns in the porch and sculptured metopes in the frieze. The Siphnians equally characteristically employed the Ionic order for their Delphic treasury. The surviving fragments now on display in the Delphi museum have enabled archaeologists to reconstruct the treasury's original appearance (FIG. 5-17). Wealth from the island's gold and silver mines made such a luxurious building possible. In the porch, where one would expect to find fluted Ionic columns, far more elaborate caryatids were employed instead. Caryatids are rare, even in Ionic architecture, but they are unknown in Doric architecture, where they would have been discordant elements in that much more severe order. The Siphnian statue-columns resemble korai dressed in Ionian chitons and himations (FIG. 5-11). They are generic women, not portraits of individuals, but scholars continue to debate whom the caryatids represent. Like most korai, the statue-columns may simply be elite women who are paying homage to the deity.

Another Ionic feature of the Siphnian Treasury is the continuous sculptured frieze on all four sides of the building. The north frieze represents the popular theme of the gigantomachy, but it is a much more detailed rendition than that in the corner of the Corfu pediment (FIG. 5-16, *right*). In the section reproduced here (FIG. 5-18), Apollo and Artemis pursue a fleeing giant at the center, while behind them one of the lions pulling an attacking chariot bites into a giant's midsection. Paint originally enlivened the crowded composition, and painted labels identified the various protagonists, as they do on Archaic black-figure vases (for example, FIGS. 5-19 and 5-20). The sculptors placed metal weapons in the hands of some figures. The effect must have been dazzling. On one of the shields, the sculptor inscribed his name (unfortunately lost), a clear indication of pride in accomplishment.

5-18 Gigantomachy, detail of the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi, Greece, ca. 530 BCE. Marble, 2′ 1″ high. Archaeological Museum, Delphi.

Greek friezes were brightly painted (FIG. 5-17). As in Archaic vase painting, the Siphnian frieze also had painted labels identifying the various gods and giants. Some of the figures held metal weapons.

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5-19 Kleitias and Ergotimos, *François Vase* (Athenian black-figure volute krater), from Chiusi, Italy, ca. 570 BCE. 2′ 2″ high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence.

The painter and potter both signed this huge early black-figure krater. The vase has more than 200 mythological figures in five registers, the same format as on Geometric and Orientalizing vases.

Vase Painting

By the mid-sixth century BCE, the Athenians, having learned the black-figure technique from the Corinthians (FIG. 5-5), had taken over the export market for fine painted ceramics (see "Greek Vase Painting," page 110).

François Vase. The masterpiece of early Athenian black-figure painting is the *François Vase* (FIG. 5-19), named for the excavator who discovered it (in hundreds of fragments) in an Etruscan tomb at Chiusi. The vase is a new kind of krater with volute-shaped handles, probably inspired by costly metal prototypes. The signatures of both its painter ("Kleitias painted me") and potter ("Ergotimos made me") appear twice among the more than 200 figures in five registers. Labels abound, naming humans and animals alike, even some inanimate objects. The painter devoted only the lowest band to the Orientalizing repertoire of animals and sphinxes. The others feature a selective encyclopedia of Greek mythology, focusing on the exploits of Peleus and his son, Achilles, the great hero of Homer's *Iliad,* and of Theseus, the legendary king of Athens. Among the most prominent scenes depicted is the battle between the Lapiths (a northern Greek tribe) and centaurs (*centauromachy*; FIG. 5-19A) after a wedding celebration at which the man-beasts, who were invited guests, got drunk and attempted to abduct the Lapith maidens and young boys. Theseus, also on the guest list, was chief among the centaurs' Greek adversaries.

5-19A Kleitias and Ergotimos, centauromachy, ca. 570 BCE.

5-20 Exekias, Achilles and Ajax playing a dice game (Athenian black-figure amphora), from Vulci, Italy, ca. 540–530 BCE. 2′ high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.

The dramatic tension, coordination of figural poses with vase shape, and intricacy of the engraved patterns of the cloaks are hallmarks of Exekias, the greatest master of black-figure painting.

Exekias. The acknowledged master of the black-figure technique was an Athenian named Exekias, whose vases were not only widely exported but copied as well. Perhaps his greatest work is an amphora (FIG. 5-20) found in an Etruscan tomb at Vulci, which Exekias signed as both painter and potter. Unlike Kleitias, Exekias did not divide the surface of the vase into a series of horizontal bands. Instead, he placed large figures in a single framed panel. At the left is Achilles, fully armed, the mightiest Greek soldier in the war against Troy. He appears again on another of Exekias's amphoras (FIG. 5-20A) battling Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons. Here, Achilles plays a dice game with his comrade Ajax during a lull in the Trojan conflict. Out of the lips of Achilles comes the word *tesara* ("four"). Ajax calls out *tria*

5-20A Exekias, Achilles killing Penthesilea, ca. 540–530 BCE.

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

The Invention of Red-Figure Painting

By 530 BCE, master ceramists such as Exekias (FIGS. 5-20 and 5-20A) had taken the art of black-figure painting to a level never surpassed, but that painting technique, invented in the seventh century BCE (FIG. 5-5), presented severe limitations for artists who wished to break free of the conventions of figure drawing that had dominated art production since the third millennium BCE. The need for a new ceramic painting technique with greater versatility than black-figure, with its dark silhouettes and incised details, was pressing. The solution was red-figure painting. Its inventor was the ceramist whom art historians call the ANDOKIDES PAINTER—that is, the anonymous painter who decorated the vases signed by the potter Andokides.

The differences between the black-figure and red-figure techniques can best be studied on a series of experimental vases with the same composition painted on both sides, once in black-figure and once in red-figure. Andokides and other Athenian potters produced these so-called *bilingual vases* only for a short time. An especially interesting example is an amphora (FIGS. 5-21 and 5-22) featuring copies of the Achilles and Ajax panel (FIG. 5-20) by Exekias. The red-figure side is the work of the Andokides Painter. Most art historians attribute the black-figure side to a colleague in the same workshop nicknamed the LYSIPPIDES PAINTER, who was probably a pupil of Exekias. In neither black-figure nor red-figure did Exekias's emulators capture the intensity of the master's rendition of the same subject, and the treatment of details is decidedly inferior. Yet the new red-figure technique had obvious advantages over the old black-figure manner.

Red-figure is the opposite of black-figure. What was previously black became red, and vice versa. The artist used the same black glaze for the figures, but instead of using the glaze to create silhouettes, the painter outlined the figures and then colored the background black. The ceramist reserved the red clay for the figures themselves and used a soft brush instead of a stiff metal graver to draw the interior details. This gave the red-figure painter much greater flexibility. The artist could vary the thickness of the lines and even build up the glaze to give relief to curly hair or dilute it to create brown shades, thereby expanding the chromatic range of the Greek vase painter's craft. The Andokides Painter—many scholars think that he is the potter Andokides himself—did not yet appreciate the full potential of his own invention. Still, he created a technique that, in the hands of other, more skilled artists, such as Euphronios (FIGS. 5-23 and 5-23A), helped revolutionize the art of drawing.

5-21 LYSIPPIDES PAINTER, Achilles and Ajax playing a dice game (black-figure side of an Athenian bilingual amphora), from Orvieto, Italy, ca. 525–520 BCE. Amphora, 1′ 9″ high; detail 8 1/4″ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Around 530 BCE, Greek ceramists invented the red-figure technique. Some of the earliest examples are "bilingual" vases—that is, vases with the same scene on both sides, one in black-figure and one in red-figure.

5-22 ANDOKIDES PAINTER, Achilles and Ajax playing a dice game (red-figure side of an Athenian bilingual amphora), from Orvieto, Italy, ca. 525–520 BCE. Amphora, 1′ 9″ high; detail 8 $\frac{1}{4}$″ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The red-figure painter uses a soft brush instead of a metal graver and can vary the thickness of the interior lines. The glaze can also be diluted to create shades of brown and expand the color range.

("three"). Although Ajax has taken off his helmet, both men hold their spears. Their shields are nearby. Each man is ready for action at a moment's notice. This depiction of "the calm before the storm" is the antithesis of the Archaic preference for dramatic action. The gravity and tension that will characterize much Classical Greek art of the next century, but that are generally absent in Archaic art, already may be seen in this vase.

Exekias had no equal as a black-figure painter. This is evident in such details as the extraordinarily intricate engraving of the patterns on the heroes' cloaks and in the brilliant composition. The arch formed by the backs of the two warriors echoes the shape of the rounded shoulders of the amphora. The shape of the vessel is echoed again in the void between the heads and spears of Achilles and Ajax. Exekias also used the spears to lead the viewer's eye toward the thrown dice, where the heroes' gazes are fixed. Of course, Achilles's and Ajax's eyes do not really look down at the table but stare out from their profile heads in the old manner. For all his brilliance, Exekias was still wedded to many of the old conventions.

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5-23 Euphronios, Herakles wrestling Antaios (detail of an Athenian red-figure calyx krater), from Cerveteri, Italy, ca. 510 BCE. Krater 1′ 7″ high; detail 7 3/4″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Euphronios rejected the age-old composite view for his depiction of Herakles and the giant Antaios and instead attempted to reproduce the way the human body appears from a specific viewpoint.

Real innovation in figure drawing would have to await the invention of a new ceramic painting technique: *red-figure painting.* The first examples of red-figure painting came from the studio of the potter Andokides (see "The Invention of Red-Figure Painting," page 121).

Euphronios. One of the earliest masters of red-figure painting was Euphronios, whose krater depicting the struggle between Herakles and Antaios (fig. 5-23) reveals the exciting possibilities of the new technique. Antaios was a Libyan giant, a son of Earth, and he derived his power from contact with the ground. To defeat him, Herakles had to lift him into the air and strangle him while no part of the giant's body touched the earth. In Euphronios's representation of the myth, the two wrestle on the ground, and Antaios still possesses enormous strength. Nonetheless, Herakles has the upper hand. The giant's face is a mask of pain. His eyes roll, and he bares his teeth. His right arm is paralyzed, with the fingers limp.

On this krater, as on his other masterworks—including the most expensive vase ever purchased, a krater cosigned by the potter Euxitheus (fig. 5-23A)—Euphronios used the new red-figure technique brilliantly. For example, he took advantage of the ability to dilute the glaze and produced a golden brown hue for Antaios's hair—intentionally contrasting the giant's unkempt hair with the neat coiffure and carefully trimmed beard of the emotionless Greek hero. The artist also used thinned glaze to delineate the muscles of both figures. But rendering human anatomy convincingly was not his only interest. Euphronios also wished to show that his figures occupy space. He deliberately rejected the conventional composite posture for the human figure, which communicates so well the shape of the individual parts of the human body, and attempted instead to reproduce how a particular human body is *seen.* He presented, for example, not only Antaios's torso but also his right thigh from the front. The lower leg disappears behind the giant, and only part of the right foot is visible. The viewer must mentally make the connection between the upper leg and the foot. Unlike his Archaic and pre-Greek predecessors, Euphronios did not create a two-dimensional panel filled with figures in stereotypical postures. His panel is a window into a mythological world with protagonists moving in three-dimensional space—a revolutionary new conception of what a picture is supposed to be.

5-23A Euphronios, death of Sarpedon, ca. 515 BCE.

Euthymides. A preoccupation with the art of drawing per se is evident in a remarkable amphora (fig. 5-24) painted by Euthymides, a rival of Euphronios's. The subject is appropriate for a wine storage jar—three tipsy revelers. But the theme was little

5-24 Euthymides, three revelers (Athenian red-figure amphora), from Vulci, Italy, ca. 510 BCE. 2′ high. Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich.

Euthymides chose this theme as an excuse to represent bodies in unusual positions, including a foreshortened three-quarter rear view. He claimed to have surpassed Euphronios as a draftsman.

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more than an excuse for the artist to experiment with the representation of unusual positions of the human form. It is no coincidence that the bodies do not overlap, for each is an independent figure study. Euthymides cast aside the conventional frontal and profile composite views. Instead, he painted torsos that are not two-dimensional surface patterns but *foreshortened*—that is, drawn in a three-quarter view with a compression of the parts of the figure farther away. Most noteworthy is the central figure, shown from the rear with a twisting spinal column and buttocks in three-quarter view. Earlier artists had no interest in attempting to depict figures seen from behind and at an angle because those postures not only are incomplete views but also do not show the "main" side of the human body. For Euthymides, however, the challenge of drawing a figure from this unusual viewpoint was a reward in itself. With understandable pride he proclaimed his achievement by adding to the formulaic signature "Euthymides painted me" the phrase "as never Euphronios [could do!]."

5-24A Onesimos, girl preparing to bathe, ca. 490 BCE.

Other vase painters also challenged themselves to outdo their contemporaries in representing the human form. For example, Onesimos successfully drew a young woman's nude torso from a three-quarter view (fig. 5-24A).

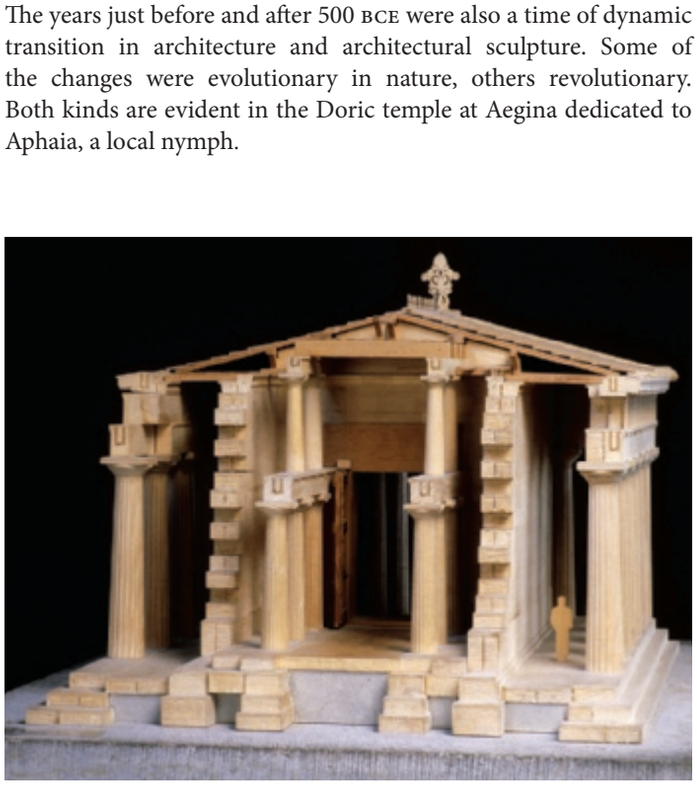
Aegina and the Transition to the Classical Period

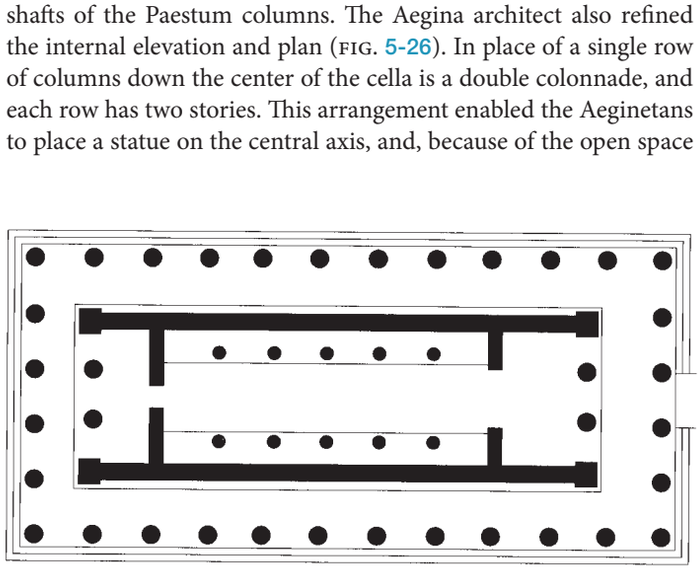
The years just before and after 500 BCE were also a time of dynamic transition in architecture and architectural sculpture. Some of the changes were evolutionary in nature, others revolutionary. Both kinds are evident in the Doric temple at Aegina dedicated to Aphaia, a local nymph.

5-25 **Temple of Aphaia (looking southwest), Aegina, Greece, ca. 500–490 BCE.**

In this refined early-fifth-century BCE temple design (compare fig. 5-14), the Doric columns are more slender and widely spaced, and there are only 6 columns on the facade and 12 on the flanks.

Temple of Aphaia, Aegina. The temple (fig. 5-25) sits on a prominent ridge with dramatic views out to the sea. The peripteral colonnade consists of 6 Doric columns on the facade and 12 on the flanks. This is a much more compact structure than Paestum's impressive but ungainly Archaic temple (fig. 5-14), even though the ratio of width to length is similar. Doric architects had learned a great deal in the half century that elapsed between the construction of the two temples. The columns of the Aegina temple are more widely spaced and more slender. The capitals create a smooth transition from the vertical shafts below to the horizontal architrave above. Gone are the Archaic flattened echinuses and bulging shafts of the Paestum columns. The Aegina architect also refined the internal elevation and plan (fig. 5-26). In place of a single row of columns down the center of the cella is a double colonnade, and each row has two stories. This arrangement enabled the Aeginetans to place a statue on the central axis, and, because of the open space





5-26 **Model showing the internal elevation (*left*) and plan (*above*) of the Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, Greece, ca. 500–490 BCE. Model: Glyptothek, Munich.**

Later Doric architects also modified the plan of their temples (compare fig. 5-15). The Aegina temple's cella has two colonnades of two stories each (originally with a statue of the deity between them).

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between the pair of columns in the pronaos, worshipers standing in front of the building had an unobstructed view of that cult image.

Painted life-size statuary (FIG. 5-27) filled both pediments, in contrast to the high reliefs characteristic of most Archaic temple pediments. The theme of both statuary groups was the battle of Greeks and Trojans, but the sculptors depicted different episodes. The compositions were nonetheless almost identical, with Athena at the center of the bloody combat. She is larger than all the other figures because she is superhuman, but all the mortal heroes are the same size, regardless of their position in the pediment. Unlike the Corfu west pediment (FIG. 5-16), which is an early, experimental design, the Aegina pediments feature a unified theme and consistent scale. The Aegina master was able to keep the size of the figures constant by using the whole range of body postures from upright (Athena) to leaning, falling, kneeling, and prone (Greeks and Trojans).

Workmen set the Aegina pedimental statues in place around 490 BCE, as soon as construction of the temple concluded. Many scholars believe that the statues at the eastern end were damaged and replaced with a new group a decade or two later, although some think that both groups date after 480 BCE. In either case, it is revealing to compare the eastern and western figures. The sculptor of the west pediment's dying warrior (FIG. 5-28) still conceived the statue in the Archaic mode. The warrior's torso is rigidly frontal, and he looks out directly at the spectator—with his face set in an Archaic smile despite the bronze arrow puncturing his chest. He is like a mannequin in a store window whose arms and legs have been arranged by someone else for effective display. There is no sense whatsoever of a thinking and feeling human being.

The comparable figure (FIG. 5-29) in the east pediment is fundamentally different. This warrior's posture is more natural and more complex, with the torso placed at an angle to the viewer (compare FIG. 5-23). Moreover, he reacts to his wound as a flesh-and-blood human would. He knows that death is inevitable, but he still struggles to rise once again, using his shield for support. He does not look out at the spectator. This dying warrior is solely concerned with his plight, not with the viewer. No more than a decade separates the two statues, but they belong to different eras. The eastern warrior is not a creation of the Archaic world, when sculptors imposed anatomical patterns (and smiles) on statues. This statue belongs to the Classical world, where statues move as

5-27 GUILLAUME-ABEL BLOUET, restored view (1828) of the facade of the Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, Greece, ca. 500–490 BCE.

The Aegina designer solved the problem of composing figures in a pediment by using the whole range of body postures from upright to prone. The restored view suggests how colorful Greek temples were.

5-28 Dying warrior, from the west pediment of the Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, Greece, ca. 490 BCE. Marble, 5′ 2½″ long. Glyptothek, Munich.

The statues of the west pediment of the early-fifth-century BCE temple at Aegina exhibit Archaic features. This fallen warrior still has a rigidly frontal torso and an Archaic smile on his face.

5-29 Dying warrior, from the east pediment of the Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, Greece, ca. 480 BCE. Marble, 6′ 1″ long. Glyptothek, Munich.

The eastern dying warrior already belongs to the Classical era. His posture is more natural, and he exhibits a new self-consciousness. Concerned with his own pain, he does not face the viewer.

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humans move and possess the self-consciousness of real men and women. This constitutes a radical change in the conception of the nature of statuary. In sculpture, as in painting, the Classical revolution had occurred.

EARLY AND HIGH CLASSICAL PERIODS

Art historians date the beginning of the Classical* age from a historical event: the defeat of the Persian invaders of Greece by the allied Hellenic city-states. Shortly after the Persians occupied and sacked Athens in 480 BCE, the Greeks won a decisive naval victory over the invaders at Salamis. It had been a difficult war, and at times it appeared that Asia would swallow up Greece and that the Persian king Xerxes would rule over all. When the Persians destroyed Miletos, a Greek city on the western coast of present-day Turkey, in 494 BCE, they killed the male inhabitants and sold the women and children into slavery. The narrow escape of the Greeks from domination by Asian "barbarians" nurtured a sense of Hellenic identity so strong that from then on, European civilization would be distinct from the civilization of Asia, even though they continued to interact. Typical of the time were the views of the great dramatist Aeschylus (ca. 525–456 BCE), who celebrated, in his *Oresteia* trilogy, the triumph of reason and law over barbarous crimes, blood feuds, and mad vengeance. As a veteran himself of the epic battle of Marathon, Aeschylus repudiated in majestic verse all the slavish and inhuman traits of nature that the Greeks at that time of crisis associated with the Persians.

*In *Art through the Ages,* the adjective "Classical," with uppercase *C,* refers specifically to the Classical period of ancient Greece, 480–323 BCE. Lowercase "*classical*" refers to Greco-Roman antiquity in general—that is, the period treated in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

Architecture and Architectural Sculpture

Historians universally consider the decades following the removal of the Persian threat the high point of Greek civilization. This is the era of the dramatists Sophocles and Euripides, as well as Aeschylus; the historian Herodotus; the statesman Pericles; the philosopher Socrates; and many of the most famous Greek architects, sculptors, and painters.

Temple of Zeus, Olympia. The first great monument of Classical art and architecture is the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, site of the Olympic Games. The architect was LIBON OF ELIS, who began work on the temple about 470 BCE and completed it by 457 BCE. Today the structure is in ruins, its picturesque tumbled columns an eloquent reminder of the effect of the passage of time on even the grandest monuments that humans have built. A good sense of its original appearance can be gleaned, however, from a slightly later Doric temple (FIG. 5-30) at Paestum modeled closely on the Olympian shrine of Zeus—the temple usually identified as Hera's second at the site (the Temple of Hera II) but possibly a shrine dedicated to Apollo. The plans and elevations of both temples follow the pattern of the Temple of Aphaia (FIG. 5-26) at Aegina: an even number of columns (six) on the short ends, two columns in antis, and two rows of columns in two stories inside the cella. But the Temple of Zeus was more lavishly decorated than even the Aphaia temple. Statues filled both pediments, and narrative reliefs adorned the six metopes over the doorway in the pronaos and the matching six of the opisthodomos.

The Olympia metopes are thematically connected with the site, for they depict the 12 labors of Herakles (see "Herakles, the Greatest Greek Hero," page 126), the legendary founder of the Olympic

5-30 Temple of Hera II or Apollo (looking northeast), Paestum, Italy, ca. 460 BCE.

The model for the second Hera(?) temple at Paestum was Libon's Zeus temple at Olympia. The Paestum temple reflects the Olympia design, but lacks the pedimental sculpture of its model.

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Herakles, the Greatest Greek Hero

Greek heroes were a class of mortals intermediate between ordinary humans and the immortal gods. Most often the children of gods, some were great warriors, such as those Homer celebrated for their exploits at Troy. Others went from one fabulous adventure to another, ridding the world of monsters and generally benefiting humankind. The Greeks worshiped many of their heroes after their death, especially in the cities with which they were most closely associated.

The greatest Greek hero was Herakles (the Roman Hercules), born in Thebes, the son of Zeus and Alkmene, a mortal woman. Zeus's jealous wife, Hera, hated Herakles and sent two serpents to attack him in his cradle, but the infant strangled them. Later, Hera caused the hero to go mad and kill his wife and children. As punishment, he was condemned to perform 12 great labors. In the first, he defeated the legendary lion of Nemea and ever after wore its pelt. The lion's skin and his weapon, a club, are Herakles's distinctive attributes (FIGS. 5-63A, 5-66, and 7-58A). The hero's last task was to obtain the golden apples that the goddess Gaia gave to Hera at her marriage (FIG. 5-31). They grew from a tree in the garden of the Hesperides at the western edge of the ocean, where a dragon guarded them.

After completion of the 12 seemingly impossible tasks, Herakles was awarded immortality. Athena, who had watched over him carefully throughout his life and assisted him in performing the labors, introduced him into the realm of the gods on Mount Olympus. According to legend, it was Herakles who established the Olympic Games.

5-31 Athena, Herakles, and Atlas with the apples of the Hesperides, metope from the Temple of Zeus, Olympia, Greece, ca. 470–456 BCE. Marble, 5′ 3″ high. Archaeological Museum, Olympia.

Herakles founded the Olympic Games, and his 12 labors were the subjects of the 12 metopes of the Zeus temple. This one shows the hero holding up the sky (with Athena's aid) for Atlas.

Games. In the metope illustrated here (FIG. 5-31), Herakles holds up the sky (with the aid of the goddess Athena—and a cushion) in place of Atlas, who had undertaken the dangerous journey to fetch the golden apples of the Hesperides for the hero. Herakles will soon transfer the load back to Atlas (at the right, still holding the apples), but at the moment the sculptor chose to depict, each of the very high relief figures stands quietly with serene dignity. In both attitude and dress (a simple Doric peplos for Athena), these Olympia figures display a severity that contrasts sharply with the smiling and elaborately clad figures of the Late Archaic period. Consequently, many art historians call this Early Classical phase of Greek art the *Severe Style*.

5-32 Chariot race of Pelops and Oinomaos, east pediment, Temple of Zeus, Olympia, Greece, ca. 470–456 BCE. Marble, 87′ wide. Archaeological Museum, Olympia.

The east pediment of the Zeus temple depicts the legendary chariot race across the Peloponnesos from Olympia to Corinth. The actors in the pediment faced the starting point of Olympic chariot races.

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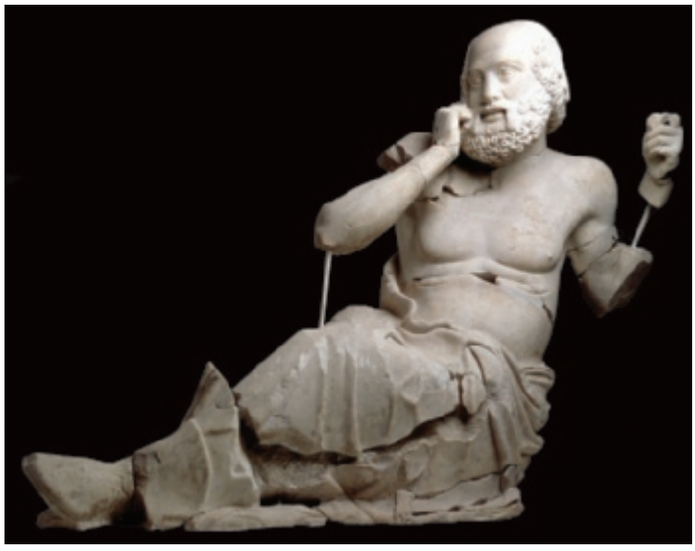

5-33 Seer, from the east pediment (FIG. 5-32) of the Temple of Zeus, Olympia, Greece, ca. 470–456 BCE. Marble, 4′ 6″ high. Archaeological Museum, Olympia.

The balding seer in the Olympia east pediment is a rare depiction of old age in Classical sculpture. He has a shocked expression because he foresees the tragic outcome of the chariot race.

The subject of the Temple of Zeus's east pediment (FIG. 5-32) is the chariot race between Pelops (from whom the Peloponnesos region takes its name) and King Oinomaos. The story, which had deep local significance, is a sinister one. Oinomaos had one daughter, Hippodameia, and a prophecy foretold that he would die if she married. Consequently, Oinomaos challenged any suitor who wished to make Hippodameia his bride to a chariot race from Olympia to Corinth. If the suitor won, he also won the hand of the king's daughter. But if he lost, Oinomaos killed him. The outcome of each race was inevitable, however, because Oinomaos possessed the divine horses of his father, Ares.

To ensure his victory when all others had failed, Pelops resorted to bribing the king's groom, Myrtilos, to rig the royal chariot so that it would collapse during the race. Oinomaos was killed and Pelops won his bride, but he drowned Myrtilos rather than pay his debt to him. Before he died, Myrtilos brought a curse on Pelops and his descendants. This curse led to the murder of Pelops's son, Atreus, and to events that figure prominently in some of the greatest Greek tragedies of the Classical era, Aeschylus's three plays known collectively as the *Oresteia*: the sacrifice by Atreus's son, Agamemnon, of his daughter, Iphigeneia; the slaying of Agamemnon by Aegisthus, lover of Agamemnon's wife, Clytaemnestra; and the murder of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra by Orestes, the son of Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra.

Indeed, the pedimental statues (FIG. 5-32), which appropriately faced toward the starting point of all Olympic chariot races, are posed as though they are actors on a stage—Zeus in the center, Oinomaos and his wife on one side, Pelops and Hippodameia on the other, and their respective chariots to each side. All are quiet. The horrible events known to every spectator have yet to occur. Only one man reacts—a seer (FIG. 5-33) who knows the future. He is a remarkable figure. Unlike the gods, heroes, and noble youths and maidens who are the almost exclusive subjects of Archaic and Classical Greek statuary, this seer is a rare depiction of old age. He has a balding, wrinkled head and sagging musculature—and a shocked expression on his face. This is a true show of emotion, unlike the stereotypical Archaic smile, and is without precedent in earlier Greek sculpture and not a regular feature of Greek art until the Hellenistic age.

In the west pediment (FIG. 5-33A), Apollo (FIG. 5-34), the central figure, is also at rest, but all around him is a chaotic scene of Greeks battling centaurs. This mixture of calm, even pensive, figures and others involved in violent action also characterizes most of the narrative reliefs of the 12 metopes (FIG. 5-31) of the Zeus temple.

5-33A West pediment, Temple of Zeus, Olympia, ca. 470–456 BCE.

5-34 Apollo, from the west pediment (FIG. 5-33A) of the Temple of Zeus, Olympia, Greece, ca. 470–456 BCE. Marble, restored height 10′ 8″. Archaeological Museum, Olympia.

The model of calm rationality, Apollo, with a commanding gesture of his right hand, attempts to bring order out of the chaotic struggle all around him between the Lapiths and the beastly centaurs.

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Statuary

The hallmark of Early Classical statuary is the abandonment of the rigid and unnatural Egyptian-inspired pose of Archaic statues. The figures in the Olympia pediments exemplify this radical break with earlier practice, but the change occurred even earlier—at the very moment that Greece was under attack by the Persians.

Kritios Boy. Although it is well under life-size, the marble statue known as the *Kritios Boy* (FIG. 5-35)—because art historians once thought it was the work of the sculptor Kritios—is one of the most important statues in the history of art. Never before had a sculptor been concerned with portraying how a human being (as opposed to a stone image) truly stands. Real people do not stand in the stiff-legged pose of the kouroi and korai or their Egyptian predecessors. Humans shift their weight and the position of the torso around the vertical (but flexible) axis of the spine. When humans move, the body's elastic musculoskeletal structure dictates a harmonious, smooth motion of all its parts. The sculptor of the *Kritios Boy* was the first, or one of the first, to grasp this anatomical fact and to represent it in statuary. The youth dips his right hip slightly to the right, indicating the shifting of weight onto his left leg. His right leg is bent, at ease. The head, which no longer exhibits an Archaic smile, also turns slightly to the right and tilts, breaking the unwritten rule of frontality that dictated the form of virtually all earlier statues. This weight shift separates Classical from Archaic Greek statuary.

Riace Bronzes. An unknown sculptor carried the innovations of the *Kritios Boy* even further in the bronze statue (FIG. 5-36) of a warrior found in the sea near Riace, at the "toe" of the Italian "boot." It is one of a pair of statues that divers accidentally discovered in the cargo of a ship that sank in antiquity on its way from Greece probably to Rome, where Greek sculpture was much admired. Known as the *Riace Bronzes,* the two statues had to undergo several years of cleaning and restoration after nearly two millennia of submersion in salt water, but they are nearly intact. The statue shown here lacks only its shield, sword, and helmet. It is a masterpiece of hollow-casting (see "Hollow-Casting Life-Size Bronze Statues," page 129), with inlaid eyes, silver teeth and eyelashes, and copper lips and nipples (FIG. I-17). The weight shift is more pronounced than in the *Kritios Boy.* The warrior's head turns more forcefully to the right, his shoulders tilt, his hips swing more markedly, and his arms have been freed from the body. Natural motion in space has replaced Archaic frontality and rigidity.

5-35 ***Kritios Boy,*** **from the Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 480 BCE. Marble, 3′ 10″ high. Acropolis Museum, Athens.**

This is the first statue to show how a person naturally stands. The Severe Style sculptor depicted the weight shift from one leg to the other. The head turns slightly, and the youth no longer smiles.

5-36 Warrior, from the sea off Riace, Italy, ca. 460–450 BCE. Bronze, 6′ 6″ high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Reggio Calabria.

The bronze Riace warrior statue has inlaid eyes, silver teeth and eyelashes, and copper lips and nipples (FIG. I-17). The weight shift is more pronounced than in the earlier marble *Kritios Boy* (FIG. 5-35).

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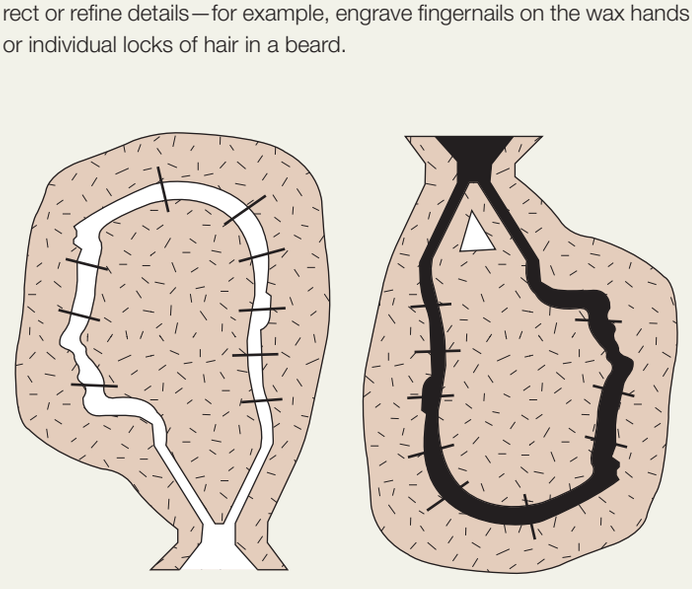
Hollow-Casting Life-Size Bronze Statues

Large-scale bronze statues such as the Riace warrior (FIG. 5-36), the Delphi charioteer (FIG. 5-38), and the Artemision god (FIG. 5-39) required great technical skill to produce. They could not be manufactured using a single simple mold like those used by Geometric and Archaic sculptors for their small-scale figurines (FIGS. 5-3 and 5-4). Weight, cost, and the tendency of large masses of bronze to distort when cooling made life-size castings in solid bronze impractical, if not impossible. Instead, Greek *foundry* workers hollow-cast large statues by the *lost-wax* (*cire perdue,* in French) method (FIG. 5-37). The lost-wax process entailed several steps and had to be repeated many times, because sculptors typically cast life-size and larger statues in parts—head, arms, hands, torso, and so forth. Even the long locks of hair of the Riace warrior (FIG. I-17) were cast separately from the rest of the head. The same is true for the hair over the ears of the *Charioteer of Delphi.*

First, the sculptor fashioned a full-size clay model of the intended statue. Then an assistant formed a clay master mold around the model and removed the mold in sections. When dry, the various pieces of the master mold were reassembled for each separate body part. Next, assistants applied a layer of beeswax to the inside of each mold. When the wax cooled, the sculptor removed the mold, revealing a hollow wax model in the shape of the original clay model. The artist could then correct or refine details—for example, engrave fingernails on the wax hands or individual locks of hair in a beard.



5-37 Two stages of the lost-wax method of bronze casting (after Sean A. Hemingway).

Left: Chaplets connect a clay mold (investment), wax model, and clay core. *Right:* With the wax melted out, the molten bronze is poured into the mold to form the cast bronze head.

In the next stage, an assistant applied a final clay mold (*investment*) to the exterior of the wax model and poured liquid clay inside the model. Apprentices then hammered metal pins (*chaplets*) through the new mold to connect the investment with the clay core (FIG. 5-37, *left*). Next, the wax was melted out ("lost") and molten bronze poured into the mold in its place (FIG. 5-37, *right*). When the bronze hardened and assumed the shape of the wax model, the bronze-caster removed the investment and as much of the core as possible, completing the hollow-casting process. The last step was to fit together and solder the individually cast pieces, smooth the joins and any surface imperfections, inlay the eyes, and add teeth, eyelashes, and accessories such as swords and wreaths. Life-size bronze statues produced in this way were very costly but highly prized.

5-38 Charioteer (*Charioteer of Delphi*), from a group dedicated by Polyzalos of Gela in the Sanctuary of Apollo (FIG. 5-16A), Delphi, Greece, ca. 470 BCE. Bronze, 5′ 11″ high. Archaeological Museum, Delphi.

The charioteer was part of a large bronze group that also included a chariot, a team of horses, and a groom. The assemblage required hundreds of individually cast pieces soldered together.

Charioteer of Delphi. A bronze statuary group that equals or exceeds the Riace warrior in technical quality is the chariot group set up a decade or two earlier at Delphi (FIG. 5-16A) by the tyrant Polyzalos of Gela (Sicily) to commemorate his brother Hieron's victory in the Delphic Pythian Games. Almost all that remains of the large group composed of the Sicilian driver, the chariot, the team of horses, and a young groom is the bronze charioteer popularly known as the *Charioteer of Delphi* (FIG. 5-38). He stands in an almost Archaic pose, but the turn of the head and feet in opposite directions as well as a slight twist at the waist are in keeping with the Severe Style. The moment that the sculptor chose for depiction was not during the frenetic race but after, when the charioteer

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modestly held his horses quietly in the winner's circle. He grasps the reins in his outstretched right hand (the lower left arm, cast separately, is missing), and he wears the standard charioteer's garment, girdled high and held in at the shoulders and the back to keep it from flapping. The folds emphasize both the verticality and calm of the figure and recall the flutes of a Greek column. The fillet that holds the charioteer's hair in place is inlaid with silver. The eyes are glass paste, shaded by delicate lashes individually cut from a sheet of bronze and soldered to the head.

Artemision Zeus. The male human form in motion is, by contrast, the subject of another Early Classical bronze statue (FIG. 5-39), which, like the Riace warrior, divers found in an ancient shipwreck, in this case off the coast of Greece itself at Cape Artemision. The bearded god once hurled a weapon held in his right hand, probably a thunderbolt, in which case he is Zeus. A less likely suggestion is that this is Poseidon with his trident (see "Gods and Goddesses," page 107). Both arms are boldly extended, and the right heel is raised off the ground, underscoring the lightness and tensile strength of hollow-cast life-size statues.

Myron, *Diskobolos*. A bronze statue similar to the Artemision Zeus was the renowned *Diskobolos* (*Discus Thrower*) by the Early Classical master MYRON. The original is lost. Only marble copies (FIG. 5-40) survive, made in Roman times, when demand so far exceeded the supply of Greek statues that a veritable industry was born to meet the call for Greek statuary to display in public places and private villas alike. Usually, the copies were of less costly painted marble, which presented a very different appearance from shiny bronze. In most cases, the copyist also had to add an intrusive tree trunk to support the great weight of the stone statue, and to place struts between arms and body to strengthen weak points. The copies rarely approach the quality of the originals, and the Roman sculptors sometimes took liberties with their models according to their own tastes and needs. Occasionally, for example, sculptors created a mirror image of the original for a specific setting. Nevertheless, the copies are indispensable today. Without them it would be impossible to reconstruct the history of Greek sculpture after the Archaic period.

Myron's *Discus Thrower* is a vigorous action statue, like the Artemision Zeus, but the sculptor posed the body in an almost

5-39 **Zeus (or Poseidon?), from the sea off Cape Artemision, Greece, ca. 460–450 BCE. Bronze, 6′ 10″ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.**

In this statue, the god—probably Zeus hurling a thunderbolt—boldly extends both arms and raises his right heel off the ground, underscoring the lightness and stability of hollow-cast bronze statues.

5-40 **MYRON, *Diskobolos* (*Discus Thrower*), from the Esquiline hill, Rome, Italy. Roman copy of a bronze statue of ca. 450 BCE. Marble, 5′ 1″ high. Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.**

This marble copy of Myron's lost bronze statue captures how the sculptor froze the action of discus throwing and arranged the nude athlete's body and limbs so that they form two intersecting arcs.

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Polykleitos's Prescription for the Perfect Statue

In his treatise simply called the *Canon,* Polykleitos of Argos (FIG. 5-41) sought to define what constituted a perfect statue, one that could serve as the standard by which all other statues might be judged. How does one make a "perfect statue"? What principles guided the Greek master in formulating his canon?

One of the most influential philosophers of the ancient world was Pythagoras of Samos, who lived during the latter part of the sixth century BCE. A famous geometric theorem still bears his name. Pythagoras also is said to have discovered that harmonic chords in music are produced on the strings of a lyre at regular intervals that may be expressed as ratios of whole numbers—for example, 2:1, 3:2, 4:3. He and his followers, the Pythagoreans, believed more generally that underlying harmonic proportions could be found in all of nature, determining the form of the cosmos as well as of things on earth, and that beauty resided in harmonious numerical ratios.

Following this reasoning, Polykleitos concluded that the way to create a perfect statue would be to design it according to an all-encompassing mathematical formula. The treatise in which the Argive sculptor recorded the proportions he used is unfortunately lost, but Galen of Pergamon, a renowned Greek physician who lived during the second century CE, summarized the sculptor's philosophy as follows:

> [Beauty arises from] the commensurability [*symmetria*] of the parts, such as that of finger to finger, and of all the fingers to the palm and the wrist, and of these to the forearm, and of the forearm to the upper arm, and, in fact, of everything to everything else, just as it is written in the *Canon* of Polykleitos. . . . Polykleitos supported his treatise [by making] a statue according to the tenets of his treatise, and called the statue, like the work, the *Canon.**

This is why Pliny the Elder, whose first-century CE multivolume *Natural History* is one of the most important sources for the history of Greek art, maintained that Polykleitos "alone of men is deemed to have rendered art itself [that is, the theoretical basis of art] in a work of art."†

Polykleitos's belief that a successful statue resulted from the precise application of abstract principles is reflected in an anecdote (probably a later invention) told by the third-century CE Roman historian Aelian:

> Polykleitos made two statues at the same time, one which would be pleasing to the crowd and the other according to the principles of his art. In accordance with the opinion of each person who came into his workshop, he altered something and changed its form, submitting to the advice of each. Then he put both statues on display. The one was marvelled at by everyone, and the other was laughed at. Thereupon Polykleitos said, "But the one that you find fault with, you made yourselves; while the one that you marvel at, I made."‡

5-41 POLYKLEITOS, *Doryphoros* (*Spear Bearer*). Roman copy from the palaestra, Pompeii, Italy, of a bronze statue of ca. 450–440 BCE. Marble, 6′ 11″ high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.

Polykleitos sought to portray the perfect man and to impose order on human movement. He achieved his goals through harmonic proportions and a system of cross-balancing for all parts of the body.

Galen, Pliny, and Aelian are only three of the many Greek and Roman authors who wrote about Greek art and artists. Although none of those writers was an art historian in the modern sense, the existence in the Greco-Roman world of theoretical treatises by artists and of a tradition of art criticism is noteworthy and without parallel in antiquity or during the Middle Ages.

*Galen, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis,* 5. Translated by J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 76.
†Pliny the Elder, *Natural History,* 34.55. Translated by Pollitt, 75.
‡Aelian, *Varia historia,* 14.8. Translated by Pollitt, 79.

Archaic manner, with profile limbs and a nearly frontal chest, suggesting the tension of a coiled spring. Like the arm of a pendulum clock, the right arm of the *Diskobolos* has reached the apex of its arc, but has not yet begun to swing down again. Myron froze the action and arranged the body and limbs to form two intersecting arcs (one from the discus to the left hand, one from the head to the right knee), creating the impression of a tightly stretched bow a moment before the archer releases the string. This tension, however, is not mirrored in the athlete's face, which remains expressionless. Once again, as in the warrior statue (FIG. 5-29) from the Aegina east pediment, the head is turned away from the spectator. In contrast to Archaic athlete statues, the Classical *Diskobolos* does not perform for the spectator but concentrates on the task at hand.

Polykleitos, *Doryphoros*. One of the most frequently copied Greek statues was the *Doryphoros* (*Spear Bearer*) by POLYKLEITOS, the sculptor whose work exemplifies the intellectual rigor of Classical art. The best marble replica (FIG. 5-41) stood in a *palaestra*

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(gymnasium) at Pompeii, where it served as a model for Roman athletes. The *Doryphoros* embodied Polykleitos's vision of the ideal statue of a nude male athlete or warrior. (The *Spear Bearer* may also have held a shield.) In fact, the sculptor made it as a demonstration piece to accompany a treatise on the subject. *Spear Bearer* is a modern descriptive title for the statue. The name that Polykleitos assigned to it was *Canon* (see "Polykleitos's Prescription for the Perfect Statue," page 131).

The *Doryphoros* is the culmination of the evolution in Greek statuary from the Archaic kouros to the *Kritios Boy* to the Riace warrior. The weight shift is more pronounced than ever before in a standing statue, but Polykleitos was not content with simply rendering a figure that stands naturally. His aim was to impose order on human movement, to make it "beautiful," to "perfect" it. He achieved this through *contrapposto* ("counterbalance"). What appears at first to be a casually natural pose is, in fact, the result of an extremely complex and subtle organization of the figure's various parts. Note, for instance, how the straight-hanging arm echoes the rigid supporting leg, providing the figure's right side with the columnar stability needed to anchor the left side's dynamically flexed limbs. If read anatomically, however, the tensed and relaxed limbs may be seen to oppose each other diagonally—the right arm and the left leg are relaxed, and the tensed supporting leg opposes the flexed arm, which held a spear. In like manner, the head turns to the right while the hips twist slightly to the left. And although the *Doryphoros* seems to take a step forward, he does not move. This dynamic asymmetrical balance, this motion while at rest, and the resulting harmony of opposites are the essence of the Polykleitan style.

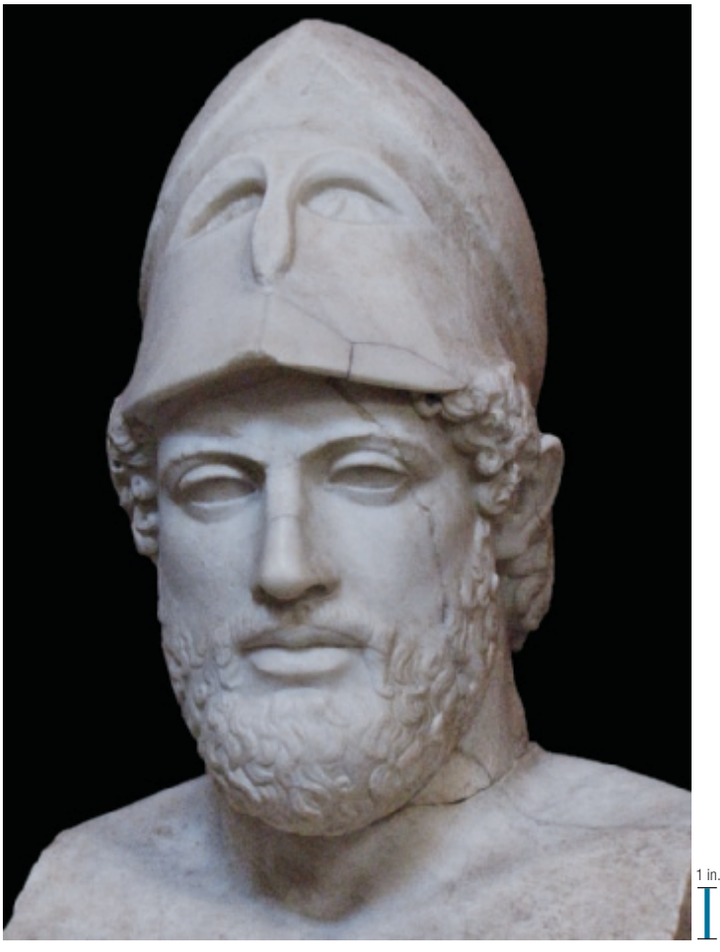
The Athenian Acropolis

While Polykleitos was formulating his *Canon* in Argos, the Athenians, under the leadership of Pericles (ca. 495–429 BCE), were at work on one of the most ambitious building projects ever undertaken: the reconstruction of the Acropolis after the Persian sack. In September 480 BCE, the Athenian commander Themistocles decisively defeated the Persian navy off the island of Salamis, southwest of Athens, and forced it to retreat to Asia. Athens, despite the damage it suffered at the hands of the army of Xerxes, emerged from the war with enormous power and prestige. In 478 BCE, while the Persian devastation was still fresh in everyone's memory, the Greeks formed an alliance for mutual protection against any renewed threat from the East. The new confederacy came to be known as the Delian League, because its headquarters were on the sacred island of Delos, midway between the Greek mainland and the coast of Asia Minor. Although at the outset each league member had an equal vote, Athens was "first among equals," providing the allied fleet commander and determining which cities were to furnish ships and which were instead to pay an annual tribute to the treasury at Delos.

Continued fighting against the Persians kept the Delian alliance intact, but Athens gradually assumed a dominant role. In 454 BCE, the league's treasury was transferred to Athens, ostensibly for security reasons. Pericles, who was only in his teens when the Persians laid waste to the Acropolis, was by midcentury the recognized leader of the Athenians, and he succeeded in converting the alliance into an Athenian empire. Tribute continued to be paid, but the Athenians did not spend the surplus reserves for the common good of the allied Greek states. Instead, Pericles expropriated the money to underwrite his enormously costly grand plan to embellish the Acropolis of Athens.

The reaction of the allies—in reality the subjects of Athens—was predictable. Plutarch, who wrote a biography of Pericles in the early second century CE, reported not only the wrath of the Greek victims of Athenian tyranny but also the protest voiced against Pericles's decision even in the Athenian assembly. Greece, Pericles's enemies said, had been dealt "a terrible, wanton insult" when Athens used the funds contributed out of necessity for a common war effort to "gild and embellish itself with images and extravagant temples, like some pretentious woman decked out with precious stones."[3] That the Delian League was the source of the funds used for the Acropolis building program is important to keep in mind when examining those great and universally admired buildings erected to realize Pericles's vision of his polis reborn from the ashes of the Persian sack. They are not the glorious fruits of Athenian democracy but are instead the by-products of tyranny and the abuse of power. Too often art and architectural historians do not ask how patrons, whether public or private, paid for the monuments they commissioned. The answer can be very revealing—and very embarrassing.

Portrait of Pericles. A number of extant Roman marble sculptures are copies of a famous bronze portrait statue of Pericles by KRESILAS, who was born on Crete but worked in Athens. The



5-42 **KRESILAS, *Pericles*. Head of a Roman herm copy of the bronze statue of ca. 429 BCE. Marble, full herm 6′ high; detail 1′ 6″ high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.**

In his portrait of Pericles, Kresilas was said to have made a noble man appear even nobler. Classical Greek portraits were not likenesses but idealized images in which humans appeared godlike.

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Athenians set up the portrait on the Acropolis, probably immediately after their leader's death in 429 BCE. Kresilas depicted Pericles in heroic nudity, and his portrait must have resembled the Riace warrior (FIG. 5-36). The copies reproduce the head only, sometimes in the form of a *herm* (FIG. 5-42)—that is, a sculpted head on a square pillar. The inscription on the Vatican herm (not visible in the photograph) reads "Pericles, son of Xanthippos, the Athenian." Pericles wears the helmet of a *strategos* (general), the elective position he held 15 times. The Athenian leader was said to have had an abnormally elongated skull, and Kresilas recorded this feature (while also concealing it) by providing a glimpse through the helmet's eye slots of the hair at the top of the head. This, together with the unblemished features of Pericles's aloof face and, no doubt, his body's perfect physique, led Pliny to assert that Kresilas had the ability to make noble men appear even more noble in their portraits. This praise was apt because the Acropolis statue was not a portrait in the modern sense of a record of unique features, but an image of an individual that conformed to the Classical ideal of beauty. Pliny refers to Kresilas's "portrait" as "the Olympian Pericles," because the statue made Pericles appear almost godlike.[4]

Periclean Acropolis. The centerpiece of the Periclean building program on the Acropolis (FIG. 5-43) was the Parthenon (FIGS. 5-1 and 5-44, no. 1), a magnificent marble building dedicated to Athena Parthenos that had neither a priestess nor an altar for her worship. The Parthenon was therefore not a temple in the strict sense. Construction began in 447 BCE and proceeded rapidly despite the complexity of the project. By 438 BCE, the building campaign was complete, although work on the Parthenon's ambitious sculptural ornamentation continued until 432 BCE. In 437 BCE, the Parthenon stonemasons commenced construction of the Propylaia (FIG. 5-44, no. 2), the grand new western gateway to the Acropolis (the only accessible side of the natural plateau). Work ceased, however, in 432 BCE at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta and never resumed. Two later temples, the Erechtheion (no. 4) and the Temple of Athena Nike (no. 5), built after Pericles died, were probably also part of the original project. The greatest Athenian architects and sculptors of the Classical period focused their attention on the construction and decoration of these four buildings.

That these ancient buildings exist at all today is something of a miracle. In the Middle Ages, the Parthenon, for example, became a Byzantine and later a Roman Catholic church and then, after the Ottoman conquest of Greece, a mosque. With each rededication, religious officials remodeled the building. The Christians early on removed the colossal statue of Athena inside. The churches had a great curved *apse* at the east end housing the altar. The Ottomans added a *minaret* (tower used to call Muslims to prayer). In 1687, the Venetians besieged the Acropolis. One of their rockets scored a direct hit on the ammunition depot that the Ottomans had installed in part of the Parthenon. The resultant explosion blew out the building's center. To make matters worse, the Venetians subsequently tried to remove some of the statues from the Parthenon's pediments. In more than one case, the workmen dropped the statues, which smashed on the ground. From 1801 to 1803, while Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire, Thomas Bruce (1766–1841), Lord Elgin, brought most of the surviving sculptures to England. For the past two centuries, they have been on exhibit in London's British Museum, although Greece has appealed many times for the return of the "Elgin Marbles" and has even built a new museum near the Acropolis to house them, but the British have refused to repatriate the Acropolis sculptures. In the ongoing debate about who owns the Elgin Marbles, proponents of both sides have passionately advanced compelling arguments.

Today, a uniquely modern blight threatens the Parthenon and the other buildings of the Periclean age. The corrosive emissions of factories and automobiles are decomposing the ancient marbles. A comprehensive campaign has been under way for decades to

5-43 Aerial view of the Acropolis (looking southeast), Athens, Greece.

Under the leadership of Pericles, the Athenians undertook the costly project of reconstructing the Acropolis after the Persian sack of 480 BCE. The funds came from the Delian League treasury.

5-44 Restored view of the Acropolis, Athens, Greece (John Burge). (1) Parthenon, (2) Propylaia, (3) pinakotheke, (4) Erechtheion, (5) Temple of Athena Nike.

The fifth-century BCE transformation of the Acropolis under Pericles consisted of a new entranceway (the Propylaia) and three shrines (the Parthenon, the Erechtheion, and the Temple of Athena Nike).

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protect the columns and walls from further deterioration. What little original sculpture remained in place when modern restoration began is now in the new museum's climate-controlled rooms.

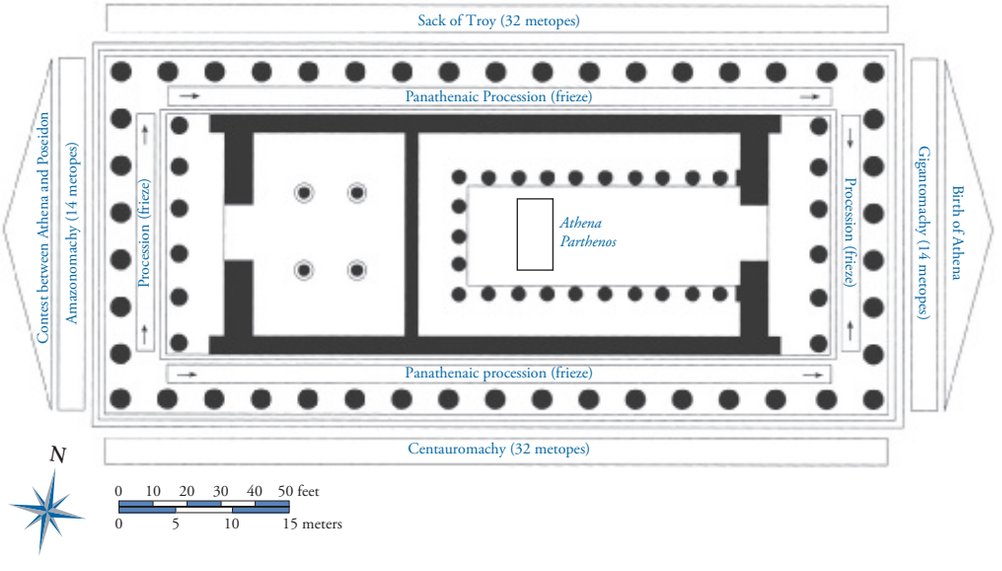
Parthenon: Architecture. Despite the ravages of time and humans, most of the Parthenon's peripteral colonnade (FIG. 5-1) is still standing (or has been reerected), and art historians know a great deal about the building and its sculptural program. The architect was Iktinos, assisted, according to some sources, by KALLIKRATES, who may have played the role of contractor, supervising the construction of the building. The statue of Athena (FIG. 5-46) in the cella was the work of Phidias, who was also the overseer of the temple's sculptural decoration. In fact, Plutarch stated that Phidias was in charge of the entire Acropolis project.[5]

Just as the contemporaneous *Doryphoros* (FIG. 5-41) may be seen as the culmination of nearly two centuries of searching for the ideal proportions of the various human body parts, so, too, the Parthenon may be viewed as the ideal solution to the Greek architect's quest for perfect proportions in Doric temple design (see "The Perfect Temple," page 105), even if the building did not function as a temple proper. Its well-spaced columns, with their slender shafts, and the capitals, with their straight-sided conical echinuses, are the ultimate refinement of the bulging and squat Doric columns and compressed capitals of the Archaic Hera temple (FIG. 5-14) at Paestum. The Parthenon architects and Polykleitos were kindred spirits in their belief that beautiful proportions resulted from strict adherence to harmonic numerical ratios, whether in a temple more than 200 feet long or a life-size statue of a nude man. For the Parthenon, the controlling ratio for the symmetria of the parts may be expressed algebraically as $x = 2y + 1$. Thus, for example, the temple's plan (FIG. 5-45) called for 8 columns on the short ends and 17 on the long sides, because $17 = (2 \times 8) + 1$. The stylobate's ratio of width to length is 4:9, because $9 = (2 \times 4) + 1$. This ratio also characterizes the proportion of one column's diameter at the bottom to the distance between the centers of two adjacent column drums (the *interaxial*), and so forth.

The Parthenon's harmonious design and the mathematical precision of the sizes of its constituent elements tend to obscure the fact that the building is quite irregular in shape. Throughout the structure are pronounced deviations from the strictly horizontal and vertical lines assumed to be the basis of all Greek post-and-lintel designs. The stylobate, for example, curves upward at the center on the sides and both facades, forming a kind of shallow dome, and this curvature carries up into the entablature. Moreover, the peristyle columns lean inward slightly. Those at the corners have a diagonal inclination and are also about 2 inches thicker than the rest. If their lines continued, they would meet about 1.5 miles above the temple. These deviations from the norm meant that virtually every Parthenon block and drum had to be carved according to the special set of specifications dictated by its unique place in the structure. This was obviously a daunting task, and the builders must have had a reason for introducing these so-called refinements in the Parthenon. Some modern observers note, for example, how the curving of horizontal lines and the tilting of vertical ones create a dynamic balance in the building—a kind of architectural contrapposto—and give it a greater sense of life.

The oldest recorded explanation of the Parthenon's "refinements" is that of Vitruvius, a Roman architect of the late first century BCE (see "Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*," page 204). Vitruvius claimed to have had access to Iktinos's treatise on the Parthenon (again, note the kinship with the *Canon* of Polykleitos), and his rationale for the deviations therefore carries a lot of weight. Vitruvius maintained that these adjustments were made to compensate for optical illusions, noting, for example, that if a stylobate is laid out on a level surface, it will appear to sag at the center. He also recommended that the corner columns of a building should be thicker because they are surrounded by light and would otherwise appear thinner than their neighbors.

The Parthenon is "irregular" in other ways as well. One of the ironies of this most famous of all Doric buildings is that it incorporates Ionic elements. Although the cella (FIG. 5-46) had a two-story Doric colonnade, the back room (which housed the goddess's treasury and the tribute collected from the Delian League) had four tall and slender Ionic columns as sole supports for the superstructure (FIG. 5-45). And whereas the temple's exterior had a standard Doric frieze (FIGS. 5-47 and 5-47A), the inner frieze (FIGS. 5-50 and 5-50A) that ran around the top of the cella wall was Ionic. Perhaps this fusion of Doric and Ionic elements reflects the Athenians' belief that the Ionians of the Aegean Islands and Asia Minor were descendants of Athenian settlers and were therefore their kin. (The Ionians take their name from Ion, the grandson of King Erechtheus of Athens.) Or it may be Pericles and Iktinos's way of suggesting that Athens was the leader of *all* the Greeks. In any case, a mix of Doric and Ionic features characterizes the fifth-century BCE buildings of the Acropolis as a whole.



5-45 Plan of the Parthenon, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, with diagram of the sculptural program (after Andrew Stewart), 447–432 BCE.

A team of sculptors directed by Phidias lavishly decorated the Parthenon with statues in both pediments, figural reliefs in all 92 Doric metopes, and an inner 524-foot sculptured Ionic frieze.

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5-46 Phidias, *Athena Parthenos,* in the cella of the Parthenon, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 438 BCE. Model of the lost chryselephantine statue. Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto.

Inside the cella of the Parthenon stood Phidias's 38-foot-tall gold-and-ivory *Athena Parthenos* (the Virgin). The goddess is fully armed and holds Nike (Victory) in her extended right hand.

5-47 Centauromachy, metope 28 from the south side of the Parthenon, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 447–438 BCE. Marble, 4′ 8″ high. British Museum, London.

The Parthenon's centauromachy metopes allude to the Greek defeat of the Persians. Here the sculptor brilliantly distinguished the vibrant living centaur from the lifeless Greek corpse.

***Athena Parthenos*.** The decision to incorporate two sculptured friezes in the Parthenon's design is symptomatic of the enormous investment the Athenians made in the building project. This Pentelic marble shrine was more lavishly adorned than any Greek temple before it, Doric or Ionic. A mythological scene appears in every one of the 92 Doric metopes, and every inch of the 524-foot-long Ionic frieze depicts a procession and cavalcade. Dozens of larger-than-life-size statues filled both pediments. And inside was the most expensive item of all—Phidias's *Athena Parthenos,* a colossal gold-and-ivory (*chryselephantine*) statue of the virgin goddess. Art historians know a great deal about Phidias's lost statue from descriptions by Greek and Latin authors and from Roman copies. A model (FIG. 5-46) gives a good idea of its appearance and setting. Athena stood 38 feet tall, and to a large extent Iktinos designed the Parthenon around her. To accommodate the statue's huge size, the cella had to be wider than usual. This, in turn, dictated the width of the facade—eight columns at a time when six columns were the norm (FIGS. 5-25 and 5-30).

Athena was fully armed with shield, spear, and helmet, and she held Nike (the winged female personification of Victory) in her extended right hand. No one doubts that this Nike referred to the victory of 479 BCE. The memory of the Persian sack of the Acropolis was still vivid, and the Athenians were intensely conscious that by driving back the Persians, they had saved their civilization from the Eastern "barbarians" who had committed atrocities at Miletos. In fact, Phidias's *Athena Parthenos* incorporated multiple allusions to the Persian defeat. On the thick soles of Athena's sandals was a representation of a centauromachy. High reliefs depicting the battle of Greeks and Amazons (*Amazonomachy*), in which Theseus drove the Amazons out of Athens, emblazoned the exterior of her shield. On the shield's interior, Phidias painted a gigantomachy. Each of these mythological contests was a metaphor for the triumph of order over chaos, of civilization over barbarism, and of Athens over Persia.

Parthenon: Metopes. Phidias took up these same themes again in the Parthenon's metopes. The best-preserved metopes (FIGS. 5-47 and 5-47A)—although the paint on these and all the other Parthenon marbles long ago disappeared—are those of the south side, which depicted the battle of Lapiths and centaurs, a combat in which Theseus played a major role. On one extraordinary slab (FIG. 5-47), a triumphant centaur rises up on its hind legs, exulting over the crumpled body of the Greek whom the horseman has defeated. The relief is so high that parts are fully in the round. Some have broken off. The sculptor brilliantly distinguished the vibrant, powerful form of the living beast from the lifeless corpse on the ground. In other metopes, the Greeks have the upper hand, but the full set suggests that the battle was a difficult one against a dangerous enemy and that losses as well as victories occurred. The same was true of the war against the Persians, and the centauromachy metopes—and also the gigantomachy, Amazonomachy, and Trojan War metopes—are allegorical references to the Greek-Persian conflict of the early fifth century BCE.

5-47A Centauromachy metope, Parthenon, ca. 447–438 BCE.

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5-48 Helios and his horses, and Dionysos (Herakles?), from the east pediment of the Parthenon, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 438–432 BCE. Marble, greatest height 4′ 3″. British Museum, London.

The east pediment of the Parthenon depicts the birth of Athena. At the left, Helios and his horses emerge from the pediment's floor, suggesting the sun rising above the horizon at dawn.

5-49 Three goddesses (Hestia, Dione, and Aphrodite?), from the east pediment of the Parthenon, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 438–432 BCE. Marble, greatest height 4′ 5″. British Museum, London.

The statues of Hestia, Dione, and Aphrodite conform perfectly to the shape of the Parthenon's east pediment. The thin and heavy folds of the garments alternately reveal and conceal the body forms.

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Parthenon: Pediments. The subjects of the two pediments were especially appropriate for a building that celebrated Athena—and the Athenians. The east pediment (FIGS. 5-48, 5-49, and 5-49A) depicted the birth of the goddess. At the west (FIGS. 5-49B and 5-49C) was the contest between Athena and Poseidon to determine which one would become the city's patron deity. Athena won, giving her name to the polis and its citizens. It is significant that in the story and in the pediment, the Athenians are the judges of the relative merits of the two gods. The selection of this theme for the Parthenon reflects the same arrogance that led to the use of Delian League funds to adorn the Acropolis.

The Christians removed the center of the east pediment when they added an apse to the Parthenon at the time of its conversion into a church. What remains are the spectators to the left and the right who witnessed Athena's birth on Mount Olympus. At the far left (FIG. 5-48) are part of the head and arms of Helios (the Sun) and his chariot horses rising from the pediment floor. Next to them is a powerful male figure usually identified as Dionysos or possibly Herakles, who entered the realm of the gods on completion of his 12 labors (see "Herakles," page 126). At the right (FIG. 5-49) are three goddesses, probably Hestia, Dione, and Aphrodite (see "Gods and Goddesses," page 107), and either Selene (the Moon) or Nyx (Night) and more horses (FIG. 5-49A), this time sinking below the pediment's floor. Here, Phidias, who must have designed the composition even if his assistants executed it, discovered an entirely new way to deal with the awkward triangular frame of the pediment. Its floor is now the horizon line, and the charioteers and their horses move through it effortlessly.

5-49A Horse of Selene or Nyx, Parthenon, ca. 438–432 BCE.

The reclining figures next to the horses on each side of the pediment beautifully fill the space beneath the raking cornice. Dionysos/Herakles and Aphrodite in the lap of her mother, Dione, are imposing Olympian presences yet totally relaxed organic forms. The Athenian sculptors fully understood not only the surface appearance of human anatomy, both male and female, but also the mechanics of how muscles and bones make the body move. The

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5-49B River god, Parthenon, ca. 438–432 BCE.

5-49C Iris, Parthenon, ca. 438–432 BCE.

Phidian workshop mastered the rendition of clothed forms as well. In the Dione-Aphrodite group (FIG. 5-49), the thin and heavy swirling folds of the garments alternately reveal and conceal the main and lesser body masses and subtly unify the two figures. The articulation and integration of the bodies produce a wonderful variation of surface and play of light and shade. The statues of the west pediment (FIGS. 5-49B and 5-49C) are equally remarkable.

Parthenon: Ionic Frieze. In many ways, the most noteworthy part of the Parthenon's sculptural decoration is the inner Ionic frieze (FIGS. 5-50 and 5-50A). Scholars still debate its subject, but most agree that it represents the Panathenaic Festival procession that took place every four years in Athens. If this identification is correct, the Athenians judged themselves fit for inclusion in the Parthenon's iconographical program—a remarkable decision, because no Greek temple had ever featured a human event in its decoration. It is another example of the Athenians' extraordinarily high sense of self-worth.

The procession began at the Dipylon Gate, passed through the *agora* (central square), and ended on the Acropolis, where the Athenians placed a new peplos on an ancient wood statue of Athena. That statue (probably similar in general appearance to the *Lady of Auxerre,* FIG. 5-6) had been housed in the Archaic temple that the Persians razed in 480 BCE, but the Athenians removed it

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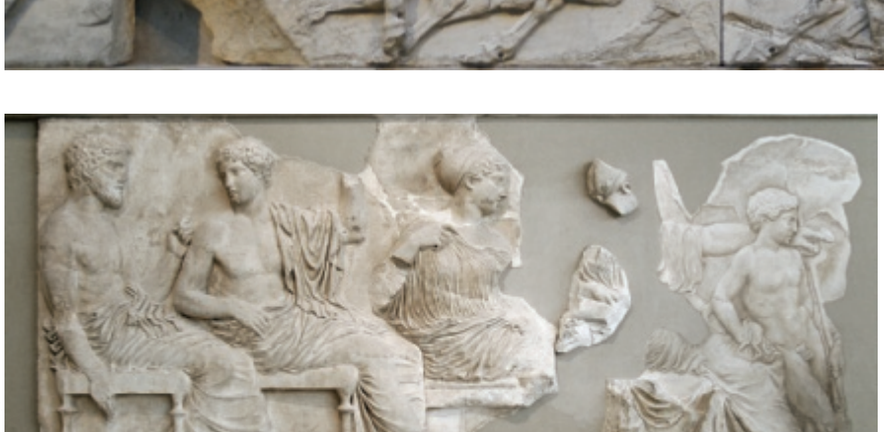

1 ft.

1 ft.

5-50 **Three details of the Panathenaic Festival procession frieze, from the Parthenon, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 447–438 BCE. Marble, 3′ 6″ high.** ***Top:*** **horsemen (north frieze), British Museum, London.** ***Center:*** **Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Eros (east frieze), Acropolis Museum, Athens.** ***Bottom:*** **elders and maidens (east frieze), Musée du Louvre, Paris.**

The Parthenon's Ionic frieze represents the Panathenaic procession of citizens on horseback and on foot under the gods' watchful eyes. The Parthenon celebrated the Athenians as much as Athena.

5-50A Peplos ceremony, Parthenon, ca. 447–438 BCE.

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before the attack for security reasons and eventually installed it in the Erechtheion (FIG. 5-53, no. 1). On the Parthenon frieze, the procession begins on the west side—that is, at the temple's rear, the side facing the gateway to the Acropolis. It then moves in parallel lines down the long north and south sides of the building and ends at the center of the east frieze (FIG. 5-50A), over the doorway to the cella housing Phidias's statue (FIGS. 5-45 and 5-46). It is noteworthy that the upper part of the frieze is in higher relief than the lower part so that the more distant and more shaded upper zone is as legible from the ground as the lower part of the frieze. This is another instance of how the Parthenon's builders took optical effects into consideration.

The frieze vividly communicates the procession's acceleration and deceleration. At the outset, on the west side, marshals gather, and youths mount their horses (FIG. 5-50, *top*). In the north and south friezes, the momentum picks up as the cavalcade moves from the lower town to the Acropolis, accompanied by musicians, jar carriers, and animals destined for sacrifice. On the east side, seated gods and goddesses (FIG. 5-50, *center*), the invited guests, watch the procession slow almost to a halt (FIG. 5-50, *bottom*) as it nears its goal at the shrine of Athena's ancient wood idol. Most remarkable of all is the role assigned to the Olympian deities. They do not take part in the festival or determine its outcome, but are merely spectators. Aphrodite, in fact, extends her left arm to draw her son Eros's attention to the Athenians, just as today a parent at a parade would point out important people to a child. Indeed, the Athenian people *were* important—self-important, one might say. They were the masters of an empire, and in Pericles's famous funeral oration for Athenians who lost their lives in the war against Persia, the leader painted a picture of Athens that elevated its citizens almost to the stature of gods. The Parthenon celebrated the greatness of Athens and the Athenians as much as it honored Athena.

Propylaia. Even before all the sculptures were in place on the Parthenon, work began on a grandiose new entrance to the Acropolis, the Propylaia (FIG. 5-51). The architect entrusted with this important commission was MNESIKLES. The site was a difficult one, on a steep slope, but Mnesikles succeeded in disguising the change in ground level by splitting the building into eastern and western sections (FIG. 5-44, no. 2), each one resembling a Doric temple facade, hence the name Propylaia. (*Propylaia* is Greek for "gates," rather than "gate.") Practical considerations dictated that the space between the central pair of columns on each side be enlarged. This was the path that the vehicles and animals of the Panathenaic Festival procession took, and they required a wide ramped causeway. To either side of the central ramp were stairs for pedestrian traffic. Inside, tall, slender Ionic columns supported the split-level roof. Once again an Athenian architect mixed the two orders on the Acropolis. But as Iktinos did for the Parthenon, Mnesikles chose the Doric order for the stately exterior.

Mnesikles's full plan for the Propylaia was never executed. Of the side wings that were part of the original project, the northwest one (FIG. 5-44, no. 3) is of special importance in the history of art. In Roman times, it housed a *pinakotheke* ("picture gallery"). In it were displayed paintings on wood panels by some of the major artists of the fifth century BCE. It is uncertain whether this was the wing's original function. If it was, the Propylaia's pinakotheke, although not an independent building, is the first recorded structure built for the specific purpose of displaying paintings, and it is the forerunner of modern museums.

Erechtheion. In 421 BCE, work finally began on the temple that was to replace the Archaic Athena temple that the Persians had destroyed. The new structure, the Erechtheion (FIG. 5-52), built to the north of the old temple's remains, was to be a multiple shrine, however. It honored Athena and housed the ancient wood image of the goddess that was the goal of the Panathenaic Festival procession. But it also incorporated shrines to a host of other gods and demigods who loomed large in the city's legendary past. Among these were Erechtheus, an early king of Athens, during whose reign the ancient statuette of Athena was said to have fallen from the heavens, and Kekrops, another king of Athens, who served as judge of the contest between Athena and Poseidon (and who is present at the contest in the Parthenon's west pediment). In fact, the site chosen for the new temple was the very spot where that contest occurred. Poseidon had staked his claim to Athens by striking the Acropolis rock with his trident and producing a salt-water spring. The imprint of his trident remained for Athenians of the historical period (and visitors to the Acropolis today) to see on the north side of the Erechtheion. Nearby, Athena had miraculously caused an

5-51 MNESIKLES, Propylaia (looking west), Acropolis, Athens, Greece, 437–432 BCE.

Mnesikles disguised the change of ground level by splitting the Propylaia into eastern and western sections. Each facade resembles a Doric temple, but with a wider space between the central columns.

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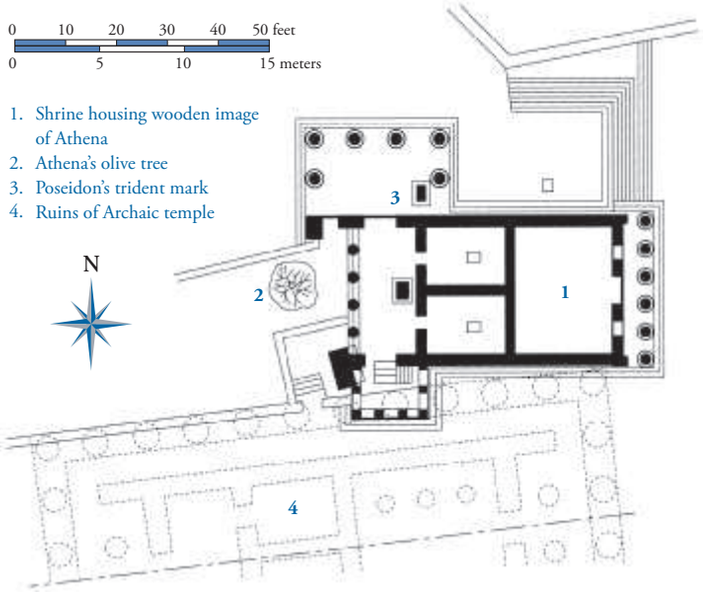
5-52 Erechtheion (looking northeast), Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 421–405 BCE.

The Erechtheion is in many ways the antithesis of the Doric Parthenon directly across from it. An Ionic temple, it has some of the finest decorative details of any ancient Greek building.



5-53 Plan of the Erechtheion, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 421–405 BCE.

The asymmetrical form of the Erechtheion is unique for a Greek temple. It reflects the need to incorporate preexisting shrines into the plan, including those of the kings Erechtheus and Kekrops.

olive tree to grow. A tree still stands at the west end of the temple. In antiquity, Athena's tree reminded the citizens of the goddess's victory over Poseidon.

The asymmetrical plan (FIG. 5-53) of the Ionic Erechtheion is unique for a Greek temple and the antithesis of the simple and harmoniously balanced plan of the Doric Parthenon across the way. Its irregular form reflected the need to incorporate the tomb of Kekrops and other preexisting shrines, the trident mark, and the olive tree into a single complex. The unknown architect responsible for the building also had to struggle with the problem of uneven terrain. The area could not be leveled by terracing because that would disturb the ancient sacred sites. As a result, the Erechtheion has four sides of very different character, and each side rests on a different ground level.

Perhaps to compensate for the awkward character of the building as a whole, the architect took great care with the Erechtheion's decorative details. The Ionic capitals were inlaid with gold, rock crystal, and colored glass, and the frieze received special treatment. The stone chosen was the gray-blue limestone of Eleusis to contrast with the white Pentelic marble of the walls and columns and the marble relief figures attached to the dark frieze.

The Erechtheion's most striking and famous feature is its south porch (FIG. 5-54), where the architect replaced Ionic columns with caryatids, as on the Siphnian Treasury (FIG. 5-17) at Delphi. The Archaic caryatids resemble sixth-century BCE korai, and their Classical counterparts equally characteristically look like Phidian-era statues. Although the caryatids exhibit the weight shift that was standard for the fifth century BCE, the flutelike

5-54 Caryatids of the south porch of the Erechtheion, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 421–405 BCE. Plaster casts of marble statues, 7′ 7″ high. Original statues in the Acropolis Museum, Athens, and the British Museum, London.

The south porch of the Erechtheion features updated Classical versions (with weight-shift stances) of the Archaic caryatids of the porch of the Siphnian Treasury (FIG. 5-17) at Delphi.

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5-55 Kallikrates, Temple of Athena Nike (looking southwest), Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 427–424 BCE.

The Ionic temple at the entrance to the Acropolis is an unusual amphiprostyle building. It celebrated Athena as bringer of victory, and one of the friezes depicts the Persian defeat at Marathon.

drapery folds concealing their stiff, weight-bearing legs underscore their role as architectural supports. The figures have enough rigidity to suggest the structural column and just the degree of flexibility needed to suggest the living body.

Temple of Athena Nike. Another Ionic building on the Athenian Acropolis is the small Temple of Athena Nike (FIG. 5-55), designed by Kallikrates, who worked with Iktinos on the Parthenon and may have been responsible for that temple's Ionic elements. The Athena Nike temple, rebuilt in 2012 after having been dismantled for restoration, is amphiprostyle (see "Greek Temple Plans," page 115) with four columns on both the east and west facades. It stands on what used to be a Mycenaean bastion near the Propylaia and greets all visitors entering Athena's great sanctuary. Like the Parthenon, this temple commemorated the victory over the Persians—and not just in its name. The sculptors devoted part of the frieze to a representation of the decisive battle at Marathon, which turned the tide against the Persians—a human event, as in the Parthenon's Panathenaic Festival procession frieze. But on the Athena Nike temple, the Athenians chronicled a specific occasion, not a recurring event involving anonymous citizens.

Around the building, at the bastion's edge, was a *parapet* (a low wall) decorated with exquisite reliefs, today displayed in the new Acropolis Museum. The theme of the balustrade matched that of the temple proper—victory. Dozens of images of Nike adorned the parapet, always in different attitudes. Sometimes she erects trophies bedecked with Persian spoils. Other times she brings forward sacrificial bulls for Athena. One relief (FIG. 5-56) shows Nike adjusting

5-56 Nike adjusting her sandal, from the south side of the parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike, Acropolis, Athens, Greece, ca. 410 BCE. Marble, 3′ 6″ high. Acropolis Museum, Athens.

Dozens of images of winged Victory adorned the parapet on three sides of the Athena Nike temple. The sculptor carved this Nike with garments that appear almost transparent.

her sandal—an awkward posture that the sculptor rendered elegant and graceful. The artist carried the style of the Parthenon pediments (FIGS. 5-49 and 5-49C) even further and created a figure whose garments cling so tightly to the body that they seem almost transparent, as if drenched with water. The sculptor was, however, interested in much more than revealing the supple beauty of the young female body. The drapery folds form intricate linear patterns unrelated to the body's anatomical structure and have a life of their own as abstract designs.

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ART AND SOCIETY

The Hegeso Stele

In Geometric times, huge painted vases (FIGS. 5-2 and 5-2A) marked the graves of wealthy Athenians. In the Archaic period, the Greeks placed kouroi (FIGS. 5-7 and 5-9) and, to a lesser extent, korai, or stelae ornamented with relief depictions of the deceased over their graves. The stele (FIG. 5-57) erected in the Dipylon cemetery at the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century BCE to commemorate the death of Hegeso, daughter of Proxenos, is in this tradition. An inscription giving the names of the daughter and father is on the cornice of the pediment crowning the stele. *Pilasters* (flat engaged columns) at left and right complete the architectural framework.

Hegeso is the well-dressed woman seated on an elegant chair (with footstool). She examines a piece of jewelry (once rendered in paint, not now visible) selected from a box that a servant girl brings to her. The maid's simple unbelted chiton contrasts sharply with the more elaborate attire of her mistress. The garments of both women reveal the body forms beneath them. The faces are serene, without a trace of sadness. Indeed, the sculptor depicted both mistress and maid during a characteristic shared moment out of daily life. Only the epitaph reveals that Hegeso is the one who has departed.

The simplicity of the scene on the Hegeso stele is deceptive, however. This is not merely a bittersweet scene of tranquil domestic life before an untimely death. The setting itself is significant—the secluded women's quarters of a Greek house, from which Hegeso rarely would have emerged. Contemporaneous grave stelae of men regularly show them in the public domain, often as warriors. The servant girl is not so much the faithful companion of the deceased in life as she is Hegeso's possession, like the jewelry box. The slave girl may look at her mistress, awaiting her next command, but Hegeso has eyes only for her ornaments. Both slave and jewelry attest to the wealth of Hegeso's father, unseen but prominently cited in the epitaph. (It is noteworthy that there is no mention of the mother's name.) Indeed, even the jewelry box carries a deeper significance, for it probably represents the dowry that Proxenos would have provided to his daughter's husband when she left her father's home to enter her husband's home. In the patriarchal society of ancient Greece, the dominant position of men is manifest even when only women are depicted.

5-57 Grave stele of Hegeso, from the Dipylon cemetery, Athens, Greece, ca. 400 BCE. Marble, 5′ 2″ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

On her tombstone, Hegeso examines jewelry from a box that her servant girl holds. Mistress and maid share a serene moment out of daily life. Only the epitaph reveals that Hegeso is the one who died.

Hegeso Stele. Although the decoration of the great building projects on the Acropolis must have occupied most of the finest sculptors of Athens during the second half of the fifth century BCE, other commissions were available in the city, notably for tombstones in the Dipylon cemetery. There, around 400 BCE, an Athenian family set up in memory of a woman named Hegeso a beautiful and touching grave stele (FIG. 5-57) in the style of the Temple of Athena Nike parapet reliefs. The stele's subject—a young woman in her home, attended by her maid (see "The Hegeso Stele," above)—and its composition have close parallels in Classical vase painting.

Painting

In the Classical period, some of the most renowned artists were the painters of large wood panels displayed in public buildings, both secular and religious. Those works were by nature perishable, and all of the great panels of the masters are unfortunately lost. Nonetheless, Greek vases of this period, especially those painted using the *white-ground painting* technique (see "White-Ground Painting," page 142), give some idea of the polychrome nature of Classical panel paintings.

Polygnotos. The leading panel painter of the first half of the fifth century BCE was Polygnotos of Thasos, whose works adorned important buildings in both Athens and Delphi. One of these was the pinakotheke of Mnesikles's Propylaia, but the most famous was a building in the Athenian agora that came to be called the Stoa Poikile (Painted Portico; compare FIG. 5-78). Descriptions of Polygnotos's paintings make clear that he introduced a revolutionary compositional format. Before Polygnotos, figures stood on a common ground line at the bottom of the picture plane, whether they appeared in horizontal bands or vertical panels. Polygnotos placed his figures on different

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White-Ground Painting

White-ground painting takes its name from the chalky white slip used to provide a background for the painted figures. The Andokides Painter (FIG. 5-22) was one of the first to experiment with white-ground painting in the sixth century BCE, but the method became popular only toward the middle of the fifth century BCE. One of the best examples of the white-ground technique is the *lekythos* (flask to hold perfumed oil) illustrated here (FIG. 5-58), painted around 440 BCE by the ACHILLES PAINTER. White-ground is essentially a variation of the red-figure technique. First, the painter covered the pot with a slip of very fine white clay, then applied black glaze to outline the figures, and diluted brown, purple, red, and white to color them. The artist could use other colors—for example, the yellow that the Achilles Painter chose for the garments of both figures on this lekythos—but these had to be applied after firing because the Greeks did not know how to make them withstand the intense heat of the kiln.

Despite the obvious attractions of the technique, the impermanence of the expanded range of colors discouraged white-ground painting on everyday vessels, such as drinking cups and kraters. In fact, Greek artists explored the full polychrome possibilities of the white-ground technique almost exclusively on *lekythoi,* which families commonly placed in graves as offerings to the deceased. For vessels designed for short-term use, the fragile nature of white-ground painting was of little concern.

The Achilles Painter, like the REED PAINTER (FIG. 5-58A) later in the century, selected a scene appropriate for the funerary purpose of a lekythos. A youthful warrior takes leave of his wife. The red scarf, mirror, and jug hanging on the wall behind the woman indicate that the setting is the interior of their home. The motif of the seated woman is strikingly similar to that of Hegeso on her grave stele (FIG. 5-57), but here the woman is the survivor. It is her husband, preparing to go to war with helmet, shield, and spear, who will depart, never to return. On his shield is a large painted eye, roughly life-size. Greek shields often bore decorative devices such as the horrific face of Medusa, intended to ward off evil and frighten the enemy (compare FIG. 5-16). This eye undoubtedly recalls that tradition, but for the Achilles Painter it was little more than an excuse to display superior drawing skills. Since the late sixth century BCE, Greek painters had abandoned the Archaic habit of placing frontal eyes on profile faces and attempted to render the eyes in profile. The Achilles Painter's mastery of this difficult problem in foreshortening is on exhibit here.

5-58 ACHILLES PAINTER, warrior taking leave of his wife (Athenian white-ground lekythos), from Eretria, Greece, ca. 440 BCE. 1′ 5″ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

White-ground painters applied the colors after firing because most colored glazes could not withstand the kiln's heat. The Achilles Painter here displayed his mastery of drawing an eye in profile.

5-58A REED PAINTER, warrior seated at his tomb, ca. 410–400 BCE.

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levels, staggered in tiers in the manner of Ashurbanipal's lion hunt relief (FIG. 2-23) of two centuries before. He also incorporated landscape elements into his paintings, making his pictures true windows onto the world and not simply surface designs peopled with foreshortened figures. Polygnotos's abandonment of a single ground line was as momentous a break from the past as Early Classical Greek sculptors' rejection of frontality in statuary.

Niobid Painter. Polygnotos's influence is evident on a red-figure krater (FIG. 5-59) painted around the middle of the fifth century BCE by the NIOBID PAINTER—so named because one side of this krater depicts the massacre of the Niobids, the children of Niobe. Niobe, who had at least a dozen children, had boasted that she was superior to the goddess Leto, who had only two offspring, Apollo and Artemis. To punish her *hubris* (arrogant pride) and teach the lesson that no mortal could be superior to a god or goddess, Leto sent her two children to slay all of Niobe's many sons and daughters. On the Niobid Painter's krater, the horrible slaughter occurs in a schematic landscape setting of rocks and trees. The painter placed the figures on several levels, and they actively interact with their setting. One slain son, for example, not only has fallen upon a rocky outcropping but is partially hidden by it. The Niobid Painter also drew the son's face in a three-quarter view, something even Euphronios and Euthymides never attempted.

Phiale Painter. Further insight into the appearance of the lost panel paintings of the fifth century BCE comes from a white-ground krater (FIG. 5-60) by the PHIALE PAINTER. The subject is Hermes handing over his half brother, the infant Dionysos, to Papposilenos (Grandpa-Satyr). The other figures represent the nymphs in

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5-59 Niobid Painter, Artemis and Apollo slaying the children of Niobe (Athenian red-figure calyx krater), from Orvieto, Italy, ca. 450 BCE. 1′ 9″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The placement of figures on different levels in a landscape on this red-figure krater depicting the massacre of the Niobids reflects the compositions of the panel paintings of Polygnotos of Thasos.

5-60 Phiale Painter, Hermes bringing the infant Dionysos to Papposilenos (Athenian white-ground calyx krater), from Vulci, Italy, ca. 440–435 BCE. Krater 1′ 2″ high; detail 6½″ high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.

In the Phiale Painter's white-ground representation of Hermes and the infant Dionysos at Nysa, the use of diluted brown to color and shade the rocks may reflect the panel paintings of Polygnotos.

the shady glens of Nysa, where Zeus had sent Dionysos, one of his numerous natural sons, to be raised, safe from the possible wrath of his wife, Hera. Unlike the decorators of funerary lekythoi, the Phiale Painter used for this krater only colors that could survive the firing in a Greek kiln—red, brown, purple, and a special snowy white reserved for the flesh of the nymphs and for the hair, beard, and shaggy body of Papposilenos. The use of diluted brown wash to color and shade the rocks may reflect the coloration of Polygnotos's landscapes. This vase and the Niobid krater together provide a shadowy idea of the character of Polygnotos's lost paintings.

Tomb of the Diver, Paestum. Although all the panel paintings of the masters disappeared long ago, some Greek mural paintings survive. An early example is in the Tomb of the Diver at Paestum. Covering the four walls of this small, coffinlike tomb are symposium scenes of the kind that appear regularly on Greek vases. On the tomb's cover slab (FIG. 5-61), a youth dives from a stone platform into a body of water. The scene most likely symbolizes the plunge from this life into the next. Trees resembling those of the Niobid krater are included within the decorative frame.

5-61 Youth diving, cover slab of the Tomb of the Diver, from the Tempe del Prete necropolis, Paestum, Italy, ca. 480–470 BCE. Fresco, 3′ 4″ high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Paestum.

This tomb in Italy is a rare example of Classical mural painting. The diving scene most likely symbolizes the deceased's plunge into the Underworld. The trees resemble those on the Niobid krater (FIG. 5-59).

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LATE CLASSICAL PERIOD

The Peloponnesian War, which began in 431 BCE, ended in 404 BCE with the decisive defeat of a plague-weakened Athens. The victor, Sparta, and then Thebes undertook the leadership of Greece, both unsuccessfully. In the middle of the fourth century BCE, a threat from without caused the rival Greek states to put aside their disagreements and unite for their common defense, as they had earlier against the Persians. But at the battle of Chaeronea in 338 BCE, the Greek cities suffered a devastating loss and had to give up their independence to the Macedonian king Philip II (r. 359–336 BCE). Philip was assassinated in 336, and his son, Alexander III (r. 336–323 BCE), better known simply as Alexander the Great, succeeded him. Alexander led a powerful army on an extraordinary campaign that overthrew the Persian Empire (the ultimate revenge for the Persian invasion of Greece in the early fifth century), wrested control of Egypt, and even reached India (see "The Great Stupa at Sanchi," page 443).

Sculpture

The fourth century BCE in Greece was thus a time of political upheaval, which had a profound impact on the psyche of the Greeks and on the art they produced. In the fifth century BCE, Greeks had generally believed that rational human beings could impose order on their environment, create "perfect" statues such as the *Canon* of Polykleitos, and discover the "correct" mathematical formulas for constructing buildings such as the Parthenon. The Parthenon frieze celebrated the Athenians as a community of citizens with shared values. The Peloponnesian War and the unceasing strife of the fourth century BCE brought an end to the serene idealism of the previous century. Disillusionment and alienation followed. Greek thought and Greek art began to focus more on the individual and on the real world of appearances instead of on the community and the ideal world of perfect beings and perfect shrines.

Praxiteles. The new approach to art is immediately apparent in the work of PRAXITELES, one of the three greatest sculptors of the Late Classical period. Praxiteles did not reject the favored statuary themes of the High Classical period, and his Olympian gods and goddesses retained their superhuman beauty. But in his hands, those deities lost some of their solemn grandeur and took on a worldly sensuousness. Nowhere is this new humanizing spirit more evident than in the statue of Aphrodite (FIG. 5-62) that Praxiteles sold to the Knidians after another city had rejected it. The lost original, carved from Parian marble, is known only through copies of Roman date, but Pliny considered it "superior to all the works, not only of Praxiteles, but indeed in the whole world." It made Knidos famous, and many people sailed there just to see the statue in its round temple (compare FIG. 5-72), where "it was possible to view the image of the goddess from every side." According to Pliny, some visitors were "overcome with love for the statue."[6]

The *Aphrodite of Knidos* caused such a sensation in its time because Praxiteles took the unprecedented step of representing the goddess of love completely nude. Female nudity was rare in earlier Greek art and had been confined almost exclusively to paintings on vases designed for *symposia* and household use. The women so depicted also were usually not noblewomen or goddesses but courtesans or slave girls—for example, the one whom Onesimos depicted on a red-figure drinking cup (FIG. 5-24A). No one had ever dared place a statue of an undressed goddess inside a temple.

5-62 PRAXITELES, *Aphrodite of Knidos*. Roman copy of a marble statue of ca. 350–340 BCE. Marble, 6′ 8″ high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.

This first nude statue of a Greek goddess caused a sensation. But Praxiteles was also famous for his ability to transform marble into soft and radiant flesh. His Aphrodite had "dewy eyes."

Moreover, Praxiteles's Aphrodite is not a cold and remote image. In fact, the goddess engages in a trivial act out of everyday life. She has removed her garment and draped it over a large *hydria* (water pitcher), and is about to step into the bath.

Although shocking in its day, the *Aphrodite of Knidos* is not overtly erotic (the goddess modestly shields her pelvis with her right hand), but she is quite sensuous. Lucian, writing in the second century CE, noted that she had a "welcoming look" and a "slight smile" and that Praxiteles was renowned for his ability to transform marble into soft and radiant flesh. Lucian mentioned, for example, the "dewy quality of Aphrodite's eyes."[7] Unfortunately, the rather mechanical Roman copies do not capture the quality of the master's

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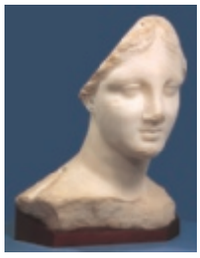


5-62A Head of a woman, Chios, ca. 320–300 BCE.

modeling of the stone, but some originals of the period do—for example, a female head (FIG. 5-62A) from Chios.

The Praxitelean "touch" is also evident in a statue once thought to be by the hand of the renowned artist himself but now generally considered either a copy of the highest quality or an original work by a son or grandson of Praxiteles with the same name. The statue of Hermes and the infant Dionysos (FIG. 5-63) found in the Temple of Hera at Olympia brings to the realm of life-size statuary the theme that the Phiale Painter had chosen for a white-ground krater (FIG. 5-60) a century earlier. Hermes has stopped to rest in a forest on his journey to Nysa to entrust the upbringing of Dionysos to Papposilenos and the nymphs. Hermes leans on a tree trunk (here it is an integral part of the composition and not a copyist's addition), and his slender body forms a sinuous, shallow S-curve that is the hallmark of many of Praxiteles's statues. He gazes dreamily into space while he dangles a bunch of grapes (now missing) as a temptation for the infant, who is to become the Greek god of the vine. This is the kind of tender human interaction between an adult and a child that one encounters frequently in life but that had been absent from Greek statuary before the fourth century BCE.

1 ft.

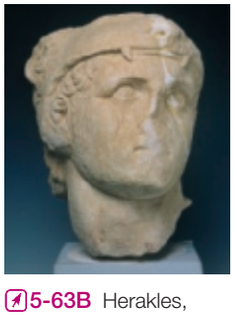
5-63 **PRAXITELES(?), Hermes and the infant Dionysos, from the Temple of Hera, Olympia, Greece. Copy of a marble statue by Praxiteles of ca. 340 BCE or an original work of ca. 330–270 BCE by a son or grandson. Marble, 7′ 1″ high. Archaeological Museum, Olympia.**

Praxiteles humanized the Olympian deities. This Hermes is as sensuous as the sculptor's Aphrodite. The god gazes dreamily into space while he dangles grapes to tempt the infant wine god.

The quality of the carving is superb. The modeling is deliberately smooth and subtle, producing soft shadows that follow the planes as they flow almost imperceptibly one into another. All that is missing to give a complete sense of the "look" of a Praxitelean statue is the original paint, which a specialist, not the sculptor, applied to the statue (compare FIG. 5-63A). The delicacy of the marble facial features stands in sharp contrast to the metallic precision of Polykleitos's bronze *Doryphoros* (FIG. 5-41). The High Classical sculptor even subjected the *Spear Bearer*'s locks of hair to the laws of symmetry, and the hair does not violate the skull's perfect curve. The comparison of these two statues reveals the sweeping changes in artistic attitude and intent that took place from the fifth to the fourth century BCE. In the statues of Praxiteles, the deities of Mount Olympus still possess a beauty that mortals can aspire to, although not achieve, but they are no longer aloof. Praxiteles's gods have stepped off their pedestals and entered the world of human experience.

5-63A Artist painting a statue of Herakles, ca. 350–320 BCE.

Skopas. In the Archaic period and throughout most of the Early and High Classical periods, Greek sculptors generally shared common goals, but in the Late Classical period of the fourth century BCE, distinctive individual styles emerged. The dreamy, beautiful divinities of Praxiteles had enormous appeal, and the master had many followers (FIG. 5-62A). Other sculptors, however, pursued very different interests. One of these was SKOPAS OF PAROS, an architect as well as a sculptor, who designed a temple at Tegea (fragments of the pedimental sculptures remain; FIG. 5-63B) and contributed to the decoration of one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world (see "Babylon," page 50), the Mausoleum (FIG. 5-63C) at Halikarnassos. Although Skopas's sculptures reflect the general Late Classical trend toward the humanization of the Greek gods and heroes, his hallmark was intense emotionalism. No statue by Skopas survives, but a grave stele found near the Ilissos River



5-63B Herakles, Temple of Athena Alea, Tegea, ca. 340 BCE.

5-63C Mausoleum, Halikarnassos, ca. 353–340 BCE.

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in Athens exhibits the psychological tension for which the master's works were famous.

The Ilissos stele (FIG. 5-64) was originally set into an architectural frame similar to that of the earlier Hegeso stele (FIG. 5-57). A comparison of the two works is revealing. In the later stele, the relief is much higher, with parts of the figures carved fully in the round. The major difference, however, is the pronounced change in mood, which reflects Skopas's innovations. The Late Classical work makes a clear distinction between the living and the dead and depicts overt mourning. The deceased is a young hunter who, like the other figures, has the large, deeply set eyes and fleshy overhanging brows that characterized Skopas's sculptures (compare FIG. 5-63B). At his feet, a small boy, either his servant or perhaps a younger brother, sobs openly. The hunter's dog also droops its head in sorrow. Beside the youth, an old man, undoubtedly his father, leans on a walking stick and, in a gesture reminiscent of that of the Olympia seer (FIG. 5-33), ponders the irony of fate that has taken the life of his powerful son yet preserved him, the father, in his frail old age. Most remarkable of all, the hunter himself looks out at the viewer, inviting sympathy and creating an emotional bridge between the spectator and the artwork inconceivable in the art of the High Classical period.

5-64 Grave stele of a young hunter, found near the Ilissos River, Athens, Greece, ca. 340–330 BCE. Marble, 5′ 6″ high. National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

The emotional intensity of this stele representing an old man mourning the loss of his son as well as the figures' large, deeply set eyes with fleshy overhanging brows reflect the style of Skopas of Paros.

Lysippos. The third great Late Classical sculptor, LYSIPPOS OF SIKYON, won such renown that Alexander the Great selected him to create his official portrait. (Alexander could afford to employ the best because the Macedonian kingdom enjoyed vast wealth. For example, King Philip was able to hire the leading thinker of his age, Aristotle, as the young Alexander's tutor.) Lysippos introduced a new canon of proportions in which the bodies were more slender than those of Polykleitos and the heads roughly one-eighth the height of the body rather than one-seventh, as in the previous

5-65 LYSIPPOS, *Apoxyomenos* (*Scraper*), from Trastevere, Rome, Italy. Roman copy of a bronze statue of ca. 330 BCE. Marble, 6′ 9″ high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.

Lysippos introduced a new canon of proportions and a nervous energy to his statues. He also broke down the dominance of the frontal view and encouraged viewing his statues from multiple angles.

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century. One of Lysippos's most famous works, a bronze statue of an *apoxyomenos* (an athlete scraping oil from his body after exercising)—known, as usual, only from Roman copies in marble (FIG. 5-65)—exhibits the new proportions. A comparison with Polykleitos's *Doryphoros* (FIG. 5-41) reveals more than a change in physique, however. A nervous energy, lacking in the balanced form of the *Doryphoros,* runs through Lysippos's *Apoxyomenos.* The *strigil* (scraping tool) is about to reach the end of the right arm, and at any moment the athlete will switch it to the other hand so that he can scrape his left arm. At the same time, he will shift his weight and reverse the positions of his legs. Lysippos also began to break down the dominance of the frontal view in statuary and encouraged the observer to view his athlete from multiple angles. Because Lysippos represented the apoxyomenos with his right arm boldly thrust forward, the figure breaks out of the shallow rectangular box that defined the boundaries of earlier statues. To comprehend the action, the observer must move to the side and view Lysippos's work at a three-quarter angle or in full profile.

To grasp the full meaning of another of Lysippos's works, a statue depicting the weary Herakles, the viewer must walk around it. Once again, the original is lost. The most impressive of the surviving statues (FIG. 5-66) based on the Lysippan original is nearly twice life-size. It stood in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome, where, like the marble copy of Polykleitos's *Doryphoros* (FIG. 5-41) from the Roman palaestra at Pompeii, Lysippos's muscle-bound Greek hero provided inspiration for Romans who came to the baths to exercise. (The Roman sculptor GLYKON OF ATHENS signed the statue, but did not mention Lysippos. The educated Roman public needed no label to identify the famous work.) The exaggerated muscular development of Herakles is poignantly ironic, however. Lysippos depicted the hero as so weary that he must lean on his club for support. Without that prop, Herakles would topple over. Lysippos and other fourth-century BCE artists rejected stability and balance as goals for statuary.

Herakles holds the golden apples of the Hesperides in his right hand behind his back—unseen unless the viewer walks around the statue. Lysippos's subject is thus the same as that of the metope (FIG. 5-31) of the Early Classical Temple of Zeus at Olympia, but the fourth-century BCE Herakles is no longer serene. Instead of expressing joy, or at least satisfaction, at having completed one of the impossible 12 labors, he is almost dejected. Exhausted by his physical efforts, he can think only of his pain and fatigue. Lysippos's portrayal of Herakles in this statue is an eloquent testimony to Late Classical sculptors' interest in humanizing the Greek gods and heroes. In this respect, despite their divergent styles, Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos followed a common path.

5-66 LYSIPPOS, Weary Herakles (*Farnese Hercules*). Roman statue from the Baths of Caracalla (FIG. 7-65), Rome, Italy, signed by GLYKON OF ATHENS, based on a bronze statue of ca. 320 BCE. Marble, 10′ 5″ high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.

Lysippos's portrayal of Herakles after the hero obtained the golden apples of the Hesperides ironically shows the muscle-bound hero as so weary that he must lean on his club for support.

Alexander the Great and Macedonian Court Art

Alexander the Great's favorite book was the *Iliad,* and his own life very much resembled an epic saga, full of heroic battles, exotic locales, and unceasing drama. Alexander was a man of singular character, an inspired leader with boundless energy and an almost foolhardy courage. He personally led his army into battle on the back of Bucephalus (FIG. 5-70), the wild and mighty steed that only he could tame and ride.

Alexander's Portraits. Ancient sources reveal that Alexander believed that only Lysippos had captured his essence in a portrait, and thus only he was authorized to sculpt the king's image. Lysippos's most famous portrait of the Macedonian king was a full-length, heroically nude bronze statue of Alexander holding a lance and turning his head toward the sky. According to Plutarch, an epigram inscribed on the base stated that the statue depicted Alexander gazing at Zeus and proclaiming, "I place the earth under my sway; you, O Zeus, keep Olympus." Plutarch also reported that Lysippos's portrait immortalized Alexander's "leonine" hair and "melting glance."[8] The Lysippan original is lost, and because

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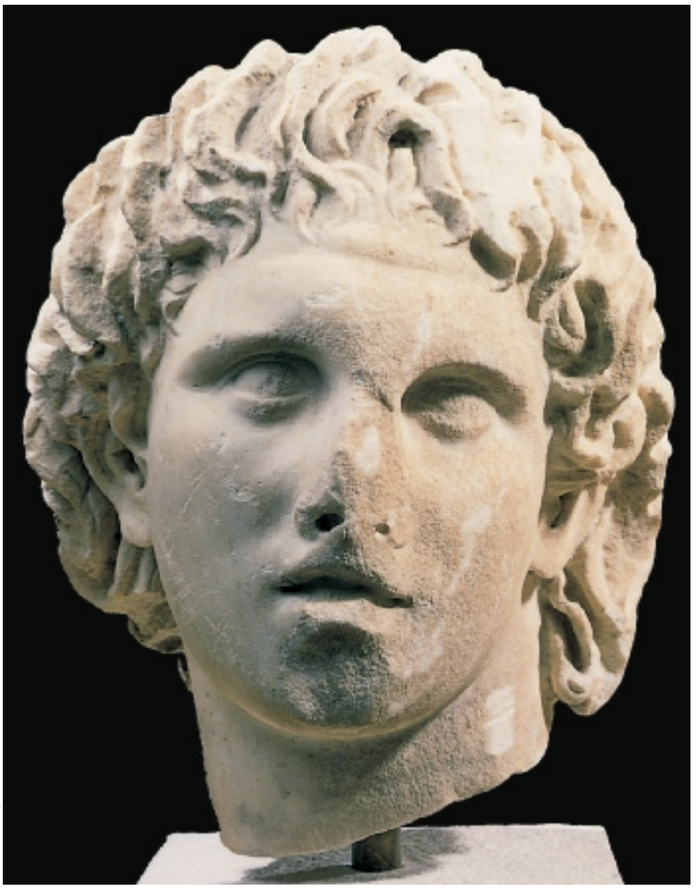
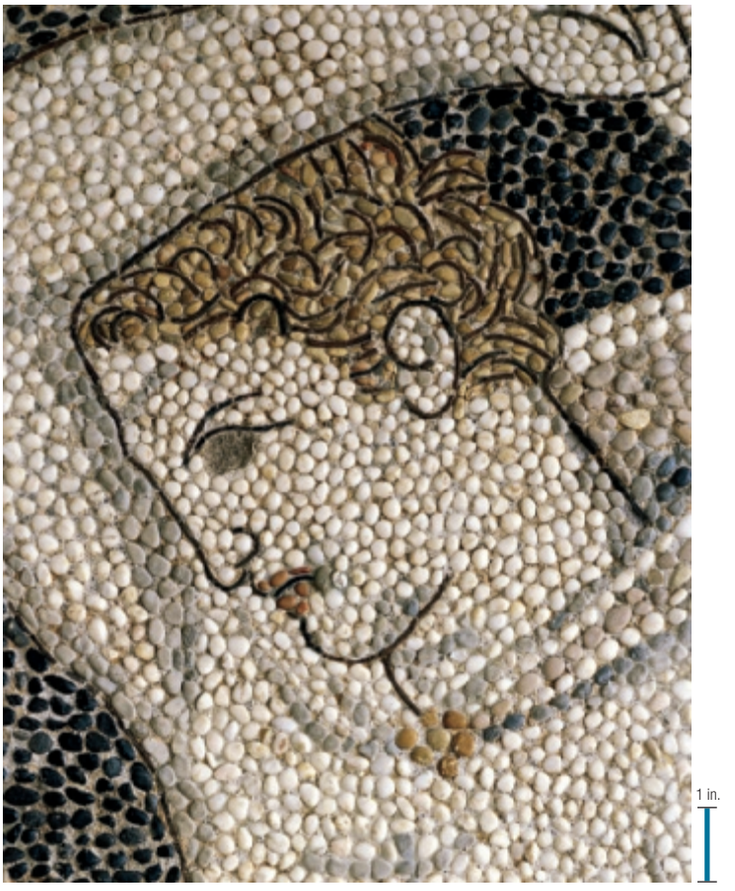


5-67 Head of Alexander the Great, from Pella, Greece, third century BCE. Marble, 1′ high. Archaeological Museum, Pella.

Lysippos was the official portrait sculptor of Alexander the Great. This third-century BCE sculpture has the sharp turn of the head and thick mane of hair of Lysippos's statue of Alexander with a lance.



5-68 Detail of a lion hunt, from Pella, Greece, ca. 330–300 BCE. Pebble mosaic, figural panel 5′ 4$\frac{1}{4}$″ high; detail 1′ high. Archaeological Museum, Pella.

The floor mosaics at Pella, the Macedonian capital, are of the early type made with naturally colored pebbles. The use of shading suggests that the Pella mosaics reflect contemporaneous panel painting.

Alexander was portrayed so many times and long after his death, it is difficult to determine which of the many surviving images is most faithful to the fourth-century BCE portrait. A leading candidate is a third-century BCE marble head (FIG. 5-67) from Pella, the capital of Macedonia and Alexander's birthplace. It has the sharp turn of the head and thick mane of hair that were key ingredients of Lysippos's portrait. The Pella sculptor's treatment of the features also is consistent with the style of the later fourth century BCE. The deep-set eyes and parted lips recall the manner of Skopas (FIG. 5-63B), and the delicate handling of the flesh brings to mind the faces of Praxitelean statues (FIG. 5-63). Although not a copy, this head very likely approximates the young king's official portrait and provides insight into Alexander's personality as well as Lysippos's art.

Pella Mosaics. The luxurious life of the Macedonian aristocracy is evident from the costly objects found in Macedonian graves and from the abundance of mosaics uncovered in houses at Pella. The Macedonian mosaics are *pebble mosaics* (see "Mosaics," page 256). The floors consist of small stones of various colors collected from beaches and riverbanks and set into a thick coat of cement. One of the finest pebble mosaics uncovered in the Pella excavations depicts a lion hunt. A detail of one of the two hunters (FIG. 5-68) is reproduced here to showcase the character of this early mosaic technique. The placement of light figures against a dark ground has much in common with red-figure painting. In the pebble mosaic, however, thin strips of lead define most of the contour lines and some of the interior details. Subtle gradations of yellow, brown, and red, as well as black, white, and gray pebbles, suggest the interior volumes. The mosaicist used shading to model the musculature of the hunters as well as their billowing cloaks and the lion's body. The use of light and dark to suggest volume is rare on Greek painted vases, although examples exist. Panel painters, however, commonly used shading, the Greek term for which was *skiagraphia* (literally, "shadow painting"). The Greeks attributed the invention of shading to an Athenian painter of the fifth century BCE named Apollodoros. The Pella lion hunt, with its sparse landscape setting, probably reflects contemporaneous panel painting.

Hades and Persephone. Excavations at Vergina have provided valuable additional information about Macedonian art and about Greek mural painting. One of the most important finds is a painted tomb (possibly the tomb of Philip II) with a fresco (FIG. 5-69) representing Hades, lord of the Underworld, abducting Persephone, the daughter of Demeter, the goddess of grain. The mural is remarkable for its intense drama and for the painter's use of foreshortening and shading. Hades holds the terrified seminude Persephone in his left arm and steers his racing chariot with his right as Persephone's garments and hair blow in the wind. The artist depicted the

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5-69 Hades abducting Persephone, detail of a wall painting in tomb 1, Vergina, Greece, ca. 336 BCE. Fresco, detail 3′ 3½″ high.

The intense drama, three-quarter views, and shading in this representation of the lord of the Underworld kidnapping Demeter's daughter are characteristics of mural painting at the time of Alexander.

heads of both figures and even the chariot's wheels in three-quarter views. The chariot, in fact, seems to be bursting into the viewer's space. Especially noteworthy is the way the painter used short, dark brushstrokes to suggest shading on the underside of Hades's right arm, on Persephone's torso, and elsewhere. Although fragmentary, the Vergina mural is a precious document of the almost totally lost art of large-scale wall and panel painting in ancient Greece.

Battle of Issus. Further insight into developments in painting at the time of Alexander comes from a large late-second-century BCE mosaic (FIG. 5-70) that decorated the floor of a room in a lavishly appointed Roman house at Pompeii. The mosaicist was a master of a later mosaic technique employing *tesserae* (cubical pieces of glass or tiny stones cut to the desired size and shape) instead of pebbles (see "Mosaics," page 256). The subject is a great battle between the armies of Alexander the Great and the Achaemenid Persian king Darius III (r. 336–330 BCE), probably the Battle of Issus in southeastern Turkey. The mosaic is probably a copy of a late-fourth-century BCE Greek painting (see "The *Alexander Mosaic,*" page 150).

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A SECOND OPINION

The *Alexander Mosaic*

The *Alexander Mosaic* (FIG. 5-70), which depicts the humiliating defeat of Darius III by Alexander the Great, is one of the masterpieces of the mosaicist's art. Art historians believe that it is a reasonably faithful copy of a Greek panel painting of the late fourth century BCE. Proposed dates for the original range from 333 to 316 BCE—that is, in the decade before or after Alexander's death in 323 BCE.

The panel is notable for the artist's technical mastery of problems that had long fascinated Greek painters. Even Euthymides would have marveled at the Late Classical painter's depiction of the rearing horse seen in a three-quarter rear view below Darius. The subtle modulation of the horse's rump through shading in browns and yellows is much more accomplished than the comparable attempts at shading in the Pella mosaic (FIG. 5-68) or the Vergina mural (FIG. 5-69). Other details are even more impressive. The Persian to the right of the rearing horse has fallen to the ground and raises, backward, a dropped Macedonian shield to protect himself from being trampled. The painter recorded the reflection of the man's terrified face on the polished surface of the shield. Everywhere in the scene, men, animals, and weapons cast shadows on the ground. This interest in the reflection of insubstantial light on a shiny surface, and in the absence of light (shadows), stands in sharp contrast to earlier painters' preoccupation with the clear presentation of weighty figures seen against a blank background. This master artist truly opened a window onto a world filled not only with figures, trees, and sky but also with light. This new, distinctly Greek notion of what a painting should be characterizes most of the history of art in the Western world from the Renaissance on.

Perhaps most impressive about the painting, however, is the psychological intensity of the drama unfolding before the viewer's eyes. Alexander, riding Bucephalus, leads his army into battle, recklessly one might say, without even a helmet to protect him. He drives his spear through one of Darius's trusted "Immortals," who swore to guard the king's life, while the Persian's horse collapses beneath him. The Macedonian king is only a few yards away from Darius, and Alexander directs his gaze at the Persian king, not at the man impaled on his now-useless spear. Darius has called for retreat. In fact, his charioteer is already whipping the horses and speeding the king to safety. Before he escapes, Darius looks back at Alexander and in a pathetic gesture reaches out toward his brash foe. But the victory has slipped from his hands.

Who was the painter who created this memorable record of Alexander's triumph over Darius? Most art historians believe that the *Alexander Mosaic* is a replica of the *Battle of Issos,* a work that Pliny judged to be "inferior to none" and that he stated was painted for King Cassander (r. 305–297 BCE) by Philoxenos of Eretria.* However, another ancient source describes a painting of Alexander in battle by Helen of Alexandria that was on display in the emperor Vespasian's Temple of Peace in Rome. Some scholars contend that the model for the *Alexander Mosaic* was her painting, not Philoxenos's. A third hypothesis is that the artist was the most renowned Greek painter of all—Apelles, two of whose portraits of Alexander were on view in the Forum of Augustus in Rome.

Unfortunately, this is a problem that has no solution because no original Greek panel painting survives from antiquity. Consequently, in contrast to Greek vase paintings, it is impossible to define the individual style of any of the famous Greek painters whose names are known.

*Pliny, *Natural History,* 35.110.

5-70 PHILOXENOS OF ERETRIA(?), *Battle of Issus.* Roman copy (*Alexander Mosaic*) from the House of the Faun, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 120–100 BCE, of a panel painting of ca. 333–316 BCE. Tessera mosaic, 8′ 10″ × 16′ 9″. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.

Battle of Issus reveals the Greek painter's mastery of foreshortening, of modeling figures in color, and of depicting reflections and shadows. The artist also captured the psychological intensity of warfare.

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Architecture

In architecture, as in sculpture and painting, the Late Classical period was a time of innovation and experimentation.

5-71 Polykleitos the Younger, aerial view of the theater (looking southwest), Epidauros, Greece, ca. 350 BCE.

The Greeks always situated theaters on hillsides to support the cavea of stone seats overlooking the circular orchestra. The Epidauros theater is the finest in Greece. It could seat 12,000 spectators.

Theater of Epidauros. In ancient Greece, actors did not perform plays repeatedly over months or years as they do today, but only during sacred festivals. Greek drama was closely associated with religious rites and was not pure entertainment. In the fifth century BCE, for example, the Athenians staged performances of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides during the Dionysos festival in the theater dedicated to the god on the southern slope of the Acropolis. Yet it is Epidauros, in the Peloponnesos, that boasts the finest theater (fig. 5-71) in Greece. Constructed shortly after the birth of Alexander, the theater is still the setting for performances of ancient Greek dramas. The architect was Polykleitos the Younger, possibly a later-generation member of the famous fifth-century BCE sculptor's family.

The precursor of the formal Greek theater was a circular patch of earth where actors performed sacred rites, songs, and dances. This circular hard and level surface later became the orchestra of the theater. *Orchestra* literally means "dancing place." The actors and the chorus performed there, and, at Epidauros, an altar to Dionysos stood at the center of the circle. The spectators sat on a slope overlooking the orchestra—the *theatron,* or "place for seeing." When the Greek theater took architectural shape, the builders always situated the auditorium (*cavea,* Latin for "hollow place, cavity") on a hillside. The cavea at Epidauros, composed of wedge-shaped sections (*cunei,* singular *cuneus*) of stone benches separated by stairs, is somewhat greater than a semicircle in plan. The auditorium is 387 feet in diameter, and its 55 rows of seats accommodated about 12,000 spectators. They entered the theater via a passageway between the seating area and the scene building (*skene*), which housed dressing rooms for the actors and also formed a backdrop for the plays. The design is simple but perfectly suited to its function. Even in antiquity, the Epidauros theater was famous for the harmony of its proportions. Although spectators sitting in some of the seats would have had a poor view of the skene, all had unobstructed views of the orchestra. Because of the open-air cavea's excellent acoustics, everyone could hear the actors and chorus.

Corinthian Capitals. The theater at Epidauros is about 500 yards southeast of the sanctuary of Asklepios, and Polykleitos the Younger worked there as well. He was the architect of the *tholos,* the circular shrine that probably housed the sacred snakes of the healing god. That building lies in ruins today, but the Greek archaeological service is in the process of reconstructing it. One can get an approximate idea of the Epidauros tholos's original appearance from the somewhat earlier and already partially rebuilt tholos (fig. 5-72) at Delphi designed by Theodoros of Phokaia. Both *tholoi* had an exterior colonnade of Doric columns, but the interior

5-72 Theodoros of Phokaia, tholos (looking northwest), Delphi, Greece, ca. 375 BCE.

The tholos at Delphi, although in ruins, is the best-preserved example of a round temple of the Classical period. It had Doric columns on the exterior and Corinthian columns inside.

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The Corinthian Capital

The Corinthian capital (FIG. 5-73) is more ornate than either the Doric or Ionic (FIG. 5-13). It consists of a double row of acanthus leaves, from which tendrils and flowers emerge, wrapped around a bell-shaped echinus. Although architectural historians often cite this capital as the distinguishing feature of the Corinthian order, strictly speaking no Corinthian order exists. The new capital type was simply a substitute for the Ionic order's volute capital.

The sculptor Kallimachos invented the Corinthian capital during the second half of the fifth century BCE. Vitruvius recorded the circumstances that supposedly led to its creation:

> A maiden who was a citizen of Corinth . . . died. After her funeral, her nurse collected the goblets in which the maiden had taken delight while she was alive, and after putting them together in a basket, she took them to the grave monument and put them on top of it. In order that they should remain in place for a long time, she covered them with a tile. Now it happened that this basket was placed over the root of an acanthus. As time went on the acanthus root, pressed down in the middle by the weight, sent forth, when it was about springtime, leaves and stalks; its stalks growing up along the sides of the basket and being pressed out from the angles because of the weight of the tile, were forced to form volute-like curves at their extremities. At this point, Kallimachos happened to be going by and noticed the basket with this gentle growth of leaves around it. Delighted with the order and the novelty of the form, he made columns using it as his model and established a canon of proportions for it.*

Kallimachos worked on the Acropolis in Pericles's great building program. Many scholars believe that a Corinthian column supported the outstretched right hand of Phidias's *Athena Parthenos* (FIG. 5-46) because one appears in some of the Roman copies of the lost statue. In any case, the earliest preserved Corinthian capital dates to the time of Kallimachos. The new type was rarely used before the mid-fourth century BCE, however, and did not become popular until Hellenistic and especially Roman times. Later architects favored the Corinthian capital because of its ornate character and because it eliminated certain problems of both the Doric and Ionic orders.

The Ionic capital, unlike the Doric, has two distinct profiles—the front and back (with the volutes) and the sides. The volutes always faced outward on a Greek temple, but architects met with a vexing problem at the corners of their buildings, which had two adjacent "fronts." They solved the problem by placing volutes on both outer faces of the corner capitals—as on the Temple of Athena Nike (FIG. 5-55)—but that was an awkward solution.

Doric design rules also presented problems for Greek architects at the corners of buildings. Doric friezes had to satisfy three supposedly inflexible rules:

- A triglyph must be exactly over the center of each column.
- A triglyph must be over the center of each *intercolumniation* (the space between two columns).
- Triglyphs at the corners of the frieze must meet so that no space is left over.

These rules are contradictory, however. If the corner triglyphs must meet, then they cannot be placed over the center of the corner column (FIGS. 5-1, 5-25, and 5-30).

The Corinthian capital eliminated both problems. Because the capital's four sides have a similar appearance, corner Corinthian capitals do not have to be modified, as do corner Ionic capitals. And because the Corinthian "order" incorporates an Ionic frieze, architects do not have to contend with corner triglyphs.

*Vitruvius, *De architectura,* 4.1.8–10. Translated by J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Ancient Greece: Sources and Documents* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 193–194.

5-73 POLYKLEITOS THE YOUNGER, Corinthian capital, from the tholos, Epidauros, Greece, ca. 350 BCE. Archaeological Museum, Epidauros.

Corinthian capitals, invented by the fifth-century BCE sculptor Kallimachos, are more ornate than Doric and Ionic capitals. They feature a double row of acanthus leaves with tendrils and flowers.

columns had molded *bases* and *Corinthian capitals* (see "The Corinthian Capital," above), an invention of the second half of the fifth century BCE.

Greek architects did not readily embrace the Corinthian capital, however. Until the second century BCE, Greek builders used Corinthian capitals only for the interiors of sacred buildings, as at Delphi and Epidauros. The earliest instance of a Corinthian capital on the exterior of a Greek building is the Choragic Monument of Lysikrates (FIG. 5-74), which is not really a building at all. Lysikrates had sponsored a chorus in a theatrical contest in 334 BCE, and after his chorus won, he erected a monument to commemorate the victory. The monument consists of a cylindrical drum resembling a

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5-74 Choragic Monument of Lysikrates, Athens, Greece, 334 BCE.

The first known use of Corinthian capitals on the exterior of a building is on the monument erected by Lysikrates in Athens to commemorate the victory his chorus won in a theatrical contest.

tholos, set on a square base. Engaged Corinthian columns adorn the drum of Lysikrates's monument, and a huge Corinthian capital sits atop the roof. The freestanding capital once supported the victor's trophy, a bronze *tripod,* a deep basin on a tall three-legged stand, traditionally associated with Apollo, the patron god of music.

HELLENISTIC PERIOD

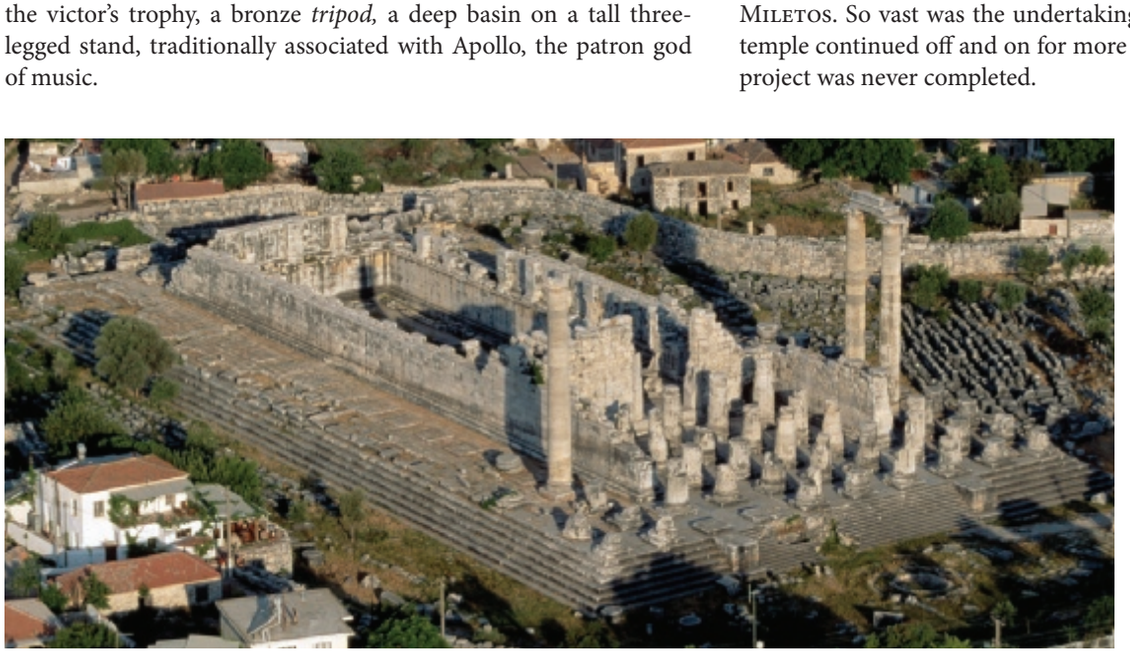
Alexander the Great's conquest of Mesopotamia and Egypt ushered in a new cultural age that historians and art historians alike call *Hellenistic.* The Hellenistic period opened with the death of Alexander in 323 BCE and lasted nearly three centuries, until the double suicide of Queen Cleopatra of Egypt and her Roman consort, Mark Antony, in 30 BCE after their decisive defeat at the battle of Actium by Antony's rival Augustus. That year, Augustus made Egypt a province of the Roman Empire.

The cultural centers of the Hellenistic period were the court cities of the Greek kings who succeeded Alexander and divided his far-flung empire among themselves. Chief among them were Antioch in Syria, Alexandria in Egypt (named after Alexander, and the site of his tomb), and Pergamon in Asia Minor (MAP 5-1). An international culture united the Hellenistic world, and its language was Greek. Hellenistic kings became enormously rich, and they prided themselves on their libraries, art collections, scientific enterprises, and skills as critics and connoisseurs, as well as on the learned men they could assemble at their courts. The world of the small, austere, and heroic city-state passed away, as did the power and prestige of its center, Athens. A cosmopolitan ("citizen of the world," in Greek) civilization, much like today's, replaced it.

Architecture

The greater variety, complexity, and sophistication of Hellenistic culture called for an architecture on a grandiose scale and of wide diversity, something far beyond the requirements of the Classical polis, even beyond that of Athens at the height of its power. Building activity shifted from the old centers on the Greek mainland to the opulent cities of the Hellenistic monarchs in the East.

Temple of Apollo, Didyma. Great scale, a theatrical element of surprise, and a willingness to break the traditional rules of Greek temple design characterize one of the most ambitious projects of the Hellenistic period, the Temple of Apollo (FIG. 5-75) at Didyma. The Hellenistic temple replaced the Archaic temple at the site razed by the Persians in 494 BCE when they sacked nearby Miletos. Construction began around 300 BCE under the direction of two architects native to the area, PAIONIOS OF EPHESOS and DAPHNIS OF MILETOS. So vast was the undertaking, however, that work on the temple continued off and on for more than 500 years—and still the project was never completed.



5-75 PAIONIOS OF EPHESOS and DAPHNIS OF MILETOS, aerial view of the Temple of Apollo (looking east), Didyma, Turkey, begun ca. 300 BCE.

A theatrical element of surprise is one of the key features of Didyma's immense Early Hellenistic Ionic Apollo temple—a building project so ambitious that it continued for more than five centuries.

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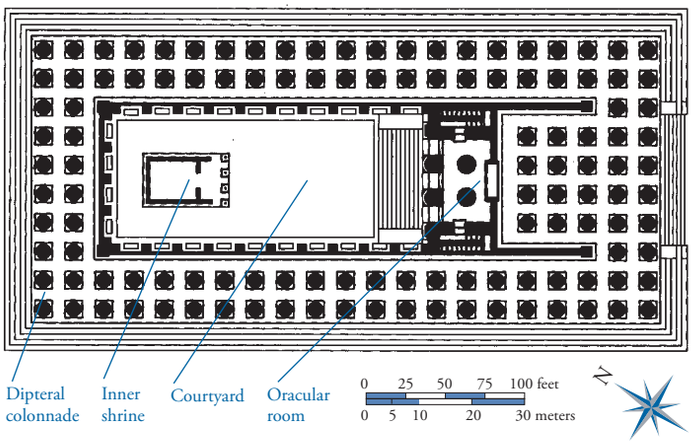

5-76 Paionios of Ephesos and Daphnis of Miletos, plan of the Temple of Apollo, Didyma, Turkey, begun ca. 300 BCE.

Apollo's temple at Didyma was hypaethral (open to the sky) and featured a dipteral (double peripteral) colonnade framing an interior courtyard with a small shrine that housed a statue of Apollo.

The temple had a double peripteral (dipteral) colonnade (FIG. 5-76) and an unusually broad facade of 10 Ionic columns almost 65 feet tall. The sides had 21 columns, consistent with the Classical formula for perfect proportions used for the Parthenon ($21 = [2 \times 10] + 1$), but nothing else about the design is Classical. One anomaly immediately apparent to anyone who approached the building was that it had no pediment and no roof—it was *hypaethral,* or open to the sky. Also, the grand doorway to what should have been the temple's cella was nearly 5 feet off the ground and could not be entered. The explanation for the peculiar elevated doorway is that it served as a kind of stage where the oracle of Apollo could be announced to those assembled in front of the temple. Further, the unroofed dipteral colonnade did not surround a traditional cella. The columns were instead an elaborate frame for a central courtyard in which was a small prostyle shrine with a statue of Apollo inside. Entrance to the interior court was through two smaller doorways to the left and right of the great portal and down two narrow vaulted tunnels that could accommodate only a single file of people. From these dark and mysterious lateral passageways, worshipers emerged into the clear light of the courtyard, which also had a sacred spring and laurel trees in honor of Apollo. Opposite Apollo's inner temple, a stairway some 50 feet wide rose

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Hippodamos's Plan for the Ideal City

When the Greeks finally expelled the Persians from Asia Minor in 479 BCE, they returned to cities in near ruin. Reconstruction of Miletos began after 466 BCE, but the Classical city did not follow the plan of its Archaic predecessor. Hippodamos of Miletos, whom Aristotle singled out as the father of rational city planning, was the designer of the new Miletos as well as Piraeus, the port city of Athens. Hippodamos had to address the question of what an ideal city plan should be. His solution was to impose a strict grid of streets on the site, regardless of the terrain, so that all streets met at right angles.

Although such *orthogonal plans* predate Hippodamos and can be found in Archaic Greece and Etruscan Italy (FIG. 6-2A) as well as in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, the Greek city planner became so famous that his name has ever since been synonymous with urban grid plans. The so-called *Hippodamian plan* was not, however, solely a grid of streets. Hippodamos also designated separate quarters for public, private, and religious functions. A "Hippodamian city" was logically as well as regularly planned. This desire to impose order on nature and to assign a proper place in the whole to each of the city's constituent parts was very much in keeping with the philosophical principles of the fifth century BCE. Hippodamos's formula for the ideal city was another manifestation of the same outlook that produced Polykleitos's *Canon* and the Parthenon.

Hippodamian planning was still the norm in Late Classical and Hellenistic Greece. The city of Priene (FIG. 5-77), also in Asia Minor, was laid out during the fourth century BCE. It had fewer than 5,000 inhabitants. (Hippodamos thought 10,000 was the ideal number. Fifth-century BCE Athens had a population of 150,000 to 200,000.) Situated on sloping ground, many of its narrow north-south streets were little more than long stairways. Uniformly sized city blocks, the standard planning unit, were nonetheless imposed on the irregular terrain. More than one unit was reserved for major structures, such as the Temple of Athena and the theater. The central agora occupied six blocks.

5-77 Restored view of Priene, Turkey, fourth century BCE and later (John Burge).

Despite its irregular terrain, Priene had a strict grid plan conforming to the principles of Hippodamos of Miletos, whom Aristotle singled out as the father of rational city planning.

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5-78 Stoa of Attalos II (looking southeast), Agora, Athens, Greece, ca. 150 BCE.

The Stoa of Attalos II in the Athenian agora has been meticulously restored. Greek stoas were covered colonnades that housed shops and civic offices. They were also ideal vehicles for shaping urban spaces.

majestically toward three portals leading into the oracular room that also opened onto the front of the temple. This complex spatial planning marked a sharp departure from Classical Greek architecture, which stressed a building's exterior almost as a work of sculpture and left its interior relatively undeveloped.

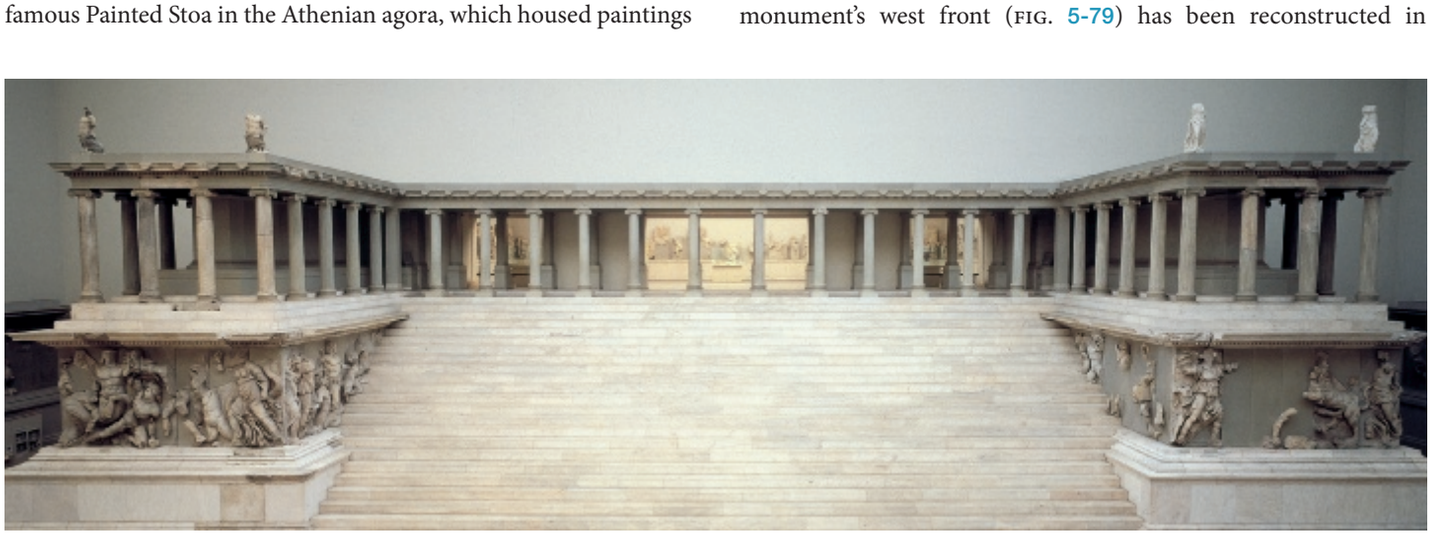
Stoas and City Planning. One of the most important—and certainly the most versatile—secular Greek buildings was the *stoa*. These covered colonnades, or *porticos,* which often housed shops and civic offices, were ideal vehicles for shaping urban spaces, and they were staples of Late Classical and Hellenistic cities (see "Hippodamos's Plan for the Ideal City," page 154). Priene (FIG. 5-77) had stoas framing each side of its agora, and even the marketplace of Athens, an ancient city notable for its haphazard, unplanned development, was eventually framed to the east and south by stoas placed at right angles to one another. These new porticos joined the famous Painted Stoa in the Athenian agora, which housed paintings by Polygnotos and other Classical masters, and where the Hellenistic philosopher Zeno and his successors taught. The *Stoic* school of Greek philosophy took its name from that building.

The finest of the new Athenian stoas was the Stoa of Attalos II (FIG. 5-78), a gift to the city by a grateful alumnus, the king of Pergamon (r. 159–138 BCE), who had studied at Athens in his youth. The stoa has been meticulously reconstructed under the direction of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and today has a second life as a museum housing eight decades of finds from the Athenian agora, as well as the offices of the American excavation team. The stoa has two stories, each with 21 shops opening onto the colonnade. The facade columns are Doric on the ground level and Ionic on the second story. The mixing of the two orders on a single facade had occurred even in the Late Classical period. But it became increasingly common in the Hellenistic period, when respect for the old rules of Greek architecture was greatly diminished and a desire for variety and decorative effects often prevailed. Practical considerations also governed the form of the Stoa of Attalos II. The columns are far more widely spaced than in Greek temple architecture, to enable easy access. Also, the builders left the lower third of every Doric column shaft unfluted to guard against damage from constant traffic.

Pergamon

Pergamon, the kingdom of Attalos II, was born in the early third century BCE after the breakup of Alexander's empire. Founded by Philetairos (r. 282–263 BCE), the Pergamene kingdom embraced almost all of western and southern Asia Minor. Upon the death in 133 BCE of its last king, Attalos III (r. 138–133 BCE), Pergamon was bequeathed to Rome, which by then was the greatest power in the Mediterranean world. The Attalids enjoyed immense wealth and expended much of it on the embellishment of their capital city, especially its acropolis. Located there were the royal palace, an arsenal and barracks, a great library and theater, an agora, and the sacred precincts of Athena and Zeus.

Altar of Zeus. The Altar of Zeus at Pergamon, erected about 175 BCE, is the most famous Hellenistic sculptural ensemble. The monument's west front (FIG. 5-79) has been reconstructed in



5-79 Reconstructed west front of the Altar of Zeus, Pergamon, Turkey, ca. 175 BCE. Pergamonmuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

The gigantomachy frieze of Pergamon's monumental Altar of Zeus is almost 400 feet long. The battle of gods and giants alluded to the victory of King Attalos I over the Gauls of Asia Minor.

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1 ft.

5-80 Athena battling Alkyoneos, detail of the gigantomachy frieze, Altar of Zeus (FIG. 5-79), Pergamon, Turkey, ca. 175 BCE. Marble, 7′ 6″ high. Pergamonmuseum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

The tumultuous battle scenes of the Pergamon altar have an emotional power unparalleled in earlier Greek art. Violent movement, swirling draperies, and vivid depictions of suffering fill the frieze.

Berlin. The altar proper was on an elevated platform, framed by an Ionic stoa-like colonnade with projecting wings on either side of a broad central staircase. All around the altar platform was a sculptured frieze almost 400 feet long, populated by about a hundred larger-than-life-size figures. The subject is the battle of Zeus and the gods against the giants. It is the most extensive representation that Greek artists ever attempted of that epic conflict for control of the world. The gigantomachy also appeared on the shield of Phidias's *Athena Parthenos* and on the east metopes of the Parthenon, because the Athenians wished to draw a parallel between the defeat of the giants and the defeat of the Persians. In the third century BCE, King Attalos I (r. 241–197 BCE) had successfully turned back an invasion of the Gauls in Asia Minor. The gigantomachy of the Altar of Zeus alluded to that Attalid victory over those barbarians. The Pergamene designers also used the gigantomachy frieze to establish a connection with Athens, whose earlier defeat of the Persians was by then legendary, and with the Parthenon, which the Hellenistic Greeks already recognized as a Classical monument—in both senses of the word. The figure of Athena (FIG. 5-80), for example, closely resembles the Athena from the Parthenon's east pediment. While Gaia, the earth goddess and mother of the giants, emerges from the ground and looks on with horror, Athena grabs the hair of the giant Alkyoneos as Nike flies in to crown her. Zeus (not illustrated) derives from the Poseidon of the west pediment.

The Pergamene frieze is not a dry series of borrowed motifs, however. On the contrary, its tumultuous narrative has an emotional intensity without parallel in earlier sculpture. The battle rages everywhere, even spilling onto the steps used to reach Zeus's altar (FIG. 5-79). Violent movement, swirling draperies, and vivid depictions of death and suffering fill the frieze. Wounded figures writhe in pain, and their faces reveal their anguish. Deep carving creates dark shadows. The figures project from the background like bursts of light. Art historians have justly described these features as *baroque,* borrowing the term from 17th-century Italian sculpture (see "'Baroque' Art and Architecture," page 712). Indeed, there perhaps can be no greater contrast than between the Pergamene gigantomachy frieze and the comparable frieze (FIG. 5-18) of the Archaic Siphnian Treasury at Delphi.

Dying Gauls. On the Altar of Zeus, Pergamene sculptors presented the victory of Attalos I over the Gauls in mythological disguise. An earlier Pergamene statuary group explicitly depicted the defeat of the barbarians. Roman copies of some of these figures show that Hellenistic sculptors carefully studied and reproduced

1 ft.

5-81 EPIGONOS(?), Gallic chieftain killing himself and his wife. Roman copy of a bronze statue of ca. 230–220 BCE. Marble, 6′ 11″ high. Palazzo Altemps, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

The defeat of the Gauls was also the subject of Pergamene statuary groups. The centerpiece of one group was a chieftain committing suicide after taking his wife's life. He preferred death to surrender.

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5-82 Epigonos(?), dying Gaul. Roman copy of a bronze statue of ca. 230–220 BCE. Marble, 3′ $\frac{1}{2}$″ high. Museo Capitolino, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

A Pergamene sculptor depicted this defeated Gallic trumpeter and the other Gauls as barbarians with bushy hair, mustaches, and neck bands, but also as noble foes who fought to the death.

the distinctive features of the foreign Gauls, most notably their long, bushy hair and mustaches and the *torques* (neck bands) they frequently wore. The Pergamene victors were apparently not part of this group. The viewer saw only their Gallic foes and their noble and moving response to defeat.

In what was probably the centerpiece of the group, a heroic Gallic chieftain (FIG. 5-81) defiantly drives a sword into his own chest just below the collarbone, preferring suicide to surrender. He already has taken the life of his wife, who, if captured, would have been sold as a slave. In the best Lysippan tradition, the group can be fully appreciated only by walking around it. From one side, the observer sees the Gaul's intensely expressive face, from another his powerful torso, and from a third the woman's limp, lifeless body. The man's twisting posture, the almost theatrical gestures, and the emotional intensity of the suicidal act are hallmarks of the Pergamene baroque style and have close parallels in the later frieze of Zeus's altar.

The third Gaul from this group is a trumpeter (FIG. 5-82) who collapses upon his large oval shield as blood pours from the gash in his chest. He stares at the ground with a pained expression. The Hellenistic figure recalls the dying warrior (FIG. 5-29) from the east pediment of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina, but the pathos and drama of the suffering Gaul are far more pronounced. As in the suicide group and the gigantomachy frieze, the sculptor rendered the male musculature in an exaggerated manner. Note the tautness of the chest and the bulging veins of the left leg—implying that the unseen Pergamene warrior who has struck down this noble and savage foe must have been an extraordinarily powerful man. If this figure is the *tubicen* ("trumpeter") that Pliny mentioned as the work of the Pergamene master Epigonos,[9] then Epigonos may be the sculptor of the entire group and the creator of the dynamic Hellenistic baroque style.

5-83 Nike alighting on a warship (*Nike of Samothrace*), from Samothrace, Greece, ca. 190 BCE. Marble, Nike 8′ 1″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Victory lands on a ship's prow to crown a naval victor. Her wings still beat, and the wind sweeps her drapery. The statue's placement in a fountain of splashing water heightened the dramatic visual effect.

Statuary

In different ways, Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos had already taken bold steps in redefining the nature of Greek statuary. Still, Hellenistic sculptors went further, both in terms of style and in expanding the range of subjects considered suitable for large-scale public sculpture.

Nike of Samothrace. One of the masterpieces of Hellenistic baroque sculpture is the statue of winged Victory set up in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on the island of Samothrace. The *Nike of Samothrace* (FIG. 5-83) has just alighted on the prow of a Greek warship. She raises her (missing) right arm to crown the naval

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victor, just as Nike places a wreath on Athena's head on the Altar of Zeus (FIG. 5-80). But the Pergamene relief figure seems calm by comparison. The Samothracian Nike's wings still beat, and the wind sweeps her drapery (compare the earlier attempt to suggest wind-blown clothing in the figure of Iris [FIG. 5-49C] in the Parthenon's west pediment). Nike's himation bunches in thick folds around her right leg, and her chiton is pulled tightly across her abdomen and left leg.

The statue's setting amplified this theatrical effect. The sculptor set the war galley in the upper basin of a two-tiered fountain. In the lower basin were large boulders. The fountain's flowing water created the illusion of rushing waves hitting the prow of the ship. The statue's reflection in the shimmering water below accentuated the sense of lightness and movement. The sound of splashing water added another dimension to the visual drama. Art and nature combined here to create one of the most successful sculptures ever fashioned. In the *Nike of Samothrace* and other works in the Hellenistic baroque manner, sculptors resoundingly rejected the Polykleitan conception of a statue as an ideally proportioned, self-contained entity on a bare pedestal. The Hellenistic statues interact with their environment and appear as living, breathing, and intensely emotive human (or divine) presences.

5-84 ALEXANDROS OF ANTIOCH-ON-THE-MEANDER, Aphrodite (*Venus de Milo*), from Melos, Greece, ca. 150–125 BCE. Marble, 6′ 7″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Displaying the eroticism of many Hellenistic statues, this Aphrodite is more overtly sexual than the Knidian Aphrodite (FIG. 5-62). The goddess's slipping garment teases the spectator.

Venus de Milo. In the Hellenistic period, sculptors regularly followed Praxiteles's lead in undressing Aphrodite, but they also openly explored the eroticism of the nude female form. The famous *Venus de Milo* (FIG. 5-84) is a larger-than-life-size marble statue of Aphrodite found on Melos together with its inscribed base (now lost) signed by the sculptor ALEXANDROS OF ANTIOCH-ON-THE-MEANDER. In this statue, the goddess of love is more modestly draped than the *Aphrodite of Knidos* (FIG. 5-62), but is more overtly sexual. Her left hand (separately preserved) holds the apple that Paris awarded her when he judged her the most beautiful goddess. Her right hand may have lightly grasped the edge of her drapery near the left hip in a halfhearted attempt to keep it from slipping farther down her body. The sculptor intentionally designed the work to tease the spectator, instilling this partially draped Aphrodite with a sexuality absent from Praxiteles's entirely nude image of the goddess. Other Hellenistic sculptors (FIG. 5-84A), especially when creating works for private patrons, went even further in depicting the goddess of love as an object of sexual desire.

5-84A Aphrodite, Eros, and Pan, ca. 100 BCE.

Barberini Faun. Archaic statues smile at the viewer, and even when Classical statues look away, they are always awake and alert. Hellenistic sculptors often portrayed sleep (FIG. 5-84B). The suspension of consciousness and the entrance into the fantasy world of dreams—the antithesis of the Classical ideals of rationality and discipline—had great appeal for them. This newfound interest is evident in a marble statue (FIG. 5-85) of a drunken, restlessly sleeping *satyr* (a semihuman follower of Dionysos) known as the *Barberini Faun,* after Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), who acquired the statue when it was unearthed in Rome in the 17th century. Barberini hired Gianlorenzo Bernini, the great Italian Baroque sculptor (FIGS. 24-1, 24-6, 24-6A, and 24-7), to restore the statue. Bernini no doubt felt that this dynamic statue in the Pergamene manner was the work of a kindred spirit. The satyr has consumed too much wine and has thrown down his panther skin on a convenient rock, then fallen into a disturbed, intoxicated sleep. His brows are furrowed, and one can almost hear him snore.

5-84B Sleeping Eros, ca. 150–100 BCE.

Eroticism also comes to the fore in this statue. Although men had been represented naked in Greek art for hundreds of years, Archaic kouroi and Classical athletes and gods do not exude

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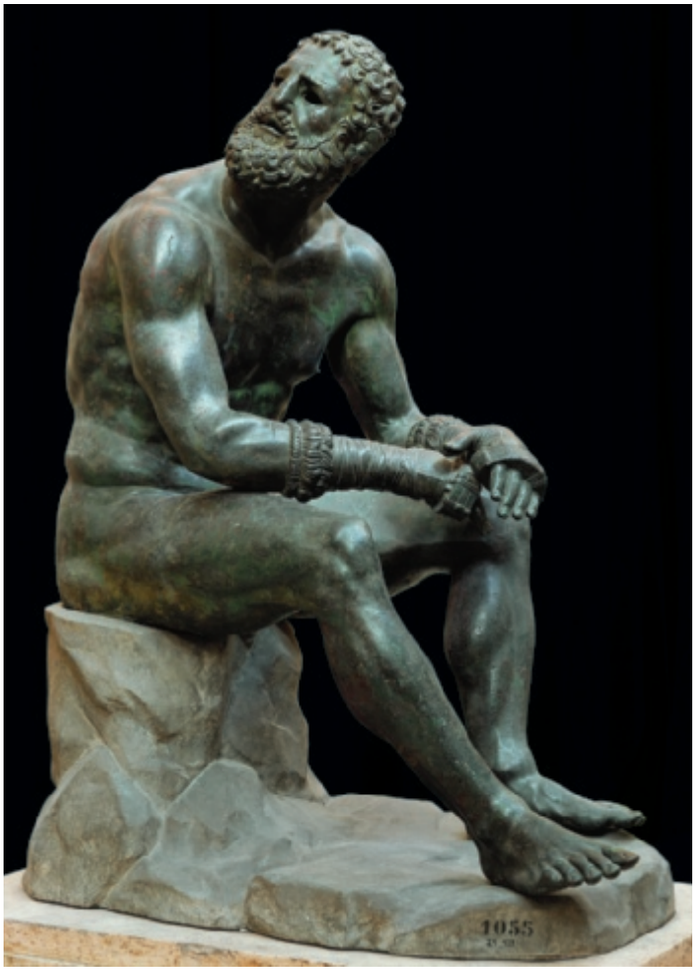
sexuality. Sensuality surfaced in the works of Praxiteles and his followers in the fourth century BCE. But the dreamy and supremely beautiful Hermes playfully dangling grapes before the infant Dionysos (FIG. 5-63) has nothing of the blatant sexuality of the *Barberini Faun,* whose wantonly spread legs focus attention on his genitals. Homosexuality was common in the male world of ancient Greece. It is not surprising that when Hellenistic sculptors began to explore the sexuality of the human body, they turned their attention to men as well as women. In the Greek world, the "male gaze" was directed at both sexes.

Defeated Boxer. Although Hellenistic sculptors tackled an expanded range of subjects, they did not abandon traditional themes, such as the Greek athlete. Nevertheless, they often treated the old subjects in novel ways. This is certainly true of the magnificent bronze statue (FIG. 5-86) of a seated boxer, a Hellenistic original found in Rome and perhaps at one time part of a group. The boxer is not a victorious young athlete with a perfect face and body but a heavily battered, defeated veteran whose upward glance may have been directed at the man who had just beaten him. Too many punches from powerful hands wrapped in leather thongs—Greek boxers did not use the modern sport's cushioned gloves—have distorted the boxer's face. His nose is broken, as are his teeth. He has smashed "cauliflower" ears. Inlaid copper blood drips from the cuts on his forehead, nose, and cheeks. How different is this rendition of a powerful bearded man from that of the noble Riace warrior (FIGS. I-17 and 5-36) of the Early Classical period. The Hellenistic sculptor appealed not to the intellect but to the emotions when striving to evoke compassion for the pounded hulk of a once-mighty fighter.

Old Market Woman. The realistic bent of much Hellenistic sculpture—the very opposite of the Classical period's idealism—is evident above all in a series of statues of old men and women from the lowest rungs of the social order. Shepherds, fishermen, and drunken beggars are common—the kinds of people pictured earlier on red-figure vases but never before thought worthy of life-size statuary. One of the finest preserved statues of this type depicts a haggard old woman bringing chickens and a basket of fruits and vegetables to sell in the market or, according to a recent interpretation suggested by the ivy wreath in her hair, bringing gifts to the

5-85 Sleeping satyr (*Barberini Faun*), from Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome, Italy, ca. 230–200 BCE. Marble, 7′ 1″ high. Glyptothek, Munich.

Here, a Hellenistic sculptor represented a restlessly sleeping, drunken satyr, a semihuman in a suspended state of consciousness—the antithesis of the Classical ideals of rationality and discipline.



5-86 Seated boxer, from the Baths of Constantine, Quirinal hill, Rome, Italy, ca. 100–50 BCE. Bronze, 4′ 2″ high. Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

Even when Hellenistic artists treated traditional themes, they approached them in novel ways. This bronze statue depicts an older, defeated boxer with a broken nose and battered ears.

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5-87 Old market woman. Roman copy(?) of a marble statue of ca. 150–100 BCE. Marble, 4′ $1\frac{5}{8}$″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Consistent with the realism of much Hellenistic art, many statues portray the elderly of the lowest rungs of society. Earlier Greek artists did not consider them suitable subjects for statuary.

5-88 Polyeuktos, Demosthenes. Roman copy of a bronze original of ca. 280 BCE. Marble, 6′ 7 $\frac{1}{2}$″ high. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

One of the earliest Hellenistic portraits, frequently copied, was Polyeuktos's representation of the great orator Demosthenes as a frail man who possessed great courage and moral conviction.

god Dionysos at one of his festivals (FIG. 5-87). In either case, the woman's face is wrinkled and her body bent with age. Whatever the purpose of this and similar statues, they attest to an interest in social realism absent in earlier Greek statuary.

Statues of the aged and the ugly are, of course, the polar opposites of the images of the young and the beautiful that dominated Greek art until the Hellenistic age, but they are consistent with the period's changed character. The Hellenistic world was a cosmopolitan place, and the highborn could not help but encounter the poor and a growing number of foreigners (non-Greek "barbarians") on a daily basis. Hellenistic art reflects this different social climate in the depiction of a much wider variety of physical types, including different ethnicities. The sensitive portrayal of Gallic warriors with their shaggy hair, strange mustaches, and gold torques (FIGS. 5-81 and 5-82) has already been noted. Africans, Scythians, and others, formerly only the occasional subject of vase painters, also entered the realm of large-scale sculpture in Hellenistic art.

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Demosthenes. These sculptures of foreigners and the urban poor, however realistic, are not portraits. Rather, they are sensitive studies of physical types. But the growing interest in the individual beginning in the Late Classical period did lead in the Hellenistic era to the production of true likenesses of specific persons. In fact, one of the great achievements of Hellenistic artists was the redefinition of portraiture. In the Classical period, Kresilas won fame for having made the noble Pericles appear even nobler in his portrait (FIG. 5-42). By contrast, in Hellenistic times, sculptors sought not only to record the true appearance of their subjects in bronze and stone but also to capture the essence of their personalities in likenesses both accurate and moving.

One of the earliest of these, perhaps the finest of the Hellenistic age and frequently copied in Roman times, was a bronze portrait statue of Demosthenes (FIG. 5-88) by POLYEUKTOS. The original, commissioned in 280 BCE, 42 years after the great orator's death, stood in the Athenian agora. Demosthenes was a frail man and in his youth even suffered from a speech impediment, but he had enormous courage and great moral conviction. A veteran of the disastrous battle against Philip II at Chaeronea, he repeatedly tried to rally opposition to Macedonian imperialism, both before and after Alexander's death. In the end, when it was clear that the Macedonians would capture him, he took his own life by drinking poison.

Polyeuktos rejected Kresilas's and Lysippos's notions of the purpose of portraiture and did not attempt to portray a supremely confident leader with a magnificent physique. His Demosthenes has an aged and slightly stooped body. The orator clasps his hands nervously in front of him as he looks downward, deep in thought. His face is lined, his hair is receding, and his expression is one of great sadness. Whatever physical discomfort Demosthenes felt is here joined by an inner pain, his deep sorrow over the tragic demise of democracy at the hands of the Macedonian conquerors.

Hellenistic Art under Roman Patronage

In the opening years of the second century BCE, the Roman general Flamininus defeated the Macedonian army and declared the old poleis of Classical Greece free once again. The city-states never regained their former glory, however. Greece became a Roman province in 146 BCE. When, 60 years later, Athens sided with King Mithridates VI of Pontus (r. 120–63 BCE) in his war against Rome, the general Sulla crushed the Athenians. Thereafter, although Athens retained some of its earlier prestige as a center of culture and learning, politically it was merely another city in the ever-expanding Roman Empire. Nonetheless, Greek artists continued to be in great demand, both to furnish the Romans with an endless stream of copies of Classical and Hellenistic masterpieces and to create new statues in Greek style for Roman patrons.

Laocoön. One work of this type is the famous group (FIG. 5-89) of the Trojan priest Laocoön and his sons, unearthed in Rome in 1506 in the presence of the great Italian Renaissance artist Michelangelo. The marble group, long believed to be an original of the second century BCE, was found in the remains of the palace of the emperor Titus (r. 79–81 CE), exactly where Pliny had seen it more than 14 centuries

1 ft.

5-89 ATHANADOROS, HAGESANDROS, and POLYDOROS OF RHODES, Laocoön and his sons, from Rome, Italy, early first century CE. Marble, 7′ 10½″ high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.

Hellenistic style lived on in Rome. Although stylistically akin to Pergamene sculpture, this statue of sea serpents attacking Laocoön and his two sons matches the account given only in the *Aeneid*.

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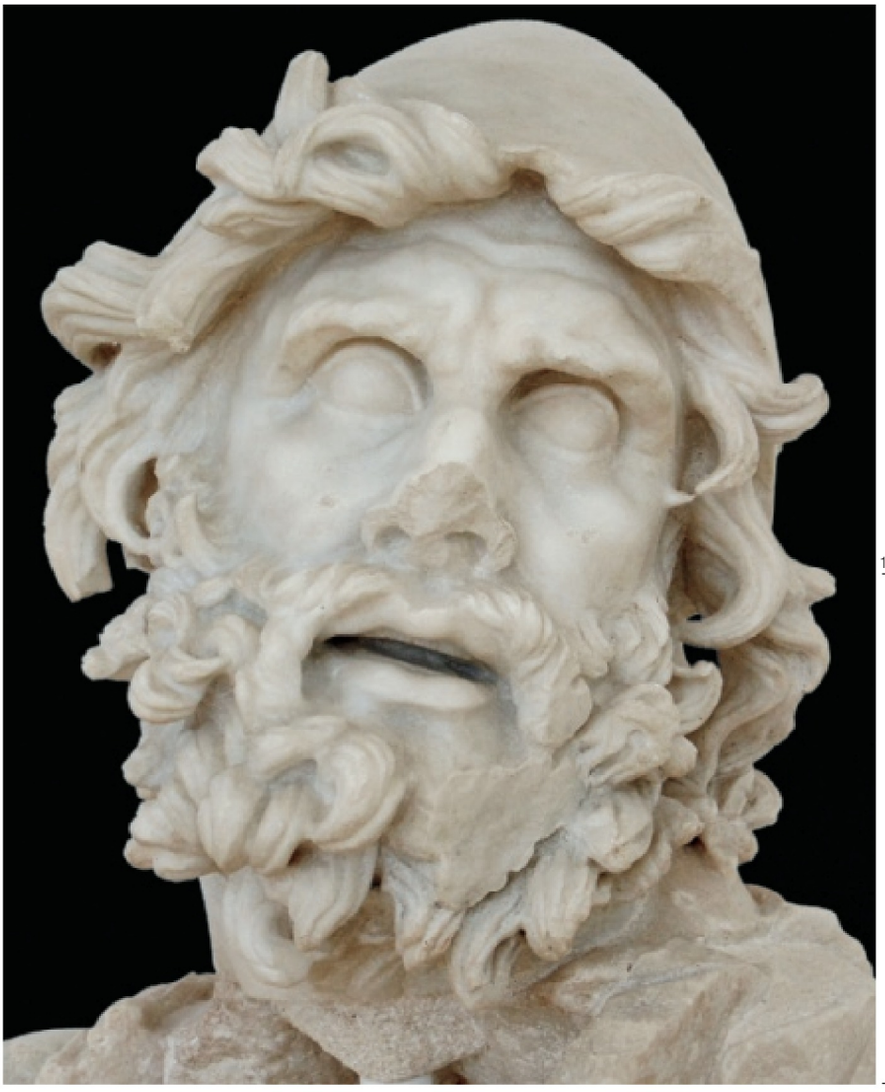
before. Pliny attributed the statue to three sculptors—Athanadoros, Hagesandros, and Polydoros of Rhodes—who most art historians now think worked in the early first century CE. These artists probably based their group on a Hellenistic masterpiece, perhaps depicting Laocoön and only one son. The Rhodian sculptors may have added the son at Laocoön's left (note the greater compositional integration of the other two figures) to match the Roman poet Vergil's account in the *Aeneid.* Vergil vividly described the strangling of Laocoön and his *two* sons by sea serpents while sacrificing at an altar. The gods who favored the Greeks in the war against Troy had sent the serpents to punish Laocoön for having tried to warn his compatriots about the danger of bringing the Greeks' wood horse within the walls of their city.

In Vergil's graphic account, Laocoön suffered in terrible agony. Athanadoros, Hagesandros, and Polydoros communicated the torment of Vergil's priest and his sons in spectacular fashion in the marble group. The three Trojans writhe in pain as they struggle to free themselves from the death grip of the serpents. One bites into Laocoön's left hip as the priest lets out a ferocious cry. The serpent-entwined figures recall the suffering giants of the great frieze of the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon, and Laocoön himself is strikingly similar to Alkyoneos (FIG. 5-80), Athena's opponent. In fact, many scholars believe that a Pergamene statuary group of the second century BCE was the inspiration for the Rhodian artists.

Sperlonga. That the work seen by Pliny and displayed in the Vatican Museums today was made for Romans rather than Greeks was confirmed in 1957 by the discovery of fragments of several Hellenistic-style groups illustrating scenes from Homer's *Odyssey.* Archaeologists found the sculptures in a grotto that served as the picturesque summer banquet hall of the seaside villa of the Roman emperor Tiberius (r. 14–37 CE) at Sperlonga, some 60 miles south of Rome. One of these groups—depicting the monster Scylla attacking Odysseus's ship—bears the signatures of the same three sculptors whom Pliny cited as the creators of the Laocoön group. Another group, installed around a central pool in the grotto, depicted the blinding of the Cyclops Polyphemos by Odysseus and his comrades, an incident also set in a cave in the Homeric epic. The figure of Odysseus (FIG. 5-90) from this theatrical group is one of the finest sculptures of antiquity. The hero's cap can barely contain his swirling locks of hair. Even Odysseus's beard seems to be swept up in the emotional intensity of the moment. The parted lips and the deep shadows produced by sharp undercutting add drama to the head, which complemented Odysseus's agitated body.



5-90 **Athanadoros, Hagesandros, and Polydoros of Rhodes, head of Odysseus, from the villa of Tiberius, Sperlonga, Italy, early first century CE. Marble, 2′ $1\frac{1}{4}$″ high. Museo Archeologico, Sperlonga.**

This emotionally charged depiction of Odysseus was part of a mythological statuary group that the three Laocoön sculptors made for a grotto at the emperor Tiberius's seaside villa at Sperlonga.

At Tiberius's villa in Sperlonga and in Titus's palace in Rome, the baroque style of Hellenistic sculpture lived on long after Greece ceased to be a political force. When Rome inherited the Pergamene kingdom from the last of the Attalids in 133 BCE, it also became heir to the Greek artistic legacy. What Rome adopted from Greece it passed on to the medieval and modern worlds. If Greece can claim to be the inventor of the European spirit, Rome was its propagator and amplifier.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Ancient Greece

Geometric and Orientalizing Art ca. 900–600 BCE

- Homer lived during the eighth century BCE, the era when the city-states of Classical Greece took shape, the Olympic Games were founded (776 BCE), and the Greeks began to trade with their neighbors to both east and west. At the same time, the human figure returned to Greek art in simplified bronze statuettes and as composite silhouettes amid other abstract motifs on Geometric vases.
- Increasing contact with the civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia inspired the so-called Orientalizing phase (ca. 700–600 BCE) of Greek art, when Eastern monsters began to appear on black-figure vases.

Geometric krater, ca. 740 BCE

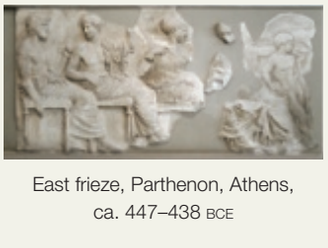
Archaic Art ca. 600–480 BCE

- Around 600 BCE, the first life-size stone statues appeared in Greece. Archaic kouroi emulated the frontal poses of Egyptian statues, but artists depicted the young men nude, the way Greek athletes competed at Olympia. During the sixth century BCE, Greek sculptors refined the proportions and added "Archaic smiles" to the faces of their statues, both male and female, to make them seem more lifelike.
- The Archaic age also brought the codification of the Doric and Ionic orders and the construction of the first stone temples with peripteral colonnades.
- Greek ceramists perfected black-figure painting and then, around 530 BCE, red-figure painting, which encouraged experimentation with foreshortening.

Kore, Athenian Acropolis, ca. 520–510 BCE

Early and High Classical Art ca. 480–400 BCE

- The Classical period opened with the Persian sack of the Athenian Acropolis in 480 BCE and the Greek victory a year later. During the Early Classical period (480–450 BCE), sculptors revolutionized statuary by introducing weight shift to their figures.
- In the High Classical period (450–400 BCE), Polykleitos developed a canon of proportions for the perfect statue. Iktinos similarly applied mathematical formulas to temple design in the shared belief that beauty resulted from the use of harmonic numbers.
- Under the patronage of Pericles and the artistic directorship of Phidias, the Athenians rebuilt the Acropolis after 447 BCE. The Parthenon and its sculptures and those of Polykleitos have defined what it means to be "Classical" ever since.



East frieze, Parthenon, Athens, ca. 447–438 BCE

Late Classical Art ca. 400–323 BCE

- In the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War, which ended in 404 BCE, Greek artists, though still adhering to the philosophy that humans are the "measure of all things," began to focus more on the real world of appearances than on the ideal world of perfect beings. Late Classical sculptors humanized the remote deities, athletes, and heroes of the fifth century BCE. Praxiteles injected sensuality into his images, even representing Aphrodite nude. Lysippos depicted Herakles as muscle-bound but so weary that he needed to lean on his club for support.
- In architecture, the ornate Corinthian capital became increasingly popular, breaking the monopoly of the Doric and Ionic orders.
- The period closed with Alexander the Great, who transformed the Mediterranean world politically and ushered in a new artistic age as well.

Praxiteles(?), *Hermes and Dionysos,* ca. 340 BCE

Hellenistic Art ca. 323–30 BCE

- The Hellenistic age extended from the death of Alexander until the death of Cleopatra, when Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire.
- In art, both architects and sculptors broke most of the rules of Classical design. At Didyma, for example, the Temple of Apollo had no roof and contained a smaller temple within it. Hellenistic sculptors explored new subjects, such as aged, bent women, and Gauls with strange mustaches and necklaces, and treated traditional subjects in new ways—for example, athletes with battered bodies and faces, and openly erotic goddesses. Artists delighted in depicting violent movement and unbridled emotion.

Temple of Apollo, Didyma, begun ca. 300 BCE

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◀**6-1a** The large door is probably the symbolic entrance to the Underworld. Two men extend one arm toward the door and place one hand against the forehead in a double gesture signifying salute and mourning.

▶**6-1b** On the right wall, the Etruscan painter depicted the funerary games in honor of the deceased. The man with a curved staff is not a Roman augur with a lituus but the umpire at a wrestling match.

6-1 **Interior of the Tomb of the Augurs, Monterozzi necropolis, Tarquinia, ca. 520 BCE.**

▶**6-1c** A masked phersu, unique to Etruria, oversees a gruesome contest—perhaps a precursor of Roman gladiatorial games—between a club-wielding man, whose head is covered by a sack, and a fearsome dog.

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THE ETRUSCANS 6

FRAMING THE ERA

The Portal to the Etruscan Afterlife

"The Etruscans, as everyone knows, were the people who occupied the middle of Italy in early Roman days, and whom the Romans, in their usual neighborly fashion, wiped out entirely." So opens D. H. Lawrence's witty and sensitive *Etruscan Places* (1929), one of the earliest modern essays to place a high value on Etruscan art and treat it as much more than a debased form of Greek art. ("Most people despise everything B.C. that isn't Greek, for the good reason that it ought to be Greek if it isn't," Lawrence quipped.) Fortunately, scholars and the public at large soon also came to admire the Etruscans, and it has been a long time since anyone had to argue for the importance and originality of Etruscan art. Indeed, although influenced by Greek art, Etruscan art differs in many fundamental ways.

The Tomb of the Augurs (FIG. 6-1), datable around 520 BCE, makes that point forcefully. It is one of thousands of underground tombs laboriously carved out of the bedrock at the important Etruscan city of Tarquinia, at a time when the Greeks still buried their dead in simple graves with a statue or stele as a commemorative marker. The Etruscan tomb also has fresco paintings on all four walls, an art form virtually unknown in sixth-century BCE Greece. And although the Tarquinian painters adopted many Late Archaic Greek stylistic features, the subjects they represented are distinctly Etruscan.

At the center of the rear wall is a large door, probably the symbolic portal to the Underworld and the afterlife. Two facing men extend one arm toward the door and place one hand against the forehead in a double gesture signifying salute and mourning. At the far end of the right wall is a man in a purple robe, a mark of his elevated stature, and two attendants. One carries a chair, the official seat of the man's high office. The other sleeps, or more likely weeps, crouched on the ground. The official is likely the one who has died. The rest of the right wall as well as the left and front walls depict the funerary games in honor of the dead man. To the right of the official and his attendants is a man with a curved staff similar to the *lituus* of the Roman priests called *augurs,* hence the modern name of the tomb. Etruscan priests studied the flight patterns of birds to predict the future. But this Etruscan "augur" is really an umpire at a wrestling match. To the right, a masked man labeled *phersu* (another phersu is at the far end of the left wall) controls a fearsome dog on a leash, which also entangles and restrains the legs of a club-wielding man. A sack covers the man's head, rendering him an almost helpless victim of the dog, which has already drawn blood. Some historians regard this gruesome contest as a direct precursor of Roman gladiatorial shows. In any case, Etruscan art and architecture unquestionably provided the models for the earliest Roman painters, sculptors, and architects.

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ETRURIA AND THE ETRUSCANS

The heartland of the Etruscans (who called themselves Rasenna) was the territory between the Arno and Tiber rivers of central Italy (MAP 6-1). The lush green hills still bear their name—Tuscany, the land of the people whom the Romans called Etrusci or Tusci, the region centered on Florence. So, too, do the blue waters that splash against the western coastline of the Italian peninsula, for the Greeks referred to the Etruscans as Tyrsenoi or Tyrrhenoi and gave their name to the Tyrrhenian Sea. Both ancient and modern commentators have debated whether the Etruscans were an indigenous people or immigrants. Their language, although written in a Greek-derived script, is unrelated to the Indo-European linguistic family and remains largely undeciphered. The fifth-century BCE Greek historian Herodotus claimed that the Etruscans came from Lydia in Asia Minor and that Tyrsenos was their king—hence their Greek name. But Dionysius of Halikarnassos, a first-century BCE Greek historian, maintained that the Etrusci were native Italians. Some modern researchers have theorized that the Etruscans emigrated to Italy from the north.

No doubt some truth exists in each theory. The Etruscans of historical times—the Rasenna—were very likely the result of a gradual fusion of native and immigrant populations. This mixing of peoples occurred in the early first millennium BCE during the *Villanovan* period, named for an archaeological site near present-day Bologna. At that time—contemporaneous with the Geometric period in Greece—the Etruscans emerged as a people with an art-producing culture related to but distinct from those of other Italic peoples and from the civilizations of Greece and the Orient.

During the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, the Etruscans, as highly skilled seafarers, enriched themselves through trade abroad. By the sixth century BCE, they controlled most of northern and central Italy. Their most powerful cities included Tarquinia, Cerveteri, Vulci, and Veii. These and the other Etruscan cities never united to form a state, however, so it is inaccurate to speak of an Etruscan "nation" or "kingdom," but only of Etruria, the territory that the Etruscans occupied. Any semblance of unity among the independent Etruscan cities was based primarily on common linguistic ties and religious beliefs and practices.

EARLY ETRUSCAN ART

Although art historians now universally acknowledge the distinctive character of Etruscan painting, sculpture, and architecture, they still usually divide the history of Etruscan art into periods mirroring those of Greek art. The seventh century BCE is the Orientalizing period of Etruscan art (followed by the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods).

MAP 6-1 **Italy in Etruscan times.**

Orientalizing Art

During the Orientalizing period, the Etruscans successfully mined iron, tin, copper, and silver, creating great wealth and, in the process, transforming Etruscan society. Villages with agriculture-based economies gave way in the seventh century BCE to prosperous cities engaged in international commerce. Wealthy families could afford to acquire foreign goods, and the Etruscan elite quickly developed a taste for luxury objects incorporating Eastern motifs. To satisfy the demand, local artisans, inspired by imported goods, produced magnificent objects for both homes and tombs. As in Greece at the same time, the locally manufactured Orientalizing artifacts cannot be mistaken for their foreign models.

Regolini-Galassi Tomb. About 650–640 BCE, a wealthy Etruscan family in Cerveteri stocked the Regolini-Galassi Tomb (named after its excavators) with bronze cauldrons and gold jewelry

THE ETRUSCANS

900–600 BCE	600–480 BCE	480–89 BCE
Villanovan and Orientalizing	**Archaic**	**Classical and Hellenistic**
■ The Etruscans emerge as a distinct artistic culture during the Villanovan period (ca. 900–700 BCE) ■ During the seventh century BCE, trade with Mesopotamia inspires the incorporation of monsters and other Orientalizing motifs in Etruscan funerary goods	■ The Etruscans construct temples of mud brick and wood, with columns and stairs only on the front and terracotta statuary on the roof ■ At Cerveteri, the Etruscans bury their dead beneath huge earthen tumuli in multichambered tombs resembling houses ■ Tarquinian tombs feature fresco paintings depicting banquets and funerary games	■ Etruscan artists excel in bronze-casting, engraving mirrors and cistae, and carving stone sarcophagi ■ Etruscan architects construct arcuated gateways, often with engaged columns or pilasters framing the arched passageway

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6-2 Fibula with Orientalizing lions, from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb, Sorbo necropolis, Cerveteri, Italy, ca. 650–640 BCE. Gold, 1′ $\frac{1}{2}$″ high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.

This huge gold pin found with other Orientalizing jewelry in a Cerveteri tomb combines repoussé and granulation and is the work of an Etruscan artist, but the lions are Egyptian and Mesopotamian motifs.

produced in Etruria but of Orientalizing style. The most spectacular of the many luxurious objects found in the tomb is a gold *fibula* (clasp or safety pin; FIG. 6-2) of unique shape used to fasten a woman's gown at the shoulder. The gigantic disk-shaped fibula is in the Italic tradition, but the five lions striding across its surface

6-3 Model of a typical Etruscan temple of the sixth century BCE, as described by Vitruvius. Istituto di Etruscologia e di Antichità Italiche, Università di Roma, Rome.

Etruscan temples resembled Greek temples, but had widely spaced, unfluted wood columns placed only at the front, walls of sun-dried mud brick, and a narrow staircase at the center of the facade.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

Etruscan Counterparts of Greco-Roman Gods and Heroes

Etruscan	*Greek*	*Roman*
Tinia	Zeus	Jupiter
Uni	Hera	Juno
Menrva	Athena	Minerva
Apulu	Apollo	Apollo
Artumes	Artemis	Diana
Hercle	Herakles	Hercules

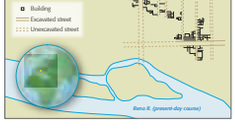
are motifs originating in the Orient. The technique, also emulating Eastern imports, is masterful, combining repoussé and *granulation* (the fusing of tiny metal balls, or granules, to a metal surface). The Regolini-Galassi fibula equals or exceeds in quality anything that might have served as a model.

The jewelry from the Regolini-Galassi Tomb also includes a gold *pectoral* that covered a deceased woman's chest, and two gold circlets that may be earrings, although they are large enough to be bracelets. A taste for this kind of ostentatious display is frequently the hallmark of newly acquired wealth, and this was certainly the case in seventh-century BCE Etruria.

Archaic Art and Architecture

The art and architecture of Greece also impressed Etruscan artists looking eastward for inspiration. Still, however eager those artists may have been to emulate Greek works, their distinctive Etruscan temperament always manifested itself.

Etruscan Temples. In religious architecture, for example, the differences between Etruscan temples and their Greek prototypes outweigh the similarities. Because of the materials that Etruscan builders employed, usually only the foundations of their temples have survived. (The same is true of Etruscan civic and domestic structures, but the extant foundations at the Etruscan site of Marzabotto [FIG. 6-2A] establish that the Etruscans laid out their towns according to a rational grid plan. Fortunately, the scant remains of Etruscan temples are supplemented by the Roman architect Vitruvius's treatise on architecture written near the end of the first century BCE (see "Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*," page 204). In it, Vitruvius provided an invaluable chapter on Etruscan temple design.



6-2A Marzabotto, early fifth century BCE.

Archaeologists have constructed a model (FIG. 6-3) of a typical Archaic Etruscan temple based on the preserved foundations of Etruscan temples and on Vitruvius's account. Sixth-century BCE Etruscan temples resembled contemporaneous Greek stone gable-roofed temples, but had wood columns, a tile-covered timber roof, and walls of sun-dried mud brick. Entrance was possible only via a narrow staircase at the center of the front of the temple, which sat on a high podium, the only part of the building made of stone.

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WRITTEN SOURCES

Etruscan Artists in Rome

In 616 BCE, according to the traditional chronology, Tarquinius Priscus of Tarquinia became Rome's first Etruscan king. He ruled for almost 40 years. His grandson, Tarquinius Superbus ("the Arrogant"), was Rome's last king. Outraged by his tyrannical behavior, the Romans drove him from power in 509 BCE. Before his expulsion, however, Tarquinius Superbus embarked on a grand program to embellish the city.

The king's most ambitious undertaking was the construction on the Capitoline Hill of a magnificent temple, roughly 60 yards long and almost as wide, for the joint worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. For this grandiose commission, Tarquinius summoned architects, sculptors, and workers from all over Etruria. Rome's first great religious shrine was therefore Etruscan in patronage, manufacture, and form. The architect's name is unknown, but several sources preserve the identity of the Etruscan sculptor brought in to adorn the temple—Vulca of Veii, who may also have made a statue of the god Apulu (FIG. 6-4) for his native city. Pliny the Elder described Vulca's works as "the finest images of deities of that era . . . more admired than gold."* The Romans entrusted Vulca with creating the statue of Jupiter that stood in the central cella (one for each of the three deities) in the Capitoline temple. He also fashioned the enormous terracotta statuary group of Jupiter in a four-horse chariot, which he mounted on the roof at the highest point, directly over the center of the temple facade. The fame of Vulca's red-faced (painted terracotta) portrayal of Jupiter was so great that when Roman generals paraded in triumph through Rome after a battlefield victory, they would paint their faces red in emulation of the ancient statue. (The model of a typical three-cella Etruscan temple in FIG. 6-3 also serves to give an approximate idea of the appearance of the Capitoline Jupiter temple and of Vulca's roof statue.)

Vulca is the only Etruscan artist named in any ancient text, but the signatures of other Etruscan artists appear on extant artworks. One of these is Novios Plautios (FIG. 6-13), who also worked in Rome, although a few centuries later. By then the Etruscan kings of Rome were a distant memory, and the Romans had captured Veii and annexed its territory.

*Pliny, *Natural History,* 35.157.

6-4 Apulu (*Apollo of Veii*), from the roof of the Portonaccio temple, Veii, Italy, ca. 510–500 BCE. Painted terracotta, 5′ 11″ high. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome.

This statue of Apulu was part of a group depicting a Greek myth. Distinctly Etruscan, however, are the god's vigorous motion and gesticulating arms and the placement of the statue on a temple rooftop.

The proportions also differed markedly. Greek temples were about twice as long as wide. According to Vitruvius, and confirmed by the archaeological record, the typical ratio for Etruscan temples was 6:5. Greek and Etruscan architects also arranged the columns in distinct ways. The columns in Etruscan temples were usually all at the front of the building, creating a deep porch occupying roughly half the podium and setting off one side of the structure as the main side. By contrast, the front and rear of Greek temples were indistinguishable, and builders placed steps and columns on all sides (FIG. 5-12). The Etruscan temple was not meant to be seen as a sculptural mass from all directions, as Greek temples were. Rather, it had a strong frontality directing visitors to the axial entrance.

Furthermore, although the columns of Etruscan temples resembled Greek Doric columns (FIG. 5-13, *left*), *Tuscan columns* were made of wood, were unfluted, and had bases. Also, because of the lightness of the timber superstructure, fewer, more widely spaced columns were the rule in Etruscan temples. Unlike their Greek counterparts, Etruscan temples also frequently had three cellas—one for each of their chief gods: Tinia, Uni, and Menrva (see "Etruscan Counterparts of Greco-Roman Gods and Heroes," page 167). Pedimental statuary was also rare in Etruria. The Etruscans normally placed life-size narrative statuary (in terracotta instead of stone) along the roof-ridges of their temples rather than in the pediments, as was the Greek custom.

Apollo of Veii. The finest surviving Etruscan temple statue is a life-size image of Apulu (FIG. 6-4), which displays the energy and excitement that characterize Archaic Etruscan art in general. The statue comes from the rooftop of a temple in the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii. Popularly known as the *Apollo of Veii,* it is but one of a group of at least four painted terracotta figures that adorned the temple's ridge beam. The statues depicted one of the 12 labors of Herakles (see "Herakles," page 126). Apulu confronted Hercle for possession of the hind of Ceryneia, a wondrous gold-horned animal sacred to the god's sister Artumes. The bright paint and the rippling folds of Apulu's garment call to mind Archaic Greek korai

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The "Audacity" of Etruscan Women

At the instigation of the emperor Augustus at the end of the first century BCE, Titus Livy wrote a history of Rome from its legendary founding in 753 BCE to his own day. In the first book of his great work, Livy recounted the tale of Tullia, daughter of Servius Tullius, an Etruscan king of Rome in the sixth century BCE. The princess had married the less ambitious of two brothers of the royal Tarquinius family, while her sister had married the bolder of the two princes. Together, Tullia and her brother-in-law, Tarquinius Superbus (see "Etruscan Artists in Rome," page 168), arranged for the murder of their spouses. They then married each other and plotted the overthrow and death of Tullia's father. After the king's murder, Tullia made a show of driving her carriage over her father's corpse, spraying herself with his blood. (The Romans still call the road where the evil deed occurred the Street of Infamy.) Livy, though condemning Tullia's actions, placed them in the context of the famous "audacity" of Etruscan women.

The independent spirit and relative freedom women enjoyed in Etruscan society similarly horrified other Greco-Roman male authors. The stories the fourth-century BCE Greek historian Theopompus heard about the debauchery of Etruscan women appalled him. Etruscan women personified immorality for Theopompus, but much of what he reported is untrue. Etruscan women did not, for example, exercise naked alongside Etruscan men. But archaeological evidence confirms the accuracy of at least one of his "slurs": Etruscan women did attend banquets and recline with their husbands on a common couch (FIGS. 6-5, 6-9, and 6-9A). Aristotle also remarked on this custom. It was so foreign to the Greeks that it both shocked and frightened them. Only men, boys, slave girls, and prostitutes attended Greek symposia. The wives remained at home, excluded from most aspects of public life. In Etruria, in striking contrast to Greece, women also regularly attended sporting events with men. Etruscan paintings and reliefs document this as well.

Etruscan inscriptions also reflect the higher status of women in Etruria as compared to Greece. They often give the names of both the father and mother of the person commemorated (for example, the inscribed portrait of Aule Metele, FIG. 6-17), a practice unheard of in Greece (witness the grave stele of "Hegeso, daughter of Proxenos," FIG. 5-57). Etruscan women, moreover, retained their own names (Ramtha Visnai, FIG. 6-16A) and could legally own property independently of their husbands. The frequent use of inscriptions on Etruscan mirrors and other toiletry items (FIG. 6-13) buried with women seems to attest to a high degree of female literacy as well.

6-5 Sarcophagus with reclining couple, from the Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri, Italy, ca. 520 BCE. Painted terracotta, 3′ 9½″ × 6′ 7″. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome.

Sarcophagi in the form of a husband and wife on a dining couch have no parallels in Greece. The artist's focus on the upper half of the figures and the emphatic gestures are Etruscan hallmarks.

in Ionian garb (FIG. 5-11). But Apulu's vigorous striding motion, gesticulating arms, fanlike calf muscles, rippling drapery, and animated face are distinctly Etruscan. Some scholars have attributed the Apulu statue to Vulca of Veii, the most famous Etruscan sculptor of the time (see "Etruscan Artists in Rome," page 168). The statue's discovery in 1916 was instrumental in prompting a reevaluation of the originality of Etruscan art.

Cerveteri Sarcophagus. Statues in terracotta were not confined to temples and other public structures in Etruria. One of the masterworks of Archaic Etruscan sculpture, a terracotta sarcophagus (FIG. 6-5), comes from a tomb, as do so many other important Etruscan artworks. Found at Cerveteri, the sarcophagus takes the form of a husband and wife reclining on a banqueting couch. It consists of four separately cast and fired sections, once brightly painted. Although the man and woman on the couch are life-size, the sarcophagus contained only the ashes of the husband or wife, or perhaps both. Cremation was the most common means of disposing of the dead in Archaic Italy. This kind of funerary monument has no parallel at this date in Greece, where there were no tombs big enough to house large sarcophagi. The Greeks buried their dead in simple graves marked by a stele or a statue. Moreover, although banquets were common subjects on Greek vases (which, by the late sixth century BCE, the Etruscans imported in great quantities and regularly deposited in their tombs; see "Greek Vase Painting," page 110), only men dined at Greek symposia. The image of a

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Houses of the Dead in a City of the Dead

Many ancient civilizations did not permit families to bury their dead within the boundaries of cities. They strictly separated the city of the living from the cemetery or *necropolis* (Greek, "city of the dead"). The Etruscan solution to the problem of disposing of the remains of their deceased in *extramural* (outside the walls) cities of the dead was to construct tombs that mirrored the layout and furnishings of Etruscan houses of the living. Today, tourists can visit dozens of these "houses of the dead" in the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri.

The Cerveteri tumuli (FIG. 6-6) resemble Mycenaean tholos tombs, such as the Treasury of Atreus (FIG. 4-20). But whereas the Mycenaeans built their tombs with masonry blocks and then covered the burial chambers with an earthen mound, each Etruscan tumulus stood over one or more subterranean multichambered tombs cut out of the dark local limestone called tufa. The largest burial mounds at Cerveteri are of truly colossal size, exceeding 130 feet in diameter and reaching nearly 50 feet in height. Arranged in an orderly manner along a network of streets spread over 200 acres, the Banditaccia tombs truly constitute a city of the dead.

The aptly named Tomb of the Shields and Chairs (FIGS. 6-7 and 6-7A) is one of the most elaborate in the Banditaccia necropolis. Sculptors carved out of the tufa bedrock six beds and two high-backed chairs with footstools, as well as door frames and ceiling beams, in imitation of the wood furniture and timber architecture of Archaic Etruscan homes. Evidence from other tombs suggests that terracotta figures of the deceased were probably placed on the sculpted chairs. Reliefs of 14 shields adorn the walls.

The technique recalls that of rock-cut Egyptian tombs such as Amenemhet's (FIG. 3-19) at Beni Hasan and highlights the very different values of the Etruscans and the Greeks. The Greeks employed stone for the shrines of their gods, but only rarely built monumental tombs for their dead. The Etruscans' temples no longer stand because they were constructed of wood and mud brick, but the grand subterranean tombs of Cerveteri are as permanent as the bedrock itself.

6-6 Tumuli in the Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri, Italy, seventh to second centuries BCE.

In the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri, the Etruscans buried several generations of families in multichambered rock-cut underground tombs covered by great earthen mounds (tumuli).

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husband and wife sharing the same banqueting couch is uniquely Etruscan (see "The 'Audacity' of Etruscan Women," page 169).

The man and woman on the Cerveteri sarcophagus are as animated as the *Apollo of Veii* (FIG. 6-4), even though they are at rest. The woman may have held a perfume flask and a pomegranate in her hands, the man an egg (a symbol of regeneration; compare FIG. 6-9). They are the antithesis of the stiff and formal figures encountered in Egyptian funerary sculpture (compare FIGS. 3-13 and 3-13A). Also typically Etruscan, and in sharp contrast to Greek statues of similar date with their emphasis on proportion and balance, is the manner in which the Cerveteri sculptor rendered the upper and lower parts of each body. The artist shaped the legs only summarily, and the transition to the torso at the waist is unnatural. The sculptor's interest focused on the upper half of the figures, especially on the vibrant faces and gesticulating arms. The Cerveteri banqueters and the Veii Apulu speak to the viewer in a way that Archaic Greek statues, with their closed contours and calm demeanor, never do.

Banditaccia Necropolis. The exact findspot of the Cerveteri sarcophagus is unrecorded, but it came from the Banditaccia necropolis, where, beginning in the seventh century BCE, wealthy Etruscan families constructed enormous tombs (FIG. 6-6) in the form of a mound, or *tumulus,* a practice documented much earlier in Mycenaean Greece (see "Houses of the Dead in a City of the Dead," above). Two of the most elaborate Cerveteri tombs are the Tomb of the Shields and Chairs (FIGS. 6-7 and 6-7A) and the Tomb of the Reliefs (FIG. 6-8), both of which accommodated several

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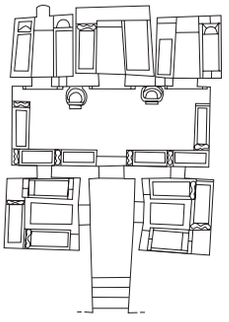
6-7 Interior of the Tomb of the Shields and Chairs, Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri, Italy, ca. 550–500 BCE.

Terracotta statues of the deceased probably "sat" in the chairs cut out of the bedrock of this subterranean tomb chamber. The tomb's plan (FIG. 6-7A) follows that of a typical Etruscan house.



6-7A Plan, Tomb of the Shields and Chairs, ca. 550–500 BCE.

6-8 Interior of the Tomb of the Reliefs, Banditaccia necropolis, Cerveteri, Italy, late fourth or early third century BCE.

The Tomb of the Reliefs takes its name from the painted stucco reliefs covering its walls and piers. The stools, mirrors, drinking cups, and other items are reminders of the houses of the living.

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6-9 Interior of the Tomb of the Leopards, Monterozzi necropolis, Tarquinia, Italy, ca. 480 BCE.

The paintings in the Tomb of the Leopards, named after the guardian beasts in the rear pediment, depict banqueting couples, servants, and musicians. The egg that one man holds is a symbol of regeneration.

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generations of a single family. The Etruscans created the elaborate interiors of both tombs by gouging the burial chambers out of the bedrock. In the Tomb of the Reliefs, they covered the sculpted walls and piers with painted stucco reliefs, hence the tomb's modern name. The stools, mirrors, drinking cups, pitchers, and knives effectively suggest a domestic context, underscoring the connection between Etruscan houses of the dead and those of the living. Other reliefs—for example, the helmet and shields over the main funerary couch (the pillows are also shallow reliefs)—are signs of the elite status of this Cerveteri family. The three-headed dog beneath the same couch is Cerberus, guardian of the gate to the Underworld, a reference to the passage from this life to the next.

Tarquinia. Large underground burial chambers hewn out of the natural rock were also the norm in the Monterozzi necropolis at Tarquinia. Earthen mounds may once have covered the Tarquinian tombs too, but the tumuli no longer exist. In contrast to Cerveteri, the subterranean rooms at Tarquinia lack carvings imitating the appearance of Etruscan houses. In approximately 200 tombs, however, paintings decorate the walls, as in the Tomb of the Augurs (FIG. 6-1). Painted tombs are nonetheless statistically rare, the privilege of only the wealthiest Tarquinian families. Archaeologists have succeeded in locating such a large number of them because they use periscopes to explore tomb interiors from the surface before considering time-consuming and costly excavation. Consequently, art historians have an almost unbroken record of mural painting in Etruria from Archaic to Hellenistic times.

Tomb of the Leopards. Two important tombs—the Tomb of the Leopards (FIG. 6-9) and the Tomb of the Triclinium (FIG. 6-9A)—are about 40 years later than the Tomb of the Augurs. The Leopards tomb takes its name from the beasts that guard the burial chamber from their perch within the pediment of the rear wall. The confronting felines are reminiscent of the panthers on each side of Medusa in the pediment (FIG. 5-16) of the Temple of Artemis at Corfu. But mythological figures, whether Greek or Etruscan, are uncommon in Tarquinian murals, and none appear in the Augurs, Leopards, or Triclinium tombs. In the Tomb of the Leopards, banqueting couples (the men with dark skin, the women with light skin, in conformity with the age-old convention; compare FIGS. 3-13A, 4-1, 4-8, and 5-20A) are the subject. They are painted versions of the terracotta sarcophagus (FIG. 6-5) from Cerveteri. Pitcher- and cup-bearers serve the guests, and musicians entertain them. The banquet takes place in the open air or perhaps in a tent set up for the occasion. In characteristic Etruscan fashion, the banqueters, servants, and entertainers all make exaggerated gestures with unnaturally enlarged hands. The man on the couch at the far right on the rear wall holds up an egg, a reference to rebirth in the afterlife. The tone is joyful, rather than somber. The banqueters do not contemplate death. They celebrate the good life of the privileged Etruscan elite.

6-9A Tomb of the Triclinium, Tarquinia, ca. 480–470 BCE.

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6-10 Diving and fishing, detail of the left wall of the second chamber of the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, Monterozzi necropolis, Tarquinia, Italy, ca. 530–520 BCE. Fresco, detail 5′ 6½″ high.

Scenes of young men enjoying the pleasures of nature cover the walls of this Tarquinian tomb. The Etruscan diving scene predates a similar landscape painting (FIG. 5-61) in a Greek tomb at Paestum.

In stylistic terms, the Etruscan figures are comparable to those on sixth-century BCE Greek vases before Late Archaic painters became preoccupied with the problem of foreshortening. Etruscan painters were somewhat backward in this respect, but in other ways they outpaced their counterparts in Greece, especially in their interest in representing the natural world. In the Tomb of the Leopards, the "landscape" is but a few trees and shrubs placed between the entertainers (and leopards) and behind the banqueting couches. But in at least one Tarquinian tomb, the natural environment was the painters' chief interest.

Tomb of Hunting and Fishing. In the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, scenes of Etruscans enjoying the pleasures of nature decorate all the walls of the main chamber. In the detail reproduced here (FIG. 6-10), a youth dives off a rocky promontory, while others fish from a boat. Brightly painted birds fly freely overhead. On another wall, youthful hunters aim their slingshots at the birds. The scenes of hunting and fishing recall the paintings in Egyptian tombs (FIGS. 3-15 and 3-28A) and may indicate knowledge of that Eastern funerary tradition. The multicolored rocks evoke those of the Akrotiri *Spring Fresco* (FIG. 4-9), but art historians know of nothing similar in contemporaneous Greek art save the Tomb of the Diver at Paestum (FIG. 5-61). That exceptional Greek work, however, is from a Greek tomb in Italy about a half century later than the Tarquinian tomb. In fact, the Paestum painter probably based the diving motif on older Etruscan designs, undermining the outdated art historical judgment that Etruscan art was merely derivative and that Etruscan artists never set the standard for Greek artists.

LATER ETRUSCAN ART

The fifth century BCE was a golden age in Greece, but not in Etruria. In 509 BCE, the Romans expelled the last of their Etruscan kings, Tarquinius Superbus (see "Etruscan Artists in Rome," page 168), and replaced the monarchy with a republican form of government. In 474 BCE, the allied Greek forces of Cumae and Syracuse won a victory over the Etruscan fleet off Cumae, effectively ending Etruscan dominance of the seas—and with it Etruscan prosperity.

Classical Art

These events had important consequences in the world of art and architecture. The number of grandiose Etruscan tombs, for example, decreased sharply, and the quality of the furnishings declined

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A SECOND OPINION

The *Capitoline Wolf*

The statue known as the *Capitoline Wolf* (FIG. 6-11) is a somewhat larger than life-size hollow-cast bronze image of the she-wolf that, according to legend, nursed Romulus and Remus after they were abandoned as infants. When the twins grew to adulthood, they quarreled, and Romulus killed his brother. On April 21, 753 BCE, Romulus founded Rome and became the city's first king. Scholars have long believed that the statue of the she-wolf that is today one of the most popular exhibits in the Capitoline Museums in Rome was made for the new Roman Republic after the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus and became the new government's totem.

All art historians agree that the *Capitoline Wolf* is not a work of Roman art, which had not yet developed a distinct identity. Most still attribute the statue to an Etruscan workshop. (The suckling infants are 15th-century additions.) However, in the course of conservation and repair work in 1997–2000, the restorer, Anna Maria Carruba, discovered that the *Capitoline Wolf* was cast using the lost-wax method, a technique well known in antiquity (see "Hollow-Casting Life-Size Bronze Statues," page 129) and regularly employed by the Etruscans (FIGS. 6-12 and 6-17), but Carruba also determined that the she-wolf was cast in a single mold instead of being assembled from separately cast pieces—a practice unknown in antiquity for bronze statues of this size. The closest stylistic parallels are also not ancient but medieval, especially with regard to the decorative treatment of the she-wolf's hair. The new evidence weighs heavily in favor of the later date, making the *Capitoline Wolf* a masterpiece not of Etruscan bronze-casting but the product of a 12th-century CE Italian foundry.

Whether ancient or medieval, the sculptor brilliantly characterized the she-wolf physically and psychologically. The body is tense, with spare flanks, gaunt ribs, and taut, powerful legs. The lowered neck and head, alert ears, glaring eyes, and ferocious muzzle capture the psychic intensity of the fierce and protective mother as danger approaches. Few sculptures or paintings in the history of art can match this profound characterization of animal temperament.

6-11 ***Capitoline Wolf,*** **from Rome, Italy, ca. 500–480 BCE or 12th century CE. Bronze, 2′ 7½″ high. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Musei Capitolini, Rome.**

This bronze statue of the she-wolf that nursed the infants Romulus and Remus, founders of Rome, was long thought to be an Etruscan masterpiece, but it probably dates to the late Middle Ages.

markedly. No longer did the Etruscan elite fill their tombs with gold jewelry and imported Greek vases or decorate the walls with paintings of the first rank. But art did not cease in Etruria. Indeed, in the areas in which Etruscan artists excelled, especially the casting of statues in bronze and terracotta, they continued to produce impressive works, even though fewer in number. That number may be even smaller than traditionally thought because one of the masterpieces of this era, the *Capitoline Wolf* (FIG. 6-11), has recently been attributed to a medieval Italian workshop (see "The *Capitoline Wolf,*" above).

Chimera of Arezzo. An unquestioned masterpiece of Etruscan bronze-casting is the Late Classical *Chimera of Arezzo* (FIG. 6-12), found at Arezzo in 1553 and inscribed *tinscvil* (Etruscan, "gift to [the god] Tinia"), indicating that the chimera was a votive offering in a sanctuary. The *chimera* is a monster of Greek invention with a lion's head and body and a serpent's tail (restored in this case). A second head, that of a goat, grows out of the lion's left side. The goat's neck bears the wound that the Greek hero Bellerophon inflicted when he hunted and slew the mythical beast. As rendered by the Etruscan sculptor, the chimera, although injured and

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1 ft.

6-12 ***Chimera of Arezzo,*** **from Arezzo, Italy, first half of fourth century BCE. Bronze, 2′ 7½″ high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence.**

The chimera was a composite monster, slain by the Greek hero Bellerophon. In this Late Classical Etruscan statue, the artist depicted the wounded beast poised to attack and growling ferociously.

1 ft.

bleeding, refuses to surrender. The monster's muscles are stretched tightly over its rib cage as it prepares to attack, and a ferocious cry emanates from its open jaws. Some scholars have postulated that the statue was part of a group originally including Bellerophon, but the chimera could easily have stood alone. The menacing gaze upward toward an unseen adversary need not have been answered.

Hellenistic Art and the Rise of Rome

At about the time that an Etruscan sculptor cast the *Chimera of Arezzo,* Rome began to appropriate Etruscan territory. Veii fell to the Romans in 396 BCE after a terrible 10-year siege. The Tarquinians forged a peace treaty with the Romans in 351 BCE, but by the beginning of the next century, Rome had annexed Tarquinia too, and in 273 BCE, the Romans conquered Cerveteri.

Ficoroni Cista. An inscription on the *Ficoroni Cista* (FIG. 6-13) reflects Rome's growing power in central Italy. In the fourth century BCE, Etruscan artists began to produce large numbers of *cistae* (cylindrical containers for a woman's toiletry articles) made of sheet bronze with cast handles and feet and elaborately engraved

6-13 **NOVIOS PLAUTIOS,** ***Ficoroni Cista,*** **from Palestrina, Italy, late fourth century BCE. Bronze, 2′ 6″ high. Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Rome.**

Novios Plautios made this container for a woman's toiletry articles in Rome and engraved it with the Greek myth of the Argonauts. The composition is probably an adaptation of a Greek painting.

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6-14 Porta Marzia, Perugia, Italy, second century BCE.

The Porta Marzia was one of the gates in Perugia's walls. The use of fluted pilasters or engaged columns to frame arches typifies Etruscan builders' adaptation of Greek architectural motifs.

6-13A Chalchas examining a liver, ca. 400–375 BCE.

bodies. Along with engraved bronze mirrors (FIG. **6-13A**), they were popular gifts for both the living and the dead. The *Ficoroni Cista,* found at Palestrina, takes its name from an Italian collector, Francesco de' Ficoroni. The inscription on the cista's handle states that Dindia Macolnia, a local noblewoman, gave the cista (the largest found to date) to her daughter and that the artist was NOVIOS PLAUTIOS. According to the inscription, his workshop was not in Palestrina but in Rome, which by this date was becoming an important cultural, as well as political, center.

The engraved frieze of the *Ficoroni Cista* depicts an episode from the Greek story of the expedition of the Argonauts (the crew of the ship *Argo*) in search of the Golden Fleece. Art historians generally agree that the composition is an adaptation of a lost Greek panel painting, perhaps one on display in Rome (like the presumed model for the *Alexander Mosaic,* FIG. 5-70)—another testimony to the growing wealth and prestige of the city that was once ruled by Etruscan kings. The Greek source for Novios Plautios's engraving is

6-15 Arch construction (John Burge).

The Etruscans, and later the Romans, often constructed arches, which consist of a series of trapezoidal voussoirs held in place by being pressed against each other. The central voussoir is called a keystone.

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6-16 Sarcophagus of Lars Pulena, from Tarquinia, Italy, ca. 220–180 BCE. Tufa, 6′ 6″ long. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Tarquinia.

Images of the deceased on late Etruscan sarcophagi are more somber than those on Archaic examples (FIG. 6-5), but Lars Pulena proudly displays a list of his life's achievements on an open scroll.

evident in the figures seen entirely from behind or in three-quarter view and in the placement of the protagonists on several levels in the Polygnotan manner (compare FIG. 5-59).

Porta Marzia. In the third century BCE, the Etruscans of Perugia formed an alliance with Rome and were spared the destruction that Veii, Cerveteri, and other Etruscan cities suffered. Portions of Perugia's ancient walls still stand, as do some of its gates. One of these, known as the Porta Marzia (Gate of Mars), was dismantled during the Renaissance, but the upper part of the gate (FIG. 6-14) is preserved, embedded in a later wall. A series of trapezoidal stone *voussoirs* held in place by being pressed against each other (FIG. 6-15) form the arcuated gateway. The central voussoir is called a *keystone*. Arches of similar construction have been documented earlier in Greece as well as in Mesopotamia (FIG. 2-24), but Italy, first under the Etruscans and later under the Romans, is where arcuated gates and freestanding ("triumphal") arches became a major architectural type.

The use of *pilasters* to frame the rounded opening of the Porta Marzia typifies the Etruscan adaptation of Greek motifs. Arches bracketed by *engaged columns* or pilasters have a long and distinguished history in Roman and later times. In the Porta Marzia, sculpted half-figures of Jupiter and his sons Castor and Pollux and their steeds look out from between the fluted pilasters. The divine twins had appeared miraculously on a battlefield in 484 BCE to turn the tide in favor of the Romans. The presence of these three deities above the arched passageway of the Porta Marzia may reflect the new Roman practice of erecting triumphal arches with gilded bronze statues on top.

Lars Pulena. In Hellenistic Etruria, the descendants of the magnificent Archaic terracotta sarcophagus (FIG. 6-5) from Cerveteri were coffins of local stone. The leading production center was Tarquinia, and that is where, during the late third or early second century BCE, an Etruscan sculptor carved the sarcophagus (FIG. 6-16) containing the remains of Lars Pulena. The scene sculpted on the front of the coffin shows the deceased in the Underworld between two *charuns* (Etruscan death demons) swinging hammers. Two *vanths* (winged female demons) stand to the left and right. The representation signifies that Lars Pulena has successfully made the journey to the afterlife. Above, the deceased reclines on a couch, as do the couple on the Cerveteri sarcophagus and their counterparts in the Tomb of the Leopards and the Tomb of the Triclinium (FIGS. 6-9 and 6-9A), but this Etruscan gentleman is not at a festive banquet, and his wife is not present. The somber expression on his middle-aged face contrasts sharply with the smiling, confident faces of the Archaic era when Etruria enjoyed its greatest prosperity. Similar heads—realistic but generic types, not true portraits—can be found on most later Etruscan sarcophagi (FIG. 6-16A) and in tomb paintings. They are symptomatic of the economic and political decline of the once-mighty Etruscan city-states. Nonetheless, Lars Pulena was a proud man. He wears a fillet on his head and a wreath around his neck, and he displays

6-16A
Sarcophagus of Ramtha Visnai and Arnth Tetnies, ca. 350–300 BCE.

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a partially unfurled scroll inscribed with his name and those of his ancestors as well as a record of his life's accomplishments.

Aule Metele. One of the latest extant works produced for an Etruscan patron is the bronze statue (FIG. 6-17) portraying the magistrate Aule Metele raising his arm to address an assembly—hence his modern nickname *Arringatore* (*Orator*). This life-size statue, which dates to the early first century BCE, proves that Etruscan artists continued to be experts at bronze-casting long after the heyday of Etruscan prosperity. The time coincides with the Roman achievement of total domination of Etruria. The so-called Social War ended in 89 BCE with the conferring of Roman citizenship on all of Italy's inhabitants. In fact, Aule Metele—identifiable because the sculptor inscribed the magistrate's Etruscan name and those of his father and mother on the hem of his garment—wears the short *toga* and high, laced boots of a Roman magistrate. His head, with its close-cropped hair and signs of age in the face, resembles portraits produced in Rome at the same time. This orator is Etruscan in name only. If the origin of the Etruscans remains the subject of debate, the question of their demise has a ready answer. Aule Metele and his compatriots became Roman citizens, and Etruscan art became Roman art.

6-17 Aule Metele (*Arringatore*), from Cortona, Italy, early first century BCE. Bronze, 5′ 7″ high. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence.

This life-size bronze statue portraying Aule Metele is Etruscan in name only. The orator wears the short toga and high boots of a Roman magistrate, and the portrait style is Roman as well.

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THE BIG PICTURE

The Etruscans

Villanovan and Orientalizing Art ca. 900–600 BCE

- During the Villanovan period of the early first millennium BCE, the Etruscans emerged as a people with a culture distinct from those of other Italic peoples and the Greeks. Their language, although written in a Greek-derived script, is unrelated to the Indo-European linguistic family.
- In the seventh century BCE, the Etruscans traded metals from their mines for foreign goods and began to produce jewelry and other luxury objects decorated with motifs modeled on those found on imports from Mesopotamia. The Regolini-Galassi Tomb at Cerveteri contained a treasure trove of Orientalizing Etruscan jewelry.

Regolini-Galassi fibula, Cerveteri, ca. 650–640 BCE

Archaic Art ca. 600–480 BCE

- Etruscan power in Italy was strongest during the sixth century BCE. Etruscan kings even ruled Rome until 509 BCE, when the Romans expelled Tarquinius Superbus and established the Roman Republic.
- The Etruscans admired Greek art and architecture, but did not copy Greek works. They constructed their temples of wood and mud brick instead of stone and placed the columns and stairs only at the front. Terracotta statuary decorated the roof.
- Most surviving Etruscan artworks come from underground tomb chambers. In the Banditaccia necropolis at Cerveteri, great earthen mounds (tumuli) covered tombs such as the Tomb of the Shields and Chairs, which has a sculptured interior imitating a house of the living. Some of the tombs housed terracotta statues, including sarcophagi of married couples.
- At Tarquinia, painters covered the tomb walls with large-scale frescoes, often depicting banquets attended by both men and women, as in the Tomb of the Leopards and the Tomb of the Triclinium. The murals in some tombs depict funerary games (Tomb of the Augurs) and landscapes (Tomb of Hunting and Fishing).

Model of an Etruscan temple, sixth century BCE

Tomb of the Augurs, Tarquinia, ca. 520 BCE

Classical and Hellenistic Art ca. 480–89 BCE

- The Greek victory over the Etruscan fleet off Cumae in 474 BCE ended Etruscan domination of the sea and marked the beginning of the decline of Etruria. Rome destroyed Veii in 396 BCE and conquered Cerveteri in 273 BCE. All of Italy became Romanized by 89 BCE.
- Later Etruscan tombs are not as richly furnished as those of the Archaic period, but Classical and Hellenistic Etruscan sculptors continued to excel in bronze-casting and engraving. The *Chimera of Arezzo* and the *Ficoroni Cista* are Late Classical masterworks.
- A more somber mood characterizes many Late Classical and Hellenistic Etruscan artworks—for example, the sarcophagus of Lars Pulena.
- Later Etruscan architecture is noteworthy for the widespread use of the stone arch, often framed with Greek pilasters or engaged columns, as on the Porta Marzia at Perugia.

Sarcophagus of Lars Pulena, ca. 220–180 BCE

Porta Marzia, Perugia, second century BCE

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7-1 **Column of Trajan (looking northwest), Forum of Trajan (FIG. 7-44), Rome, Italy, dedicated 112 CE.**

▲**7-1a** Trajan's soldiers storm a Dacian fortress with their shields joined to form a protective turtle-shell. The battle won, the soldiers present to the emperor the severed heads of the enemy as evidence of their success.

▲**7-1b** This unexpected detail of the frieze shows the Romans tending to their wounded—an acknowledgment that victory did not come easily, but also giving the impression that this is a balanced record of the war.

▲**7-1c** Most of the scenes do not depict battles but rather the routine business of warfare, such as road building and fort construction. The common denominator is Trajan's personal direction of all aspects of the war.

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THE ROMAN EMPIRE 7

FRAMING THE ERA

The Roman Emperor as World Conqueror

The name "Rome" almost invariably conjures images of power and grandeur, of mighty armies and fearsome gladiators, of marble cities and far-flung roads. Indeed, at the death of the emperor Trajan in 117 CE, the "eternal city" was the capital of the greatest empire the world had ever known. For the first time in history, a single government ruled an empire extending from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Nile, from the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers to the Rhine, Danube, Thames, and beyond (MAP 7-1). The Romans presided over prosperous cities and frontier outposts on three continents, ruling virtually all of Europe, North Africa, and West Asia. Trajan, perhaps Rome's greatest general, had led the imperial army to victory in both the East and West, bringing vast new territories under Roman dominion. To celebrate his successes—at home as well as abroad—in an era long before newspapers, television, and the Internet, Trajan, like his predecessors and successors as emperor of Rome, marshaled the power of art and architecture to communicate his version of events to the citizenry.

A case in point is the 128-foot-tall column (FIG. 7-1) that Trajan erected in Rome to commemorate the defeat of Dacia (roughly equivalent to present-day Romania). Although frequently imitated, the Column of Trajan was the first of its kind. Its distinguishing new feature was the 625-foot frieze that winds around the shaft 23 times from bottom to top and presents the emperor's two military campaigns against the Dacians in the manner of a modern documentary film.

Three details are illustrated here. In the top section, a group of Roman soldiers storms a Dacian fortress with their shields raised and joined to form a turtle-shell umbrella to protect them. To the right, the battle won, Trajan, flanked by two lieutenants, views the severed Dacian heads that his soldiers have brought to him as evidence of the successful completion of their mission. The middle detail comes as a surprise. It shows the Romans tending to their wounded after a battle—an admission that the Dacian victory did not come easily. But it also suggests to the viewer that this is a balanced pictorial record of the war, even if that record is sharply skewed to glorify Trajan and his men. Also unexpected is the third detail showing the construction of a fort. In fact, most of the scenes on the Column of Trajan do not depict battles, but the routine business of warfare, including the transportation of supplies and the building of roads and bridges. The common denominator, however, is the presence of Trajan almost everywhere. His personal direction of all aspects of the Dacian campaigns—and in expanding Rome's empire on all fronts—is one of the central messages of the Column of Trajan.

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ROME, *CAPUT MUNDI*

The Roman Empire was unlike any other ancient civilization. Within its borders lived millions of people of numerous races, religions, languages, and cultures: Britons and Gauls, Greeks and Egyptians, Africans and Syrians, Jews and Christians, to name but a few. Of all early cultures, the Roman most closely approximated today's world in its multicultural character.

Roman monuments of art and architecture are the most conspicuous and numerous remains of antiquity worldwide. In Europe, the Middle East, and Africa today, Roman temples and basilicas have an afterlife as churches. The powerful concrete vaults of ancient Roman buildings form the cores of modern houses, stores, restaurants, factories, and museums. Bullfights, sports events, operas, and rock concerts are staged in Roman amphitheaters. Ships dock in what were once Roman ports, and Western Europe's highway system still closely follows the routes of Roman roads. Ancient Rome also lives on in the Western world in concepts of law and government, in languages, in the calendar—even in the coins used daily.

The art of the ancient Romans speaks a language that almost every Western viewer today can readily understand. Indeed, the diversity and complexity of Roman art foreshadowed the art of the modern world. The Roman use of art, especially portraits and narrative reliefs (FIG. 7-1), to manipulate public opinion is similar to the carefully crafted imagery of contemporary political campaigns. And the Roman mastery of concrete construction began an architectural revolution still felt today.

The center of the far-flung Roman Empire was the city on the Tiber River that, according to legend, Romulus founded on April 21, 753 BCE. Hundreds of years later, it would become the *caput mundi,* the "head [capital] of the world," but in the eighth century BCE, Rome consisted only of small huts clustered together on the Palatine Hill overlooking what was then uninhabited marshland. In the Archaic period, Rome was essentially an Etruscan city, both politically and culturally. Its first great shrine, the Temple of Jupiter *Optimus Maximus* (Best and Greatest) on the Capitoline Hill, was built by an Etruscan king, designed by an Etruscan architect, made of wood and mud brick in the Etruscan manner, and

MAP 7-1 **The Roman Empire at the death of Trajan in 117 CE.**

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

753–27 BCE	27 BCE–14 CE	14–96 CE	96–192 CE	192–337 CE
Monarchy and Republic	**Augustus**	**Julio-Claudians and Flavians**	**High Empire**	**Late Empire**
▪ Republican architects mix Hellenistic and Etruscan features ▪ Sculptors depict patricians in superrealistic portraits ▪ Painters decorate walls in the First and Second Styles	▪ Augustan artists and architects revive the Classical style ▪ Augustan painters introduce the Third Style of Roman mural painting	▪ Neronian and Flavian architects realize the full potential of concrete ▪ Neronian painters develop the Fourth Style of Pompeian painting	▪ Trajan extends the Empire and builds a new forum in Rome ▪ Hadrian builds the Pantheon ▪ Domination of the Classical style erodes under the Antonines	▪ Late Antique style takes root under the Severans ▪ Portraits of soldier emperors display an unprecedented psychic intensity ▪ Constantinian art bridges antiquity and the Middle Ages

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Who's Who in the Roman World

MONARCHY (753–509 BCE)

Latin and Etruscan kings ruled Rome from the city's founding by Romulus, its first king, until the revolt against Tarquinius Superbus (exact dates of rule unreliable).

REPUBLIC (509–27 BCE)

The Republic lasted from the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus until the bestowing of the title of Augustus on Octavian, the grandnephew of Julius Caesar and victor over Mark Antony in the civil war that ended the Republic. Some major figures of this period are

- Marcellus, b. 268(?), d. 208 BCE; consul
- Marius, b. 157, d. 86 BCE; consul
- Sulla, b. 138, d. 79 BCE; consul and dictator
- Pompey, b. 106, d. 48 BCE; consul (FIG. 7-9A)
- Julius Caesar, b. 100, d. 44 BCE; consul and dictator (FIG. 7-10)
- Mark Antony, b. 83, d. 30 BCE; consul

EARLY EMPIRE (27 BCE–96 CE)

The Early Empire began with the rule of Augustus and his Julio-Claudian successors and continued until the end of the Flavian dynasty. Selected emperors and their dates of rule (with names of the most influential empresses in parentheses) are

- Augustus (Livia), r. 27 BCE–14 CE (FIGS. I-10, 7-27, and 7-28)
- Tiberius, r. 14–37
- Caligula, r. 37–41
- Claudius (Agrippina the Younger), r. 41–54
- Nero, r. 54–68
- Vespasian, r. 69–79 (FIG. 7-38)
- Titus, r. 79–81 (FIGS. 7-40A and 7-42)
- Domitian, r. 81–96

HIGH EMPIRE (96–192 CE)

The High Empire began with the rule of Nerva and the Spanish emperors, Trajan and Hadrian, and ended with the last emperor of the Antonine dynasty. The emperors (and empresses) of this period are

- Nerva, r. 96–98
- Trajan (Plotina), r. 98–117 (FIG. 7-45A)
- Hadrian (Sabina), r. 117–138 (FIG. 7-48)
- Antoninus Pius (Faustina the Elder), r. 138–161 (FIG. 7-56)
- Marcus Aurelius (Faustina the Younger), r. 161–180 (FIG. 7-58)
- Lucius Verus, coemperor with Marcus Aurelius, r. 161–169
- Commodus, r. 180–192 (FIG. 7-58A)

LATE EMPIRE (193–337 CE)

The Late Empire began with the Severan dynasty and included the so-called soldier emperors of the third century; the tetrarchs; and Constantine, the first Christian emperor. Emperors (and empresses) discussed in this chapter are

- Septimius Severus (Julia Domna), r. 193–211 (FIGS. 7-62 and 7-64)
- Caracalla (Plautilla), r. 211–217 (FIGS. 7-62 and 7-63)
- Severus Alexander, r. 222–235
- Philip the Arabian, r. 244–249 (FIG. 7-67A)
- Trajan Decius, r. 249–251 (FIG. 7-67)
- Trebonianus Gallus, r. 251–253 (FIG. 7-68)
- Aurelian, r. 270–275
- Diocletian, r. 284–305 (FIG. 7-72)
- Constantine I, r. 306–337 (FIGS. 7-77, 7-78, and 7-79)

decorated with terracotta statuary fashioned by an Etruscan sculptor (see "Etruscan Artists in Rome," page 168).

REPUBLIC

In 509 BCE, the Romans overthrew Tarquinius Superbus, the last of Rome's Etruscan kings, and established a constitutional government. The new Roman Republic vested power mainly in a *senate* (literally, "a council of elders," *senior* citizens) and in two elected *consuls* (see "Who's Who in the Roman World," above). Under extraordinary circumstances, a *dictator* could be appointed for a limited time and specific purpose, such as commanding the army during a crisis. All leaders came originally from among the wealthy landowners, or *patricians,* but later also from the *plebeian* class of small farmers, merchants, and freed slaves.

Before long, the descendants of Romulus conquered Rome's neighbors one by one: the Etruscans and the Gauls to the north, the Samnites and the Greek colonists to the south. Even the Carthaginians of North Africa, who under Hannibal's dynamic leadership had destroyed some of Rome's legions and almost brought down the Republic, fell before the mighty Roman armies.

Architecture

The year 211 BCE was a turning point both for Rome and for Roman art. Breaking with precedent, Marcellus, conqueror of the fabulously wealthy Sicilian Greek city of Syracuse, brought back to Rome not only the usual spoils of war—captured arms and armor, gold and silver coins, and the like—but also the city's artistic patrimony. Thus began, in the words of the historian Livy, "the craze for works of Greek art."[1]

Exposure to Greek sculpture and painting and to the splendid marble temples of the Greek gods increased as the Romans expanded their conquests beyond Italy. Greece became a Roman province in 146 BCE, and in 133 BCE the last king of Pergamon willed his kingdom to Rome. Nevertheless, although the Romans developed a virtually insatiable taste for Greek "antiques," the influence of Etruscan art and architecture persisted. The artists and architects of the Roman Republic drew on both Greek and Etruscan traditions for their paintings, sculptures, and buildings.

Temple of Portunus. The mixing of Greek and Etruscan forms is the primary characteristic of the Republican-era Temple of Portunus,

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7-2 Model of the city of Rome during the fourth century CE. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome. (1) Temple of Portunus, (2) Circus Maximus, (3) Palatine Hill, (4) Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, (5) Pantheon, (6) Column of Trajan, (7) Forum of Trajan, (8) Markets of Trajan, (9) Forum of Julius Caesar, (10) Forum of Augustus, (11) Forum Romanum, (12) Basilica Nova, (13) Arch of Titus, (14) Temple of Venus and Roma, (15) Arch of Constantine, (16) Colossus of Nero, (17) Colosseum.

By the fourth century CE, the city of Rome was densely packed with temples, fora, triumphal arches, theaters, baths, racetracks, aqueducts, markets, private homes, and apartment houses.

the Roman god of harbors, on the east bank of the Tiber River in Rome (FIGS. 7-2, no. 1, and 7-3). Its plan follows the Etruscan pattern with a high podium and a flight of steps only at the front (FIG. 6-3). As in Etruscan temples, the only freestanding columns are in the deep porch, but the temple's ratio of length to width is closer to that of Greek temples. The Portunus temple is also built of stone (local tufa and travertine), overlaid originally with *stucco* in imitation of Greek marble. The columns are not Tuscan but Ionic, complete with flutes and bases, and there is a matching Ionic frieze. Moreover, in an effort to approximate a peripteral Greek temple yet maintain the basic Etruscan plan, the architect added a series of engaged Ionic half columns to the sides and back of the cella. The result was a *pseudo-peripteral* temple. Although the design combines Etruscan and Greek elements, the resultant mix is distinctively Roman.

7-3 Temple of Portunus (looking southwest), Rome, Italy, ca. 75 BCE.

Republican temples combined Etruscan plans and Greek elevations. This pseudoperipteral stone temple employs the Ionic order, but it has a staircase and freestanding columns only at the front.

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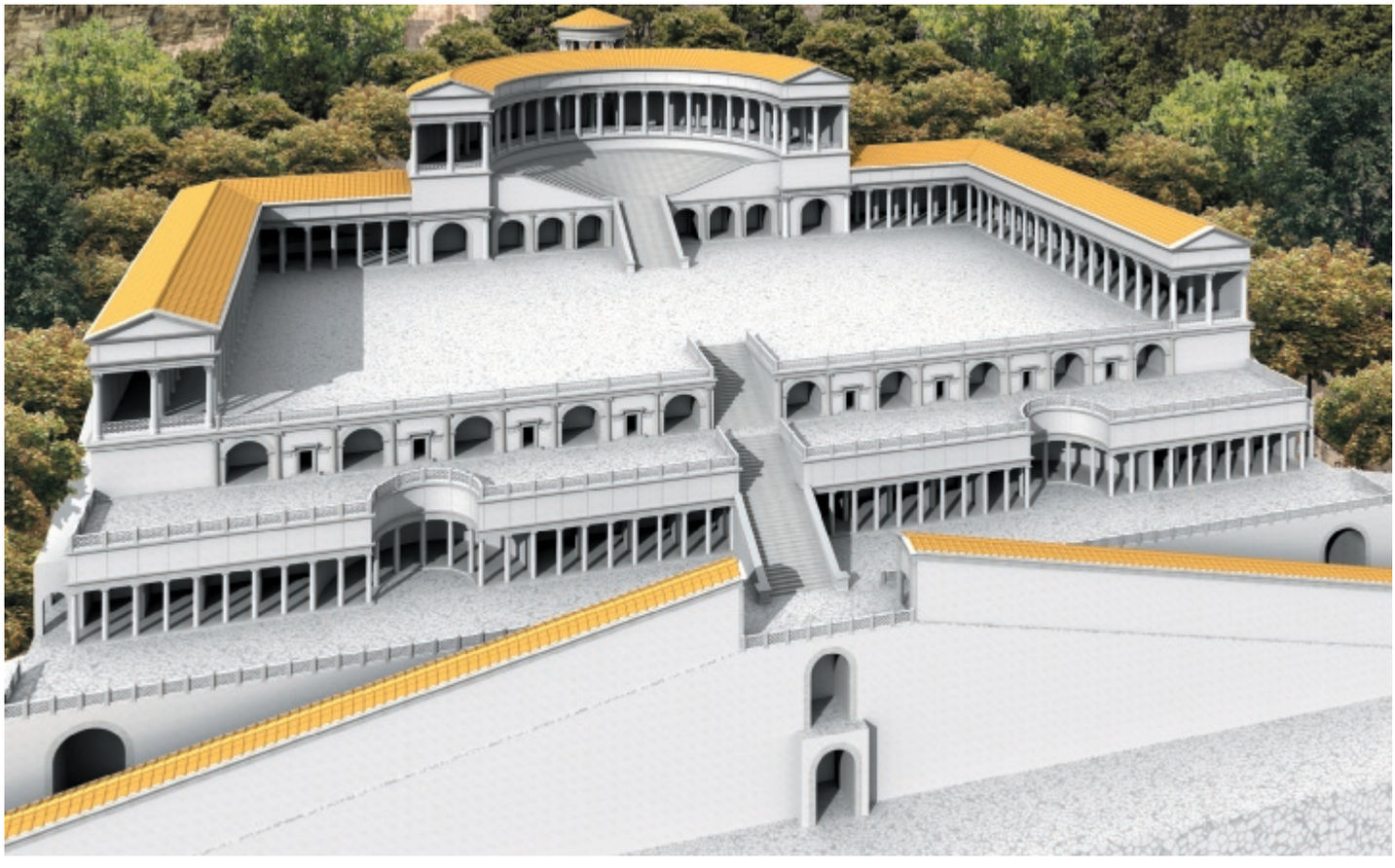
7-4 Temple of Vesta (looking north), Tivoli, Italy, ca. 100–80 BCE.

The round temple type is unknown in Etruria. The models for Tivoli's Temple of Vesta were Greek tholoi (FIG. 5-72), but the Roman building has a frontal orientation and a concrete cella.

Temple of Vesta. The Romans' admiration for the Greek temples they encountered in their conquests also led to the importation into Republican Italy of a temple type unknown in Etruscan architecture—the round, or *tholos,* temple. At Tivoli, east of Rome, on a dramatic site overlooking a deep gorge, a Republican architect erected a Greek-inspired round temple (FIG. 7-4) early in the first century BCE. The circular plan is standard for shrines of Vesta, and she was probably the deity honored here. The temple has Corinthian columns and a frieze carved with garlands held up by ox heads, also in emulation of Greek models. The stone is not marble, however, but travertine, a high-quality variety of limestone from quarries at Tivoli itself. In contrast to Greek tholoi (FIG. 5-72), the Vesta temple has a high podium that can be reached only via a narrow stairway leading to the cella door. This arrangement introduced an Etruscan-style axial alignment not found in Greek round temples, where, as in Greek rectangular temples, steps continue all around the structure. Also in contrast to the Greeks, the Roman builders did not construct the cella wall using masonry blocks. Instead, they used a new material of recent invention: *concrete.*

Sanctuary of Fortuna. The most impressive and innovative use of concrete during the Republic was in the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia (FIG. 7-5), the goddess of good fortune, at Palestrina, southeast of Rome. Spread out over several terraces leading up the hillside to a tholos at the peak of an ascending triangle, the layout



7-5 Restored view of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia (looking north), Palestrina, Italy, late second century BCE (John Burge).

Concrete construction made possible Fortuna's hillside sanctuary at Palestrina with its terraces, ramps, shops, and porticos spread out over several levels. A tholos temple crowned the complex.

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Roman Concrete Construction

The history of Roman architecture would be very different had the Romans been content to use the same building materials that the Greeks, Etruscans, and other ancient peoples did. Instead, the Romans developed *concrete* construction (FIG. 7-6), which revolutionized architectural design. Roman builders mixed concrete according to a changing recipe of lime mortar, volcanic sand, water, and small stones (*caementa,* from which the English word "cement" derives). After mixing the concrete, the builders poured it into wood frames and left it to dry. When the concrete hardened completely, they removed the wood molds, revealing a solid mass of great strength, though rough in appearance. The Romans often covered the coarse concrete surfaces with stucco or with marble *revetment* (facing). Despite this lengthy procedure, concrete walls were much less costly to construct than walls of imported Greek marble or even local tufa and travertine.

The advantages of concrete go well beyond cost, however. It is possible to fashion concrete shapes unachievable in masonry construction, especially huge vaulted and domed rooms without internal supports. The new medium enabled Roman architects to design buildings in revolutionary ways by focusing not on solid walls and ceilings but on the volumes of space they enclose.

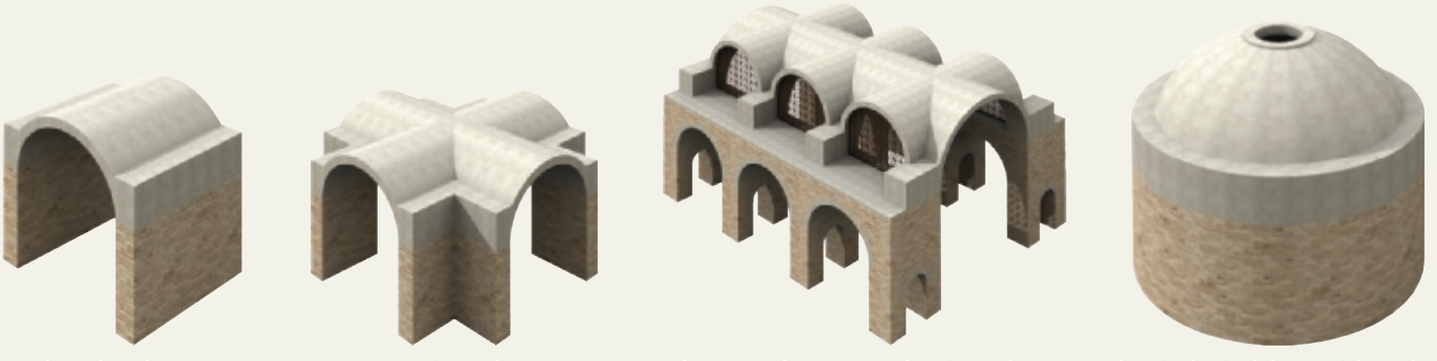
The most common types of Roman concrete vaults and domes are

- ***Barrel Vaults*** Also called the *tunnel vault,* the *barrel vault* is an extension of a simple arch, creating a semicylindrical ceiling over parallel walls. Pre-Roman builders constructed barrel vaults using traditional ashlar masonry (FIG. 2-24), but those earlier vaults were less stable than concrete barrel vaults. As with arches (FIG. 6-15), if even a single block of a cut-stone vault comes loose, the whole vault may collapse. Also, masonry barrel vaults can be illuminated only by light entering at either end of the tunnel. Using concrete, Roman builders could place windows at any point in a barrel vault, because once the concrete hardens, it forms a seamless sheet of "artificial stone" in which the openings do not lessen the vault's structural integrity. Whether made of stone or concrete, barrel vaults require *buttressing* (lateral support) of the walls below the vaults to counteract their downward and outward *thrust.*

- ***Groin Vaults*** A *groin* (or *cross*) *vault* is formed by the intersection at right angles of two barrel vaults of equal size. Besides appearing lighter than the barrel vault, the groin vault needs less buttressing. Whereas the barrel vault's thrust is continuous along the entire length of the supporting wall, the groin vault's thrust is concentrated along the groins, the lines at the juncture of the two barrel vaults. Buttressing is needed only at the points where the groins meet the vault's vertical supports, usually *piers.* This system leaves the area between the piers open, enabling light to enter. Builders can construct groin vaults as well as barrel vaults using stone blocks, but stone groin vaults have the same structural limitations as stone barrel vaults do compared to their concrete counterparts.

When a series of groin vaults covers an interior hall (for example, FIG. 7-47), the open lateral arches of the vaults form the equivalent of a *clerestory* of a traditional timber-roofed structure (for example, FIGS. 8-18 and 8-25). A *fenestrated* (with openings or windows) sequence of groin vaults has a major advantage over a timber clerestory: concrete vaults are relatively fireproof, always an important consideration because throughout history, fires have been common occurrences (see "The Burning of Canterbury Cathedral," page 353).

- ***Hemispherical Domes*** The largest domed space in the ancient world for more than a millennium was the corbeled, beehive-shaped tholos (FIG. 4-21) of the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae. The Romans were able to surpass the Mycenaeans by using concrete to construct hemispherical domes, which usually rested on concrete cylindrical *drums.* If a barrel vault is a round arch extended in a line, then a hemispherical dome is a round arch rotated the full circumference around the central, vertical axis of a circle. Masonry domes, like masonry vaults, cannot accommodate windows without threat to their stability. Concrete domes, by contrast, can be opened up even at their apex with a circular *oculus* ("eye"), enabling light to reach the vast space beneath (for example, FIGS. 7-35 and 7-51).



7-6 Roman concrete vaults (John Burge).

Concrete enabled Roman builders to revolutionize the history of architecture by shaping spaces in novel ways. The major types of concrete vaulting are the barrel and groin vault and the hemispherical dome.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Roman Ancestor Portraits

In Republican Rome, ancestor portraits separated the old patrician families not only from the plebeian middle and lower classes of working citizens and former slaves but also from the newly wealthy and powerful of more modest origins. The case of Marius, a renowned Republican general who lacked a long and distinguished genealogy, is revealing. When his patrician colleagues in the Senate ridiculed him as a man who had no *imagines* (portrait masks) in his home, he resorted to defending himself by saying that his battle scars were his masks, the proof of his nobility.

Patrician pride in genealogy was unquestionably the motivation for a unique portrait statue (FIG. 7-7), datable to the late first century BCE, in which a man wearing a *toga,* the badge of Roman citizenship, holds in each hand a bust of one of his male forebears. (The head of the man is ancient, but does not belong to this statue.) The two heads he holds, which are probably likenesses of his father and grandfather, are characteristic examples of Republican portraiture of the first century BCE (compare FIG. 7-8). The heads may be reproductions of wax or terracotta portraits. Marble or bronze heads would have been too heavy to support with one hand. They are not, however, wax imagines, because they are sculptures in the round, not masks. The statue nonetheless would have had the same effect on the observer as the spectacle of parading ancestral portraits at a patrician funeral.

Polybius, a Greek author who wrote a history of Rome in the middle of the second century BCE, described these patrician funerals in detail:

> For whenever one of the leading men among [the Romans] dies . . . they place a likeness of the dead man in the most public part of the house [the atrium; FIG. 7-15, no. 2], keeping it in a small wooden shrine. The likeness is a mask [*imago*] especially made for a close resemblance. . . . And whenever a leading member of the family dies, they introduce [the wax masks] into the funeral procession, putting them on men who seem most like them in height and as regards the rest of their general appearance. . . . It is not easy for an ambitious and high-minded young man to see a finer spectacle than this. For who would not be won over at the sight of all the masks together of those men who had been extolled for virtue as if they were alive and breathing?*

*Polybius, *History of Rome,* 6.5. Translated by Harriet I. Fowler, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 309.

7-7 Man with portrait busts of his ancestors, from Rome, Italy, late first century BCE. Marble, 5′ 5″ high. Centro Montemartini, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

Reflecting the importance that patricians placed on genealogy, this toga-clad man proudly displays the portrait busts of his father and grandfather. Both are characteristically realistic likenesses.

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reflects the new Republican familiarity with the terraced sanctuaries of the Hellenistic East. The construction method, however, was distinctly Roman.

The builders used concrete *barrel vaults* (see "Roman Concrete Construction," page 186) of enormous strength to support the imposing terraces and to cover the great ramps leading to the grand central staircase, as well as to give shape to the shops aligned on two levels that sold food and souvenirs to those who came to the festivals in honor of the goddess. In this way, Roman engineers transformed the entire hillside, subjecting nature itself to human will and rational order.

Sculpture

The patrons of Republican temples and sanctuaries were in almost all cases men from old and distinguished families. Often they were victorious generals, like Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, who used the spoils of war to finance public works. These aristocratic patricians were fiercely proud of their lineage. They kept likenesses of their ancestors in wood cupboards in their homes and paraded them at the funerals of prominent relatives (see "Roman Ancestor Portraits," above). Portraiture was one way that the patrician class celebrated its elevated position in society.

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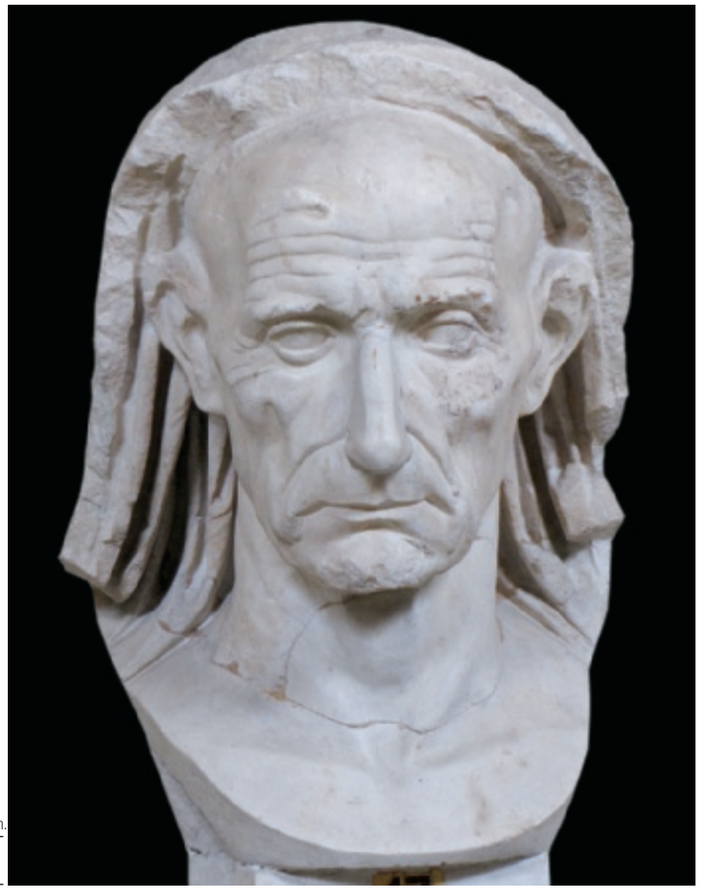

7-8 Head of a Republican priest, ca. 50–30 BCE. Marble, 1′ 2 5/8″ high (without modern bust). Musei Vaticani, Rome.

Veristic (superrealistic) portraits of old men from distinguished families were the norm during the Republic. The sculptor of this head painstakingly recorded every detail of the elderly priest's face.

Verism. The subjects of these portraits were almost exclusively men (and, occasionally, women) of advanced age, for generally only elders held power in the Republic. These patricians did not ask sculptors to make them appear nobler than they were, as Kresilas portrayed Pericles (FIG. 5-42). Instead, they requested images memorializing their distinctive features, in the tradition of the treasured household imagines. One of the most striking of these so-called *veristic* (superrealistic) portraits is the head (FIG. 7-8) of a Republican priest now in the Vatican Museums. (Roman priests drew part of their toga over their head to form a hood while performing their sacred duties; compare FIG. I-10.) The sculptor painstakingly recorded his bald head and the lines, bulges, and folds of his aged face, not wanting to miss the slightest detail of the priest's unique appearance. Scholars debate whether Republican veristic portraits were truly blunt records of individual features or exaggerated types designed to make a statement about personality: serious, experienced, determined, loyal to family and state—the most admired virtues during the Republic.

Tivoli General. The priest's head illustrates that the Romans believed that the head or bust alone (FIGS. 7-7 and 7-11) was enough to constitute a portrait. The Greeks, by contrast, believed that head and body were inseparable parts of an integral whole, so

7-9 Portrait of a Roman general, from the Sanctuary of Hercules, Tivoli, Italy, ca. 75–50 BCE. Marble, 6′ 2″ high. Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

The sculptor based this life-size portrait of a general on idealized Greek statues of heroes and athletes, but the man's head is a veristic likeness. The combination is typical of Republican portraiture.

their portraits were always full length (FIG. 5-88), although Roman copies often reproduced only the head (FIG. 5-42). In fact, Republican sculptors often placed veristic heads on bodies to which they could not possibly belong, as in the seminude portrait statue (FIG. 7-9) from Tivoli representing a Republican general. The *cuirass* (leather breastplate) at his side, which acts as a prop for the heavy marble statue, is the emblem of his rank. But the general does

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not appear as he would in life. Although he has a typically Republican stern and lined face, the head sits atop a powerful, youthful body. The sculptor modeled the portrait on the statues of Greek athletes and heroes the Romans admired so much and often copied. The incorporation of references to Greek art in these portrait statues evoked the notion of patrician cultural superiority. To be portrayed nude also suggested that the person possessed a heroic character. To modern eyes, the juxtaposition of a veristic head and an idealized body may seem incongruous and discordant, but the purpose of the portrait was to characterize different aspects of the man portrayed—and the sculptor succeeded admirably.

Julius Caesar. Beginning early in the first century BCE, the Roman desire to advertise distinguished ancestry led to the placement of portraits of illustrious forebears on Republican coins. These ancestral portraits supplanted the earlier Roman tradition (based on Greek convention) of using images of divinities on coins. No Roman, however, not even Pompey "the Great" (FIG. 7-9A), who likened himself to Alexander the Great, dared to place his own likeness on a coin until 44 BCE, when Julius Caesar, shortly before his assassination on the Ides of March, issued coins featuring his portrait and his newly acquired title, *dictator perpetuo* ("dictator for life"). The *denarius* (the standard Roman silver coin, from which the word *penny* ultimately derives) illustrated here (FIG. 7-10) records Caesar's aging face and receding hairline in conformity with the Republican veristic tradition. But placing the likeness of a living person on a coin violated all the norms of Republican propriety. Henceforth, Roman coins, which circulated throughout the vast territories under Roman control, would be used to mold public opinion in favor of the ruler by announcing his achievements—both real and fictional.

7-9A Pompey the Great, ca. 70–60 BCE.

7-10 Denarius with portrait of Julius Caesar, 44 BCE. Silver, diameter $\frac{3}{4}$″. American Numismatic Society, New York.

Julius Caesar was the first to place his own portrait on Roman coinage during his lifetime. This denarius, issued just before his assassination, shows the dictator with a deeply lined face and neck.

Non-Elite Portraiture. In stark contrast to patricians, who traditionally displayed portraits of themselves and their ancestors in homes and public places, slaves and former slaves could not possess any family portraits, because, under Roman law, their parents and grandparents were not people but property. Freed slaves, however, often ordered figural reliefs (FIGS. 7-10A and 7-11) for their tombs to commemorate their new status as Roman citizens (see "Art for Freed Slaves," page 190).

7-10A Funerary procession, Amiternum, ca. 50–1 BCE.

POMPEII AND THE CITIES OF VESUVIUS

On August 24, 79 CE (according to Pliny the Younger, but more likely a month or two later, based on new archaeological evidence), Mount Vesuvius, a long-dormant volcano, suddenly erupted (see "An Eyewitness Account of the Eruption of Mount Vesuvius," page 191). Many prosperous towns around the Bay of Naples (the ancient Greek city of Neapolis), among them Pompeii, were buried in a single day. The eruption was a catastrophe for the inhabitants of the Vesuvian cities, but a boon for archaeologists and art historians. When researchers first systematically explored the buried cities in the 18th century, the ruins had lain largely undisturbed for nearly 1,700 years, enabling a reconstruction of the art and life of Roman towns of the Late Republic and Early Empire to a degree impossible anywhere else.

Civic Architecture

Walking through Pompeii today is an unforgettable experience. The streets, with their heavy flagstone pavements and sidewalks, are still there, as are the stepping-stones pedestrians used to cross the streets without having to step in puddles. Ingeniously, the city planners placed these stones in such a way that vehicle wheels could straddle them, enabling supplies to be brought directly to the shops, taverns, and bakeries. Tourists still can visit the impressive concrete-vaulted rooms of Pompeii's public baths, sit in the seats of its theater and amphitheater, enter private homes with statue-filled gardens and dining- and bedrooms with elaborate frescoes, even walk among the tombs outside the city's walls. Pompeii is an archaeological time capsule and has been called the living city of the dead for good reason.

Forum. The center of civic life in any Roman town was its *forum* (plural, *fora*), or public square. Usually located at the city's geographical center at the intersection of the main north-south street, the *cardo,* and the main east-west avenue, the *decumanus,* as at

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Art for Freed Slaves

Historians and art historians alike tend to focus on the lives and monuments of famous individuals, but some of the most interesting remains of ancient Roman civilization are the artworks that ordinary people commissioned, especially former slaves—*freedmen* and *freedwomen.* Slavery was common in the Roman world. Indeed, at the end of the Republic, there were approximately two million slaves in Italy—roughly one slave for every three citizens. The very rich might own hundreds of slaves, but slaves could also be found in all but the poorest households. The practice was so much a part of Roman society that even slaves often became slave owners when their former masters freed them. Some gained freedom in return for meritorious service, others as bequests in their masters' wills. Most slaves died as slaves in service to their original or new owners.

The most noteworthy artworks that Roman freedmen and freedwomen commissioned are the stone reliefs that regularly adorned their tomb facades. One of these reliefs (FIG. **7-11**) depicts two men and a woman, all named Gessius or Gessia. At the left is Gessia Fausta and at the right, Gessius Primus. Both are the freed slaves of Publius Gessius, the freeborn citizen in the center, shown wearing a soldier's cuirass and portrayed in the standard Republican superrealistic fashion (FIGS. 7-7 and 7-8). As slaves, this couple had no legal standing. They were the property of Publius Gessius. According to Roman law, however, after gaining freedom the ex-slaves became people (though they still could not serve in the Roman army). These stern frontal portraits proclaim their new status as members of Roman society—and their gratitude to Publius Gessius for granting them their freedom.

As was the custom, the ex-slaves bear their patron's name. Therefore, whether they are sister and brother, wife and husband, or unrelated is unclear. The inscriptions on the relief, however, explicitly state that Gessius Primus provided the funds for the monument in his will and that Gessia Fausta, the only survivor of the three, directed the work. The relief thus depicts the living and the dead side by side, indistinguishable without the accompanying inscriptions. This theme is common in Roman art and proclaims that death does not break the bonds formed in life and that families will be reunited in the afterlife, as the emperor Antoninus Pius (FIG. 7-56) and an anonymous circus official (FIG. 7-43A) expected to rejoin their wives after they too died.

7-11 Funerary relief with portraits of the Gessii, from Rome(?), Italy, ca. 30 BCE. Marble, 2′ 1½″ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Roman freedmen often placed reliefs depicting themselves and their former owners on the facades of their tombs. The portraits and inscriptions celebrated their freedom and new status as citizens.

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Timgad (FIG. 7-43), the forum was nevertheless generally closed to all but pedestrian traffic. Pompeii's forum (FIG. **7-12**, no. 1) lies in the southwest corner of the expanded Roman city, but at the heart of the original town.

The forum, originally just an open area, took on monumental form only after the town became a Roman colony in 80 BCE. Inspired by Hellenistic architecture, the Romans erected two-story colonnades on three sides of the long and narrow plaza. At the north end, they constructed a *Capitolium* (FIG. 7-12, no. 2)—a temple honoring the three chief Roman gods, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Pompeii's Capitolium is of standard Republican type, constructed of tufa covered with fine white stucco and combining an Etruscan plan with Corinthian columns. It faces into the civic square, dominating the area. This contrasts with the siting of Greek temples (FIGS. 5-43 and 5-44), which stood in isolation and could be approached and viewed from all sides, like colossal statues on giant stepped pedestals. Roman fora, like Etrusco-Roman temples, have a chief side, a focus of attention.

The area within the porticos of the forum at Pompeii was empty, except for statues portraying local dignitaries and, later, Roman emperors. This is where the citizens conducted daily commerce and held festivities. All around the square, behind the colonnades, were secular and religious structures, including the town's administrative offices. Most important was the *basilica* at the

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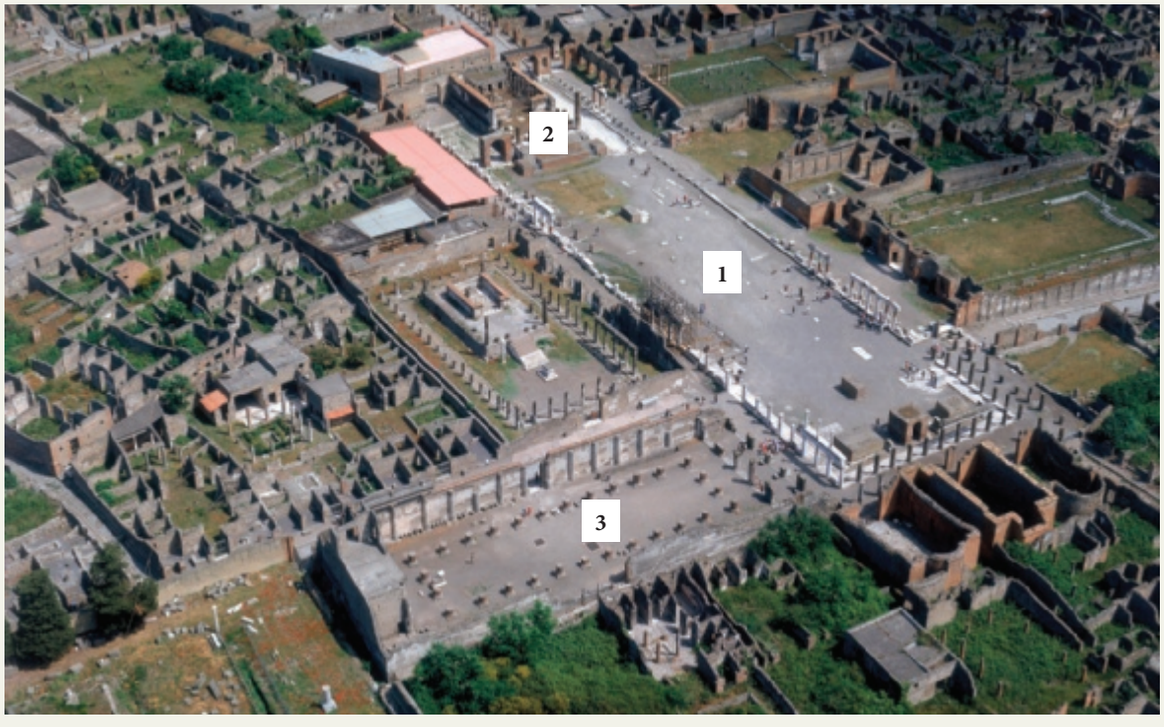
An Eyewitness Account of the Eruption of Mount Vesuvius

One of the world's most famous archaeological sites is Pompeii, which owes its preservation today to the devastating volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE. The Oscans, one of the many early Italic population groups, were the first to settle at Pompeii, but toward the end of the fifth century BCE, the Samnites took over the town. Under the influence of their Greek neighbors, the Samnites greatly expanded the original settlement and gave monumental shape to the city center (FIG. 7-12). Pompeii fought with other Italian cities on the losing side against Rome in the so-called Social War (from the Latin word for "allies"—*socii*) that ended in 89 BCE, and in 80 BCE the Roman consul Sulla founded a new Roman colony on the site, with Latin as its official language. The colony's population had grown to between 10,000 and 15,000 when, in February 62 CE, an earthquake shook the city, causing extensive damage. Vesuvius erupted 17 years later, bringing an end to the life of the city and all its inhabitants who did not flee in time.

Pliny the Elder, whose *Natural History* is one of the most important sources for the history of Greek art, was among those who tried to rescue others from danger when Vesuvius erupted. Overcome by the volcano's fumes, he died. His nephew, Pliny the Younger (ca. 61–ca. 112 CE), a government official under the emperor Trajan, left an account of the eruption and his uncle's demise:

> [The volcanic cloud's] general appearance can best be expressed as being like a pine . . . for it rose to a great height on a sort of trunk and then split off into branches. . . . Sometimes it looked white, sometimes blotched and dirty, according to the amount of soil and ashes it carried with it. . . . The buildings were now shaking with violent shocks, and seemed to be swaying to and fro as if they were torn from their foundations. Outside, on the other hand, there was the danger of falling pumice-stones, even though these were light and porous. . . . Elsewhere there was daylight, [but around Vesuvius, people] were still in darkness, blacker and denser than any night that ever was. . . . When daylight returned . . . two days after the last day [my uncle] had been seen, his body was found intact and uninjured, still fully clothed and looking more like sleep than death.*

*Betty Radice, trans., *Pliny the Younger: Letters and Panegyricus,* vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), 427–433.



7-12 Aerial view of the forum (looking northeast), Pompeii, Italy, 80 BCE–79 CE. (1) forum, (2) Capitolium, (3) basilica.

Before the Vesuvian eruption, the forum was the center of civic life at Pompeii. At the north end was the city's main temple, the Capitolium, and at the southwest corner, the basilica (law court).

southwest corner (FIG. 7-12, no. 3). It is the earliest well-preserved building of its kind. Also constructed by the Roman colonists, the basilica was Pompeii's law court and chief administrative building. In plan, it resembled the forum itself: long and narrow, with two stories of internal columns dividing the space into a central *nave* and flanking *aisles.* This scheme had a long afterlife in architectural history and will be familiar to anyone who has ever entered a church (compare, for example, FIG. 8-18).

Amphitheater. Shortly after the Romans took control of Pompeii, two of the town's officials, Quinctius Valgus and Marcus Porcius, used their own funds (a common expectation of wealthy

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7-13 Aerial view of the amphitheater (looking southeast), Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70 BCE.

Pompeii's amphitheater is the oldest known and an early example of Roman concrete technology. In the arena, bloody gladiatorial combats and wild animal hunts took place before 20,000 spectators.

7-14 Brawl in the Pompeii amphitheater, wall painting from House I,3,23, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 60–79 CE. Fresco, 5′ 7″ × 6′ 1″. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.

This wall painting records a brawl that broke out in the Pompeii amphitheater in 59 CE. The painter included the awning (velarium) that could be rolled down to shield the spectators from sun and rain.

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magistrates) to erect a large amphitheater (FIG. 7-13) at the southeastern end of town. The earliest permanent amphitheater known, it could seat some 20,000 spectators—more than the entire population of the town even a century and a half after its construction. The donors would have had choice reserved seats in the new entertainment center. In fact, seating was by civic and military rank. The Roman social hierarchy was therefore on display at every event.

The word *amphitheater* means "double theater," and Roman amphitheaters resemble two Greek theaters put together. Amphitheaters nonetheless stand in sharp contrast, both architecturally and functionally, to Greco-Roman theaters, where actors performed comedies and tragedies. Amphitheaters were where the Romans staged bloody gladiatorial combats and wild animal hunts (see "Spectacles in the Colosseum," page 207). Greek theaters were always on natural hillsides (FIG. 5-71), but supporting an amphitheater's continuous elliptical cavea required building an artificial mountain. Only concrete, unknown to the Greeks, could easily meet that challenge. In the Pompeii amphitheater, shallow concrete barrel vaults form a giant retaining wall holding up the earthen mound and stone seats. Barrel vaults running all the way through the elliptical mountain of earth form the tunnels leading to the arena, the central area where the violent contests took place. (*Arena* is Latin for "sand," which soaked up the blood of the wounded and killed.)

A painting (FIG. 7-14) found in one of Pompeii's houses records a brawl that occurred in the amphitheater during a gladiatorial contest in 59 CE. The fighting—between the Pompeians and their neighbors, the Nucerians—left many seriously wounded and led to the banning of games in the amphitheater for a decade. (The ban was lifted in 62 CE to help revive the city's economy after the earthquake.) The painting shows the cloth awning (*velarium*) that could be rolled down from the top of the cavea to shield spectators from sun and rain. Also featured are the distinctive external double staircases (FIG. 7-13, *lower right*) that enabled large numbers of people to enter and exit the cavea in an orderly fashion.

Domestic Architecture

The evidence from Pompeii regarding Roman domestic architecture is unparalleled anywhere else and is the most precious byproduct of the volcanic eruption of 79 CE (see "The Roman House," page 193).

House of the Vettii. One of the best-preserved houses at Pompeii, partially rebuilt by the Italian excavators, is the House of the Vettii, an old second-century BCE house remodeled and repainted (FIG. 7-22) after the earthquake of 62 CE. A photograph (FIG. 7-16) taken in the fauces shows the impluvium in the center of the atrium; the opening in the roof above; and, in the background, the peristyle garden (FIG. 7-16A) with its marble tables and splendid mural paintings dating to the last years of the Vesuvian city. At that time, two brothers, Aulus Vettius Restitutus and Aulus Vettius Conviva, owned the house. They were freedmen who probably had made their fortune as merchants. Their wealth enabled them to purchase and furnish the kind of fashionable townhouse that in an earlier era only patricians could have acquired.

Painting and Mosaic

The houses of Pompeii and neighboring cities and the *villas* in the countryside around Mount Vesuvius have yielded a treasure trove of mural paintings—the most complete record of the changing fashions in interior decoration found anywhere in the ancient world. The sheer quantity of these paintings tells a great deal about

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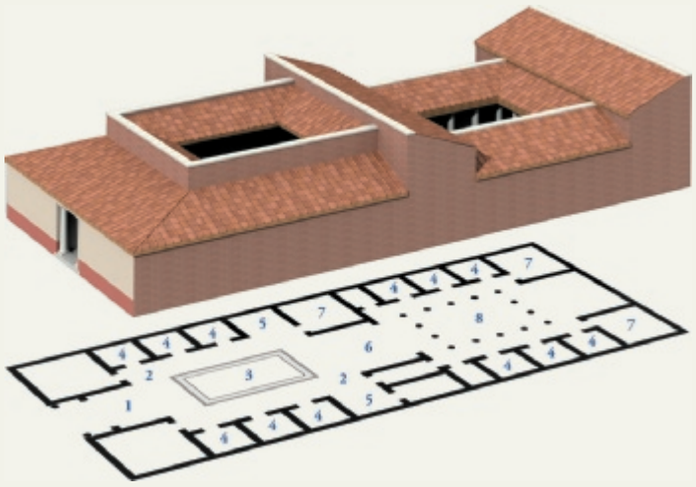
The Roman House

The Roman house (FIG. 7-15) was not only a place to live. It played an important role in societal rituals. In the Roman world, individuals were frequently bound to others in a patron-client relationship whereby a wealthier, better-educated, and more powerful *patronus* would protect the interests of a *cliens,* sometimes large numbers of them. The size of a patron's clientele was one measure of his standing in society. Being seen in public accompanied by a crowd of clients was a badge of honor. In this system, a plebeian might be bound to a patrician, a freed slave to a former owner, or even one patrician to another. Regardless of rank, all clients were obligated to support their patron in political campaigns and to perform specific services on request, as well as to call on and salute the patron at the patron's home.

A client calling on a patron would enter the typical Roman *domus* ("private house") through a narrow foyer (*fauces,* the "jaws" of the house), which led to a large central reception area, the *atrium* (plural, *atria*), which, in the case of an old patrician family's house, would feature cupboards with wax ancestor masks (see "Roman Ancestor Portraits," page 187). The rooms flanking the fauces could open onto the atrium, as in FIG. 7-15, or onto the street, in which case the owner could operate or rent them as shops. The roof over the atrium was partially open to the sky, not only to admit light but also to channel rainwater into a basin (*impluvium*) below to be stored in cisterns for household use. Opening onto the atrium were small bedrooms called *cubicula* ("cubicles"; singular, *cubiculum*). At the back were two recessed areas (*alae,* "wings") and the patron's *tablinum,* or home office; one or more *triclinia* ("dining rooms"; singular, *triclinium*); a kitchen; and sometimes a small garden.

Extant houses—for example, the House of the Vettii (FIG. 7-16)—display endless variations of the same basic plan, dictated by the owners' personal tastes and means, the size and shape of the lot, and so forth, but all Roman houses of this type were inward-looking in nature. The design shut off the street's noise and dust, and all internal activity focused on the brightly illuminated atrium at the center of the residence. This basic module (only the front half of the typical house in FIG. 7-15) resembles the plan of the typical Etruscan house as reflected in the tombs of Cerveteri (FIGS. 6-7 and 6-7A). The early Roman house, like the early Roman temple, grew out of the Etruscan tradition.



7-15 Restored view and plan of a typical Roman private house (domus) of the Late Republic and Early Empire (John Burge). (1) fauces, (2) atrium, (3) impluvium, (4) cubiculum, (5) ala, (6) tablinum, (7) triclinium, (8) peristyle.

Older Roman houses closely followed Etruscan models and had atria and small gardens, but during the Late Republic and Early Empire, peristyles with Greek columns became common.

7-16 Atrium of the House of the Vettii, Pompeii, Italy, mid-second century BCE, rebuilt 62–79 CE.

The house of the Vettius brothers was of the later Hellenized type with a peristyle garden behind the atrium. The impluvium below the open roof collected rainwater for domestic use.

During the second century BCE, when Roman architects were beginning to construct stone temples with Greek columns, the Roman house also took on Greek airs. Builders added a garden framed by a *peristyle* (FIG. 7-16A) behind the Etruscan-style house, providing a second internal source of illumination as well as a pleasant setting for meals served in a summer triclinium. The axial symmetry of the plan meant that on entering the fauces of the house, a visitor had a view through the atrium directly into the colonnaded garden (as in FIG. 7-16), which often boasted a fountain or pool, marble statuary, mural paintings, and mosaic floors (FIG. 5-70).

7-16A Peristyle, House of the Vettii, second century BCE.

Private houses of this type were typical of Pompeii and other Italian towns, but they were very rare in cities such as Rome, where the masses lived instead in multistory apartment houses (FIG. 7-54).

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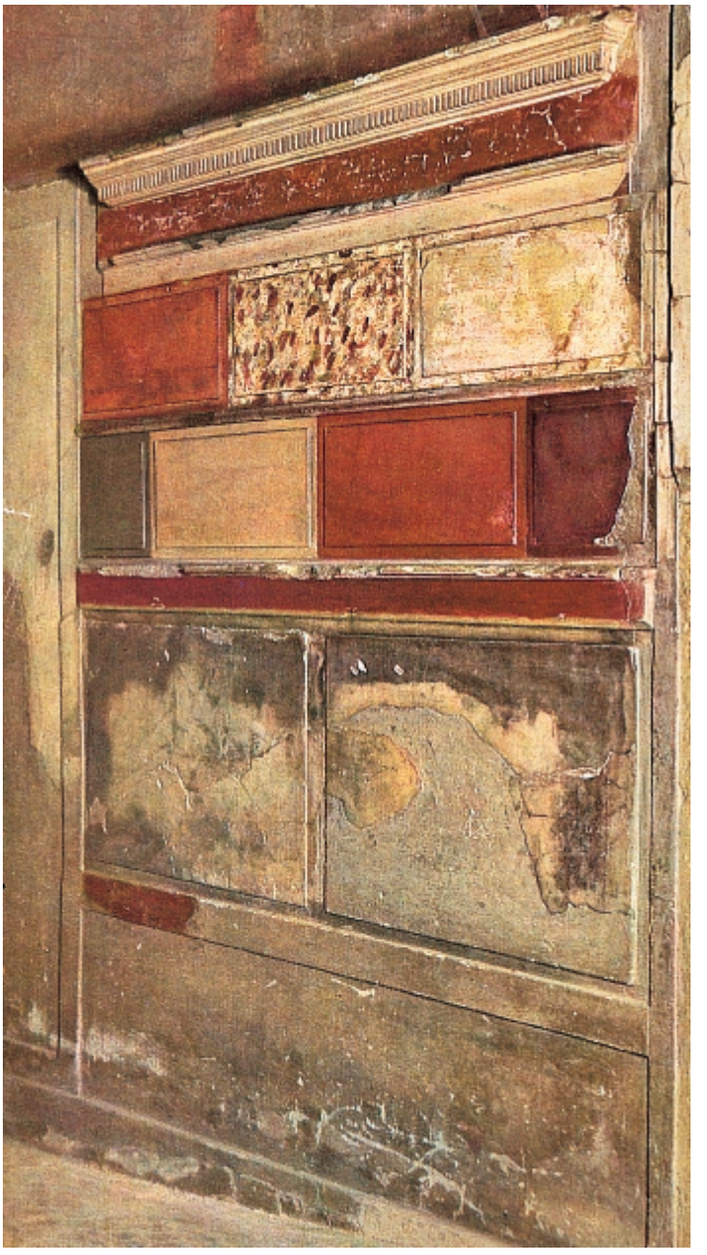
both the prosperity and the tastes of the times. How many homes today, even of the very wealthy, have custom-painted murals in nearly every room? Roman wall paintings were true frescoes (see "Fresco Painting," page 428), with the colors applied while the plaster was still damp. The process was painstaking. First, the painter prepared the wall by using a trowel to apply several layers of plaster (mixed with marble dust if the patron could afford it). Only then could painting begin. Finally, when the painter completed work and the surface dried, an assistant polished the wall to achieve a lustrous finish.

In the early years of exploration at Pompeii and nearby Herculaneum, interest in Roman wall paintings focused almost exclusively on the figural panels that formed part of the overall mural designs, especially those depicting Greek myths. The excavators cut the panels out of the walls and transferred them to the royal collection in Naples. In time, more enlightened archaeologists put an end to the practice of cutting pieces out of the walls and began to give serious attention to the mural designs as a whole. Toward the end of the 19th century, August Mau (1840–1909), a German art historian, turned scholars' attention to the overall compositions of the Roman wall paintings. He divided the various mural painting schemes into four "Pompeian Styles." Mau's classification system, although later refined and modified in detail, was an important contribution to the study of Roman art and still serves as the basis for describing Roman frescoes.

First Style. In Mau's *First Style,* the decorator's aim was to imitate costly marble panels using painted stucco relief. The fauces (FIG. 7-17) of an old mansion at Herculaneum, the so-called Samnite House, greets visitors with a stunning illusion of walls faced with marbles imported from quarries all over the Mediterranean. This approach to wall decoration is comparable to the modern practice, employed in private libraries and corporate meeting rooms alike, of using inexpensive manufactured materials to approximate the look and shape of genuine wood paneling. The practice was not, however, uniquely Roman. First Style walls are well documented in Greece from the late fourth century BCE on. The use of the First Style in Italian houses is yet another example of the Hellenization of Republican architecture.

Second Style. The First Style never went completely out of fashion, but after 80 BCE, a new approach to mural design became more popular. The *Second Style* is in most respects the antithesis of the First Style. Some scholars have argued that the Second Style also has precedents in Greece, but most believe that it is a Roman invention. Certainly, the Second Style evolved in Italy, where it was the preferred manner until around 15 BCE, when Roman painters introduced the Third Style. Second Style painters did not aim to create the illusion of an elegant marble wall, as First Style painters sought to do. Rather, they wanted to dissolve a room's confining walls and replace them with the illusion of an imaginary three-dimensional world.

Villa of the Mysteries. An early example of the new style is the room (FIG. 7-18) that gives its name to the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii. Many archaeologists believe that this chamber was used to celebrate, in private, the rites of the Greek god Dionysos (Roman Bacchus). Dionysos was the focus of an unofficial mystery religion popular among women in Italy at this time. The precise nature of the Dionysiac rites is unknown, but the figural cycle in the Villa of the Mysteries, illustrating mortals (all female save for one boy)



7-17 First Style wall painting in the fauces of the Samnite House, Herculaneum, Italy, late second century BCE.

In First Style murals, the aim was to imitate costly marble panels using painted stucco relief. The style is Greek in origin and another example of the Hellenization of Republican architecture.

interacting with mythological figures, probably provides some evidence of the cult's initiation rites. In these rites, young women were united in marriage with Dionysos, emulating Ariadne, the daughter of King Minos who helped Theseus find his way out of the Knossos labyrinth (FIGS. 4-4 and 4-5).

The backdrop for the nearly life-size figures is a series of painted panels imitating marble revetment, just as in the First Style but without the modeling in relief. In front of this painted marble wall, the artist created the illusion of a shallow ledge on which the human and divine actors move around the room. Especially striking is the way some of the figures interact across the corners of the room. For example, a seminude winged woman at the far right of the rear wall lashes out with her whip across the space of the room

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7-18 Dionysiac mystery frieze, Second Style wall paintings in room 5 of the Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 60–50 BCE. Fresco, frieze 5′ 4″ high.

Second Style painters created the illusion of an imaginary three-dimensional world on the walls of Roman houses. The figures in this room are acting out the initiation rites of the Dionysiac mysteries.

at a kneeling woman with a bare back (the initiate and bride-to-be of Dionysos) on the left end of the right wall. Nothing comparable to this room existed in Hellenistic Greece. Despite the presence of Dionysos, satyrs, and other Greek mythological figures, this is a Roman design.

Boscoreale. In the early Second Style Dionysiac mystery frieze, the spatial illusionism is confined to the painted platform that projects into the room. But in mature Second Style designs, Roman painters created a three-dimensional setting that also extends beyond the wall, as in a cubiculum (FIG. 7-19) from the Villa of

7-19 Second Style wall paintings (general view, *left,* and detail of tholos, *right*), from cubiculum M of the Villa of Publius Fannius Synistor, Boscoreale, Italy, ca. 50–40 BCE. Fresco, 8′ 9″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

In this Second Style bedroom, the painter opened up the walls with vistas of towns, temples, and colonnaded courtyards. The convincing illusionism is due in part to the use of linear perspective.

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7-20 Gardenscape, Second Style wall paintings, from the summer triclinium of the Villa of Livia, Primaporta, Italy, ca. 30–20 BCE. Fresco, 6′ 7″ high. Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

The ultimate example of a Second Style "picture-window" wall is this gardenscape in Livia's villa. To suggest recession, the painter used atmospheric perspective, intentionally blurring the distant forms.

Publius Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, near Pompeii. The excavators removed the frescoes soon after their discovery, and today they are part of a reconstructed Roman bedroom in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. All around the room, the Second Style painter opened up the walls with vistas of Italian towns, marble tholos temples, and colonnaded courtyards. Painted doors (FIG. 7-19, *left,* near the far right corner of the room; compare FIG. 6-1) and gates (FIG. 7-19, *right*) invite the viewer to walk through the wall into the magnificent world the painter created.

In this cubiculum, the Boscoreale muralist, like many other Roman painters around the Bay of Naples, demonstrated familiarity with *linear perspective,* often incorrectly said to be an innovation of Italian Renaissance artists (see "Linear Perspective," page 599). In this kind of perspective, all the receding lines in a composition converge on a single *vanishing point* along the painting's central axis to show depth and distance. Ancient writers state that Greek painters of the fifth century BCE first used linear perspective for the design of Athenian stage sets (hence its Greek name, *skenographia,* "scene painting"). In the Boscoreale cubiculum, the painter most successfully employed skenographia in the far corners, where a low gate leads to a peristyle framing a round temple (FIG. 7-19, *right*). Although, by Renaissance standards, linear perspective was often inconsistently executed, it was a favored tool of Second Style painters seeking to transform the usually windowless walls of Roman houses into "picture-window" vistas that expanded the apparent space of the rooms.

Primaporta. The ultimate example of a Second Style picture-window mural (FIG. 7-20) comes from the villa of the emperor Augustus's third wife, Livia (FIG. 7-28), at Primaporta, just north of Rome. There, in a barrel-vaulted subterranean summer triclinium, imperial painters decorated all four walls with a lush gardenscape. The only architectural element is the flimsy fence of the garden

7-21 Third Style wall painting, from cubiculum 15 of the Villa of Agrippa Postumus, Boscotrecase, Italy, ca. 10 BCE. Fresco, 7′ 8″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

In the Third Style, Roman painters decorated walls with delicate linear fantasies sketched on monochromatic backgrounds. Here, a tiny floating landscape on a black ground is the central motif.

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itself. To suggest recession, the painter employed another kind of perspective, *atmospheric perspective,* in which the illusion of depth is achieved by the increasingly blurred appearance of objects in the distance. At Primaporta, the muralist precisely painted the fence, trees, and birds in the foreground, whereas the details of the dense foliage in the background are indistinct. Among the wall paintings examined so far, only the landscape fresco (FIG. 4-9) from Akrotiri offers a similar wraparound view of nature devoid of human actors (in contrast to the Etruscan Tomb of Hunting and Fishing; FIG. 6-10). But the Theran fresco's white sky and red, yellow, and blue rock formations do not create a successful illusion of a world filled with air and light just a few steps away.

Third Style. The Primaporta gardenscape is the polar opposite of First Style designs, which reinforce, rather than deny, the heavy presence of confining walls. But tastes changed rapidly in the Roman world, as in society today. Not long after Livia hired painters to decorate her villa, Roman patrons began to favor mural designs that reasserted the primacy of the wall surface. In Mau's *Third Style,* artists no longer attempted to replace the walls with three-dimensional worlds of their own creation. Nor did they seek to imitate the appearance of the marble walls of Hellenistic palaces. Instead they adorned walls with delicate linear fantasies sketched on predominantly *monochromatic* (one-color) backgrounds.

Boscotrecase. One of the earliest examples of the Third Style—dating around 10 BCE—is cubiculum 15 (FIG. 7-21) in the Villa of Agrippa Postumus at Boscotrecase. Nowhere did the artist use illusionistic painting to penetrate the wall. In place of the stately columns of the Second Style are insubstantial and impossibly thin *colonnettes* supporting featherweight canopies barely reminiscent of pediments. In the center of this delicate and elegant architectural frame is a tiny floating landscape painted directly on the jet-black ground. It is hard to imagine a sharper contrast with the panoramic gardenscape at Livia's villa. On other Third Style walls, landscapes and mythological scenes appear in frames, like modern easel paintings hung on walls. Never could these framed panels be mistaken for windows opening onto a world beyond the room. Not everyone approved of the new mural style. One of those who disliked the Third Style was the Augustan architect Vitruvius, author of the most important extant ancient treatise on architecture (see "Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture,*" page 204).

Fourth Style. A taste for illusionism returned in the *Fourth Style* of mural painting, which became popular in the 50s CE. Characterized by the reintroduction of architectural vistas seen through the painted walls, the Fourth Style nonetheless cannot be confused with the Second Style. In the later style, the views of buildings are irrational fantasies, as in the Ixion Room (FIG. 7-22) of the House of the Vettii (FIG. 7-16) at Pompeii. In this late Fourth Style design dating to just before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, the painter rejected the quiet elegance of the Third Style in favor of a crowded and complex multicolor composition. The decorative scheme of the Vettius brothers' triclinium opening onto the peristyle (FIG. 7-16A) of their Pompeian house is a kind of summation of all the previous mural schemes, another instance of the mixing of styles noted earlier as characteristic of Roman art in general. The lowest zone, for example, is one of the most successful imitations anywhere of costly multicolored imported marbles, despite the fact that the painter created the illusion without recourse to relief, as in the First Style. The large white panels in the corners of the room, with their delicate floral frames and floating central motifs, would fit naturally into the most elegant Third Style design. Unmistakably Fourth Style, however, are the fragmentary architectural vistas of the central and upper

7-22 Fourth Style wall paintings in the Ixion Room (triclinium P) of the House of the Vettii (FIG. 7-16), Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70–79 CE.

Late Fourth Style murals are often multicolored, crowded, and confused compositions with a mixture of architectural views, framed mythological panels, and First and Third Style motifs.

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7-23 Neptune and Amphitrite, wall mosaic in the summer triclinium of the House of Neptune and Amphitrite, Herculaneum, Italy, ca. 62–79 CE.

In the ancient world, mosaics usually decorated floors, but this example adorns a wall. The sea deities Neptune and Amphitrite fittingly overlook cascading water in an elaborate private fountain.

zones of the walls. They are unrelated to one another and do not constitute a unified cityscape beyond the wall. Moreover, the figures depicted would tumble into the room if they took a single step forward.

The Ixion Room takes its name from the mythological panel painting at the center of the rear wall. Ixion had attempted to seduce Zeus's wife, Hera, and the king of the gods punished Ixion by binding him to a perpetually spinning wheel. The panels on the two side walls also have Greek myths as subjects. The Ixion Room is a kind of private art gallery. Many art historians believe that lost Greek panel paintings were the models for the many mythological paintings on Third and Fourth Style walls. The mythological paintings on Pompeian walls attest to the Romans' continuing admiration for Greek artworks three centuries after Marcellus brought the treasures of Syracuse to Rome. But few (if any) of these mythological paintings can be described as true copies of famous Greek works. Unlike the replicas of Greek statues that have been found throughout the Roman world, including Pompeii (FIG. 5-41), these panels seem to be merely variations on standard compositions. The themes chosen no doubt reflected the individual owners' tastes and the impression they wished to make on their guests.

Wall Mosaics. Mythological themes were on occasion also the subject of Roman mosaics. In the ancient world, mosaics usually covered floors. For example, the *Battle of Issus* mosaic (FIG. 5-70) was the floor of an *exedra* (recessed area) opening onto a peristyle in the biggest house at Pompeii, the so-called House of the Faun, named for a Hellenistic-style bronze statue in the larger of its two atria. But occasionally Roman mosaics decorated walls and even ceilings, foreshadowing the extensive use of wall and vault mosaics in the Middle Ages (see "Mosaics," page 256). An early example of a wall mosaic (FIG. 7-23) is in the House of Neptune and Amphitrite at Herculaneum. The statuesque figures of the sea god and his wife appropriately presided over the flowing water of the fountain in the courtyard in front of them, where the house's owners and guests enjoyed outdoor dining in warm weather.

Private Portraits. The subjects that Roman patrons preferred for mural paintings and mosaics were diverse, as expected in private contexts. Although mythological compositions were immensely popular, Roman homeowners commissioned a vast range of other subjects for the walls of their houses and villas. As noted, landscape paintings frequently appear on Second, Third, and Fourth Style

1 in.

7-24 Portrait of Terentius Neo(?) and his wife, wall painting from House VII, 2, 6, Pompeii, Italy, ca. 70–79 CE. Fresco, 1′ 11″ × 1′ 8½″. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.

This husband and wife wished to present themselves to their guests as thoughtful and well read. The portraits are individualized likenesses, but the poses and attributes are conventional.

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walls. Paintings and mosaics depicting scenes from history include the *Battle of Issus* (FIG. 5-70) and the brawl in the Pompeii amphitheater (FIG. 7-14). Given the Roman custom of keeping masks of illustrious ancestors in atria, it is not surprising that painted portraits also appear in Pompeian houses. The double portrait of a husband and wife illustrated here (FIG. 7-24) originally formed part of a Fourth Style wall of an exedra opening onto the atrium of the house owned by the baker Terentius Neo. He holds a scroll, and the woman holds a *stylus* (writing instrument) and wax writing-tablet, standard attributes in Roman marriage portraits (FIG. 7-24A). The scroll and stylus suggest the fine education of those depicted—even if, as was sometimes true, the individuals were minimally educated or even illiterate. (The Roman satirist Juvenal [ca. 55–ca. 140 CE] wryly noted around 120 CE that "there are many parts of Italy . . . in which no man puts on a toga until he is dead."[2]) By contrast, the heads are not standard types but sensitive studies of the couple's individual faces. Both the man and woman seem to be of equal standing in the eyes of the artist. In fact, the woman is in the foreground, overlapping the man's right shoulder. Such a portrait would have been inconceivable in ancient Greece.

7-24A Woman with stylus, Pompeii, ca. 55–70 CE.

Menander. Rarer on Pompeian walls are portraits of famous men and women of earlier eras, but several examples survive. The most famous is the seated portrait of the Greek poet Menander (FIG. 7-25) on the right wall of an exedra facing the peristyle in the House of the Menander, which takes its modern name from this mural. On the open scroll that the poet holds in his left hand is a label identifying him as Menander, "the first to write New Comedy." On the opposite wall, poorly preserved, is a portrait of a bearded man with theatrical masks—possibly Euripides, but definitely a tragedian as a counterpart to the writer of comic plays across from him. The portrait of Menander is probably an enlarged version of the kind of author portrait that art historians believe was a standard feature of ancient books, comparable to the photographs of authors that appear inside or on the dust jackets of modern books. These portraits of ancient authors seated at their writing tables had a long afterlife in the countless medieval Gospel books with full-page illustrations of the Gospel authors, the four evangelists (FIGS. 11-8, 11-13, 11-14, and 12-16A).

Still-Life Painting. Another genre that Roman mural painters explored was *still-life* painting (the representation of inanimate objects, artfully arranged). A still life with peaches and a carafe (FIG. 7-26), a detail of a Fourth Style wall from the House of the Stags in Herculaneum, is one of the finest extant examples. The painter was a master of illusionism and devoted as much attention to the shadows and highlights on the fruit, the stem and leaves, and the glass jar as to the objects themselves. Roman still lifes of this type are without precedent and have few successors until the 17th-century Dutch studies of food and other inanimate objects (FIGS. 25-1, 25-22, and 25-23).

7-25 **Seated portrait of the Greek poet Menander, detail of a Fourth Style mural painting in exedra 23 of the House of the Menander, Pompeii, ca. 62–79 CE.**

This image of Menander is an enlarged version of the kind of author portrait that was a standard feature of ancient books. Classical author portraits had an afterlife in medieval portrayals of the four evangelists.

7-26 **Still life with peaches, detail of a Fourth Style wall painting, from the House of the Stags, Herculaneum, Italy, ca. 62–79 CE. Fresco, 1′ 2″ × 1′ 1½″. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.**

The Roman interest in illusionism explains the popularity of still-life paintings. This painter paid scrupulous attention to the play of light and shadow on different shapes and textures.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Role Playing in Roman Portraiture

In every town throughout the vast Roman Empire, portraits of the emperors and empresses and their families were on display—in fora, basilicas, baths, and markets; in front of temples; atop triumphal arches—anywhere a statue could be placed. The rulers' heads varied little from Britain to Syria. All were replicas of official images, either imported or scrupulously copied by local artists. But the imperial sculptors combined portrait heads with many different statuary types. The type chosen depended on the position the person held in Roman society or the various fictitious guises that members of the imperial family assumed. Portraits of Augustus, for example, show him not only as armed general (FIG. 7-27) but also as priest with hooded head (FIG. I-10), toga-clad magistrate, traveling commander on horseback, and heroically nude warrior, and in the guise of various Roman gods, including Jupiter, Apollo, and Mercury. Nero, Augustus's most notorious successor, had himself portrayed as Sol, the sun god, in a colossal gilded-bronze statue (see "The Golden House of Nero," page 206). Commodus, a late-second-century CE emperor, considered himself Hercules reincarnate and appeared in the guise of that Greek hero in his portraits (FIG. 7-58A).

Role playing was not the exclusive prerogative of emperors and princes but extended to their wives, daughters, sisters, and mothers. Portraits of Livia (FIG. 7-28) depict her as many goddesses, including Ceres, Juno, Venus, and Vesta. She also appeared as the personification of Health, Justice, and Piety. In fact, it was common for imperial women to be represented on Roman coins as goddesses or as embodiments of feminine virtue. Faustina the Younger, for example, the wife of Marcus Aurelius and mother of 13 children, including Commodus, frequently took on the roles of Venus and Fecundity, among many others. Some portraits of Julia Domna (FIG. 7-62), Septimius Severus's wife, equated her with Juno, Venus, Peace, or Victory.

Ordinary citizens also engaged in role playing. Many assumed literary pretensions in the painted portraits (FIGS. 7-24 and 7-24A) they commissioned for the walls of their homes. Others likened themselves to Greek heroes (FIG. 7-59) or Roman deities (FIG. 7-60) on their coffins. The common people followed the lead of the emperors and empresses.

7-27 Portrait of Augustus as imperator (general), from Primaporta, Italy, early-first-century CE copy of a bronze original of ca. 20 BCE. Marble, 6′ 8″ high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.

The models for Augustus's idealized portraits, which depict him as a never-aging youth, were Classical Greek statues (FIG. 5-41). This portrait presents the armor-clad emperor in his role as general.

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EARLY EMPIRE

The murder of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March, 44 BCE, plunged the Roman world into a bloody civil war. The fighting lasted until 31 BCE, when Octavian, Caesar's grandnephew and adopted son, crushed the naval forces of Mark Antony and Queen Cleopatra of Egypt at Actium in northwestern Greece. Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide, and in 30 BCE, Egypt, once the wealthiest and most powerful kingdom of the ancient world, became another province in the ever-expanding Roman Empire.

Historians mark the passage from the Roman Republic to the Roman Empire from the day in 27 BCE when the Senate conferred the title of *Augustus* (the Majestic, or Exalted, One; r. 27 BCE–14 CE) on Octavian. The Empire was ostensibly a continuation of the Republic, with the same constitutional offices, but in fact Augustus, whom the Senate recognized as *princeps* ("first citizen"), occupied all the key positions. He was consul and *imperator* ("commander in chief"; root of the word *emperor*) and even, after 12 BCE, *pontifex maximus* ("chief priest"). These offices gave Augustus control of all aspects of Roman public life.

Pax Romana. With powerful armies keeping order on the Empire's frontiers and no opposition at home, Augustus brought peace and prosperity to a war-weary Mediterranean world. Known in his day as the *Pax Augusta* (Augustan Peace), the peace that Augustus established prevailed for two centuries. It came to be called simply the *Pax Romana* (Roman Peace). During this time, the emperors commissioned a huge number of public works throughout the Empire: roads and bridges, theaters and amphitheaters, and bathing complexes, all on an unprecedented scale. The erection of imperial portrait statues and monuments covered with inscriptions and reliefs recounting the rulers' great deeds reminded people everywhere that the emperors were the source of peace and prosperity. These portraits and reliefs, however, often presented a picture of the emperors and their achievements that bore little resemblance to historical fact. Their purpose was not to provide an objective record but to mold public opinion. The Roman emperors and the artists they employed have had few equals in the effective use of art and architecture for propagandistic ends.

Augustus and the Julio-Claudians

When Augustus vanquished Antony and Cleopatra at Actium and became undisputed master of the Mediterranean world, he was not yet 32 years old. The rule by elders that had characterized the Roman Republic for nearly 500 years came to an abrupt end. Suddenly, Roman portraitists had to produce images of a youthful head of state. But Augustus was not merely young. The Senate had declared Caesar a god after his death, and Augustus, though never claiming to be a god himself, widely advertised himself as the son of a god. His portraits were designed to present the image of a godlike leader who miraculously never aged. Although Augustus lived until 14 CE, even official portraits made near the end of his life show him as a handsome youth (FIG. I-10). Such fictional likenesses might seem ridiculous today, when everyone can easily view photographs of world leaders as they truly appear, but in antiquity few people ever saw the emperor. His official image was all that most knew. It therefore could be manipulated at will.

Augustus as General. The portraits of Augustus depict him in his many different roles in the Roman state (see "Role Playing in Roman Portraiture," page 200), but the models for many of them were Classical Greek statues—one aspect of Augustus's programmatic effort to present himself as the ruler who would place Rome on a par with, or as greater than, Athens in the era that had already come to be viewed as a Golden Age. The statue (FIG. 7-27) of the emperor found at his wife Livia's villa at Primaporta (FIG. 7-20) portrays Augustus as imperator, standing like Polykleitos's *Doryphoros* (FIG. 5-41), but with his right arm raised to address his troops in the manner of the orator Aule Metele (FIG. 6-17). Augustus's head, although depicting a recognizable individual, also emulates the idealized Polykleitan youth's head in its overall shape, the sharp ridges of the brows, and the tight cap of layered hair. Augustus is not nude, however, and the details of the statue carry political messages. The reliefs on his cuirass advertise an important diplomatic victory—the return of the Roman legionary banners that the Parthians had captured from a Republican general—and the Cupid at Augustus's feet proclaims his divine descent. Caesar's family, the Julians, traced their ancestry back to Venus. Cupid was the goddess's son (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Mount Olympus," page 107).

Livia. A marble portrait (FIG. 7-28) of Livia reveals that the imperial women of the Augustan age shared the emperor's eternal youthfulness. Although the empress sports the latest Roman coiffure, with the hair rolled over the forehead and knotted at the nape of the neck, her blemish-free skin and sharply defined features derive from images of Classical Greek goddesses. Livia outlived Augustus by 15 years, dying at age 87. In her portraits, the coiffure changed with the introduction of each new fashion, but her face remained ever young, befitting her exalted position in the Roman state.

7-28 Portrait bust of Livia, from Arsinoe, Egypt, early first century CE. Marble, 1′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″ high. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

Although Livia sports the latest Roman coiffure, her youthful appearance and sharply defined features derive from images of Greek goddesses. She died at 87, but never aged in her portraits.

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THE PATRON'S VOICE

The *Res Gestae* of Augustus

Shortly before he died, the emperor Augustus reflected on his achievements during his 76 years and summarized them for posterity in a lengthy document called the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (*Achievements of the Deified Augustus*). The *Res Gestae* recounts Augustus's successes in all of the many arenas in which he made his mark—political, military, religious, economic, social, and artistic.

The document opens with Augustus's claim to have restored liberty to the Republic by freeing the Roman people from the tyranny of Mark Antony. He goes on to enumerate the wars he fought and the territories he added to the Empire, including Egypt; the triumphs and numerous other honors the Senate awarded him, including those he chose to decline; and the many occasions on which he distributed gifts of cash or grain to the people. He also describes the extensive building program he undertook, including a temple for the worship of the deified Julius Caesar in the Republican Forum Romanum (FIG. 7-2, no. 11); two new fora bearing the names of Caesar and Augustus (nos. 9 and 10); the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus (no. 4) and the theater of Pompey; an altar celebrating the Augustan Peace (FIG. 7-29); and roads, aqueducts, and bridges throughout Italy.

The following selections highlight the fictive nature of Augustan constitutional government, the emperor's role as a great patron of architecture, and his professed modesty in not taking credit for some of his achievements.

> [W]hen I had extinguished the flames of civil war, after receiving by universal consent the absolute control of affairs, I transferred the republic from my own control to the will of the senate and the Roman people. For this service I was given the title of Augustus by decree of the senate. . . . After that time I took precedence of all in rank [*princeps*], but of power I possessed no more than those who were my colleagues in any magistracy. [6.34]
>
> The Capitolium and the theater of Pompey, both works involving great expense, I rebuilt without any inscription of my own name. . . . I rebuilt in the city eighty-two temples of the gods, omitting none which at that time stood in need of repair. [4.20]
>
> When I returned from Spain and Gaul . . . the senate voted in honor of my return the consecration of an altar to Pax Augusta in the Campus Martius. [2.12]*

*All passages translated by Frederick W. Shipley, *Res gestae divi Augusti,* rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), 365, 379, 399, 401.

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7-29 West facade of the Ara Pacis Augustae (Altar of the Augustan Peace), Rome, Italy, 13–9 BCE.

Augustus sought to present his new order as a Golden Age equaling that of Athens under Pericles. The Ara Pacis celebrates the emperor's most important achievement, the establishment of peace.

Ara Pacis Augustae. On Livia's birthday in 9 BCE, the Senate dedicated the Ara Pacis Augustae (Altar of the Augustan Peace; FIG. 7-29), the monument celebrating the emperor's most significant achievement, the establishment of peace (see "The *Res Gestae* of Augustus," above). Figural reliefs and acanthus tendrils adorn the altar's marble precinct walls. Four panels on the east and west ends depict carefully selected mythological subjects, including a relief (FIG. 7-29, *right*) of Aeneas making a sacrifice. Aeneas was the son of Venus and one of Augustus's forefathers. The connection between the emperor and Aeneas was a key element of Augustus's political ideology for his new Golden Age. It is no coincidence that Vergil wrote the *Aeneid* during Augustus's rule. Vergil's epic poem glorified the young emperor by celebrating the founder of the Julian line.

A second panel (FIG. 7-30), on the other end of the altar enclosure, depicts a seated matron with two lively babies on her lap. Her identity is uncertain. Art historians usually call her Tellus (Mother Earth), although some scholars have identified her as Pax (Peace), Ceres (goddess of grain), or even Venus. Whoever she is, she embodies the fruits of the Pax Augusta. All around her, the bountiful earth is in bloom, and animals of different species live peacefully together. Personifications of refreshing breezes (note their windblown drapery) flank her. One rides a bird, the other a sea creature.

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7-30 Female personification (Tellus?), panel on the east facade of the Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome, Italy, 13–9 BCE. Marble, 5′ 3″ high.

This female personification with two babies on her lap embodies the fruits of the Pax Augusta. All around her, the bountiful earth is in bloom, and animals of different species live together peacefully.

7-31 Procession of the imperial family, detail of the south frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome, Italy, 13–9 BCE. Marble, 5′ 3″ high.

Although inspired by the frieze (FIG. 5-50, *bottom*) of the Parthenon, the Ara Pacis processions depict recognizable individuals, including children, some of whom are the sons of foreign kings.

Earth, sky, and water are all elements of this picture of peace and fertility in the Augustan cosmos.

Processions of the imperial family (FIG. 7-31) and other important dignitaries appear on the long north and south sides of the Ara Pacis. The inspiration for these parallel friezes was very likely the Panathenaic procession frieze (FIG. 5-50, *bottom*) of the Parthenon. As with his portraits, Augustus sought to present his new order as a Golden Age equaling that of Athens under Pericles. The emulation of Classical models thus made a political as well as an artistic statement.

Even so, the Roman procession is very different in character from its presumed Greek model. On the Parthenon, anonymous figures act out an event that recurred every four years. The frieze stands for all Panathenaic Festival processions. The Ara Pacis depicts a specific event—probably the inaugural ceremony of 13 BCE when work on the altar began—and recognizable historical figures. Among those portrayed are children, who restlessly tug on their elders' garments and talk to one another when they should be quiet on a solemn occasion—in short, children who act like children and not like miniature adults, as they frequently do in the history of art. Their presence lends a great deal of charm to the procession, but that is not why the imperial sculptors included children on the Ara Pacis when they had never before appeared on any Greek or Roman state monument. Augustus was concerned about a decline in the birthrate among the Roman nobility, and he enacted a series of laws designed to promote marriage, marital fidelity, and raising children. The portrayal of men with their families on the Altar of Peace served as a moral exemplar. Moreover, some of the children are the sons of foreign kings who had pledged their allegiance to the emperor. Their inclusion in the frieze underscored the message of Augustan Peace. Augustus used relief sculpture as well as portraiture to further his political and social agendas.

Forum of Augustus. Augustus's most ambitious project in the capital was the construction of a new forum (FIG. 7-2, no. 10) next to Julius Caesar's forum (no. 9), which Augustus completed (see "*Res Gestae,*" page 202). The temples and porticos in both fora were

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Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*

Little is known about the Augustan architect Vitruvius, including his full name. He was probably born in the 70s BCE, either in Campania (the area around the Bay of Naples) or in Rome, and most likely wrote his *De architectura* (*On Architecture*) between 25 and 15 BCE—that is, in the years following Augustus's defeat of Mark Antony and the establishment of the Pax Augusta. There are few mentions of Vitruvius's architectural treatise in other extant ancient Greek or Latin texts, but his *Ten Books on Architecture* became the handbook of classical architecture during the Renaissance, and it has remained so to the present day.

De architectura is noteworthy both for what it includes and what it does not. One of the treatise's most interesting features is Vitruvius's insistence on the broad training an architect must receive, not only in engineering and architectural design but in the liberal arts. As a how-to manual, it focuses on traditional means of construction and on the classical orders (FIG. 5-13) as used in Greek, Etruscan (FIG. 6-3), and Roman buildings. Vitruvius's tastes were quite conservative and fully in accord with the classicism of the Augustan building program in the capital (FIG. 7-29) and in the provinces (FIG. 7-32). In the preface to Book I, Vitruvius dedicated his treatise to Augustus, citing the emperor's interest in "the construction of suitable buildings" in the new era of peace that he brought to the Romans. Vitruvius rarely refers, for example, to concrete vaulting, the most innovative mode of Roman construction, and he complained bitterly about the latest developments in mural painting of the Third Style (FIG. 7-21), which he described as examples of

> depraved taste. For monsters are now painted in frescoes rather than reliable images of definite things. Reeds are set up in place of columns, as pediments, little scrolls, striped with curly leaves and volutes, candelabra hold up the figures of aediculae [pediment-capped niches], and above the pediments of these, several tender shoots, sprouting in coils from roots, have little statues nestled in them for no reason, or shoots split in half, some holding little statues with human heads, some with the heads of beasts. No, these things do not exist nor can they exist nor have they ever existed, and thus this new fashion [the Third Style] has brought things to such a pass that bad judges have condemned the right practice of the arts [the Second Style] as lack of skill.*

*Vitruvius, *De architectura,* 7.5.3–4. Translated by Ingrid D. Rowland, *Vitruvius. Ten Books on Architecture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 91.

7-32 Maison Carrée (looking northwest), Nîmes, France, ca. 1–10 CE.

This well-preserved Corinthian pseudoperipteral temple in France, modeled on the temple in the Forum of Augustus in Rome, exemplifies the Augustan classical architectural style.

white marble from Carrara. Prior to the opening of those quarries in the second half of the first century BCE, marble had to be imported at great cost from abroad, and the Romans used it sparingly. The ready availability of Italian marble under Augustus made possible the emperor's famous boast that he found Rome a city of brick and transformed it into a city of marble.

The extensive use of Carrara marble for public monuments (including the Ara Pacis) must be seen as part of Augustus's program to make his city the equal of Periclean Athens. In fact, the Forum of Augustus incorporated several explicit references to Classical Athens and to the Acropolis in particular, most notably copies of the caryatids (FIG. 5-54) of the Erechtheion in the upper story of the porticos. The forum also evoked Roman history. The porticos contained dozens of portrait statues, including images of all the major figures of the Julian family going back to Aeneas. Augustus's forum became a kind of public atrium filled with ancestor portraits. His family history thus became part of the Roman state's official history.

Maison Carrée. The Forum of Augustus is in ruins today, but many scholars believe that some of the stonemasons from that project also constructed the so-called Maison Carrée (Square House; FIG. 7-32) at Nîmes in southern France (Roman Gaul). This exceptionally well preserved Corinthian pseudoperipteral temple, which dates to the opening years of the first century CE, is the best surviving example of Augustan classicism in architecture (see "Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture,*" above), paralleling the emperor's preference for emulating Classical models in statuary and relief sculpture.

Pont-du-Gard. An earlier Augustan project in France was the construction over the Gard River near Nîmes of the great

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7-33 Pont-du-Gard (looking east), Nîmes, France, ca. 16 BCE.

Roman engineers constructed roads and bridges throughout the Empire. This aqueduct-bridge brought water from a distant mountain spring to Nîmes—about 100 gallons a day for each inhabitant.

7-34 East facade of the Porta Maggiore, Rome, Italy, ca. 50 CE.

This double gateway, which supports the water channels of two important aqueducts, is the outstanding example of Roman rusticated (rough) masonry, which was especially popular under Claudius.

aqueduct-bridge known today as the Pont-du-Gard (FIG. 7-33). In the fourth century BCE, the Romans began to build *aqueducts* to carry water from mountain sources to their city on the Tiber River. As Rome's power spread through the Mediterranean world, its engineers constructed aqueducts, roads, and bridges to serve colonies throughout the far-flung empire. The Pont-du-Gard aqueduct provided about 100 gallons of water a day for each inhabitant of Nîmes from a source some 30 miles away. The water flowed over the considerable distance mostly by gravity alone, which required channels built with a continuous gradual decline over the entire route from source to city. The three-story Pont-du-Gard maintained the height of the water channel where the water crossed the river. Each large arch spans some 82 feet and consists of blocks weighing up to two tons each. The bridge's uppermost level is a row of smaller arches, three above each of the large openings below. They carry the water channel itself. The harmonious proportional relationship between the larger and smaller arches reveals that the Roman hydraulic engineer who designed the aqueduct-bridge also had a keen aesthetic sense.

Porta Maggiore. The demand for water in the capital required the construction of many aqueducts. The emperor Claudius (r. 41–54 CE) erected a grandiose gate, the Porta Maggiore (FIG. 7-34), at the point where two of Rome's water lines (and two major intercity roads) converged. Its huge *attic* (uppermost story) bears a lengthy dedicatory inscription concealing the stacked conduits of both aqueducts. The gate is the outstanding example of the Roman *rusticated* (rough) masonry style. Instead of using the precisely shaped blocks that Greek and Augustan architects preferred, the designer of the Porta Maggiore combined smooth and rusticated surfaces. These created an exciting, if eccentric, facade with crisply carved (*dressed masonry*) pediments resting on engaged columns composed of rusticated drums.

Nero's Golden House. In 64 CE, when Nero (r. 54–68 CE), stepson and successor of Claudius, was emperor, a great fire destroyed large sections of Rome. Afterward, Nero enacted a new building code requiring greater fireproofing, resulting in the widespread use of concrete and more opportunities for Roman architects to explore the possibilities opened up by the still relatively new building material. The fire also enabled the emperor to construct a luxurious new palace on a huge confiscated plot of fire-ravaged land near the Forum Romanum. Nero chose two brilliant architect-engineers, SEVERUS and CELER, to design and build his new home (see "The Golden House of Nero," page 206). The palace they constructed for the emperor had scores of rooms, many adorned with frescoes (FIG. 7-34A) in the early Fourth Style, others with marble paneling or painted and gilded stucco reliefs. Structurally, most of these rooms, although made of concrete, are unremarkable. One octagonal hall (FIG. 7-35), however, stands apart from the rest and testifies to Severus and Celer's bold new approach to architectural design.

7-34A Room 78, Domus Aurea, 64–68 CE.

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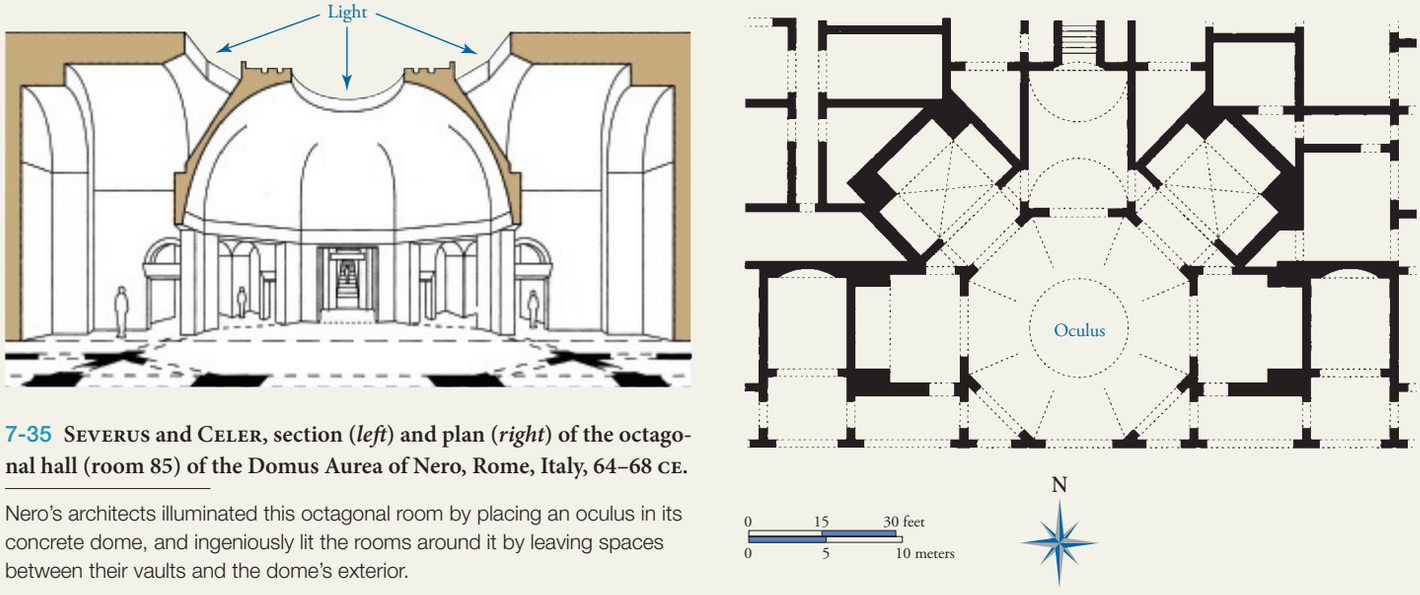
The Golden House of Nero

Nero's Domus Aurea, or Golden House, was a vast and notoriously extravagant country villa in the heart of Rome. The Roman biographer Suetonius (ca. 69–ca. 135 CE) described it vividly:

> The entrance-hall was large enough to contain a huge statue [of Nero in the guise of Sol, the sun god; FIG. 7-2, no. 16], 120 feet high; and the pillared arcade ran for a whole mile. An enormous pool, like a sea, was surrounded by buildings made to resemble cities, and by a landscape garden consisting of plowed fields, vineyards, pastures, and woodlands—where every variety of domestic and wild animal roamed about. Parts of the house were overlaid with gold and studded with precious stones and mother-of-pearl. All the dining-rooms had ceilings of fretted ivory, the panels of which could slide back and let a rain of flowers, or of perfume from hidden sprinklers, shower upon [Nero's] guests. The main dining-room was circular, and its roof revolved, day and night, in time with the sky. Sea water, or sulphur water, was always on tap in the baths. When the palace had been decorated throughout in this lavish style, Nero dedicated it, and condescended to remark: "Good, now I can at last begin to live like a human being!"*

Suetonius's description is a welcome reminder that the Roman ruins that millions of tourists flock to see are but a dim reflection of the magnificence of the original structures. Only in rare instances, such as the Pantheon, with its marble-faced walls and floors (FIG. 7-51), can visitors experience anything approaching the architects' intended effects. Even there, much of the marble paneling is of later date, and the gilding is missing from the dome.

*Suetonius, *Nero,* 31. Translated by Robert Graves, *Suetonius: The Twelve Caesars* (New York: Penguin, 1957; illustrated edition, 1980), 197–198.



7-35 SEVERUS and CELER, section (*left*) and plan (*right*) of the octagonal hall (room 85) of the Domus Aurea of Nero, Rome, Italy, 64–68 CE.

Nero's architects illuminated this octagonal room by placing an oculus in its concrete dome, and ingeniously lit the rooms around it by leaving spaces between their vaults and the dome's exterior.

The ceiling of the octagonal room is a dome that modulates from an eight-sided to a hemispherical form as it rises toward the oculus. Radiating outward from the five inner sides (the other three, directly or indirectly, face the outside) are smaller, rectangular rooms, three covered by barrel vaults, two others (marked on the plan [FIG. 7-35, *right*] by X's composed of broken lines) by the earliest known concrete groin vaults (FIG. 7-6). Severus and Celer ingeniously lit these satellite rooms by leaving spaces between their vaulted ceilings and the central dome's exterior. But the most significant aspect of the design is that here, for the first time, the architects appear to have thought of the walls and vaults not as limiting space but as shaping it.

Today, the octagonal hall is deprived of its stucco decoration and marble *incrustation* (veneer). The concrete shell stands bare, but this serves to focus the visitor's attention on the design's spatial complexity. Anyone walking into the domed hall perceives that the space is defined not by walls but by eight angled piers. The openings between the piers are so large that the rooms beyond look like extensions of the central hall. The grouping of spatial units of different sizes and proportions under a variety of vaults creates a dynamic three-dimensional composition that is both complex and unified. Nero's architects were not only inventive but also progressive in their recognition of the malleable nature of concrete, a material not limited to the rectilinear forms of traditional architecture.

The Flavians

Facing certain assassination as a result of his outrageous behavior, Nero committed suicide in 68 CE, bringing the Julio-Claudian dynasty to an end. A year of renewed civil strife followed. The man who emerged triumphant in this brief but bloody conflict was Vespasian (r. 69–79 CE), a general who had served under Claudius and Nero. Vespasian, whose family name was Flavius, had two sons, Titus (r. 79–81 CE) and Domitian (r. 81–96 CE). Both became emperor in turn after their father's death. The Flavian dynasty ruled Rome for more than a quarter century.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Spectacles in the Colosseum

A favorite pastime throughout the Roman Empire was going to the amphitheater to see two immensely popular kinds of spectacles: gladiatorial combats and animal hunts.

Gladiators were professional fighters, usually slaves who had been purchased to train in gladiatorial schools as hand-to-hand combatants. Their owners, seeking to turn a profit, rented them out for performances. Beginning with Domitian, however, all gladiators who competed in Rome were owned by the state to ensure that they could not be used as a private army to overthrow the government. Although every gladiator faced death each time he entered the arena, some had long careers and achieved considerable fame. Others—for example, criminals or captured enemies—entered the amphitheater without any training and without any defensive weapons. Those "gladiatorial games" were a form of capital punishment coupled with entertainment for the masses.

The participants in wild animal hunts (*venationes*) were also professionals, but often the hunts, like the gladiatorial games, were executions in thin disguise involving helpless prisoners who were easy prey for the animals. Sometimes no one entered the arena with the animals. Instead, skilled archers in the stands shot the beasts with arrows. Other times animals would be pitted against other animals—bears versus bulls, lions versus elephants, and the like—to the delight of the crowds.

The Colosseum (FIGS. 7-36 and 7-37) was the largest and most important amphitheater in the world, and the kinds of spectacles staged there were costlier and more impressive than those held anywhere else. Some ancient accounts, such as the one quoted here, even mention the flooding of the Colosseum so that naval battles could be staged in the arena. Many scholars, however, doubt that the arena could be made watertight or that ships could maneuver in the space available.

The games celebrating Titus's inauguration of the Colosseum in 80 were especially lavish. In the early third century, the historian Dio Cassius (ca. 164–235 CE) described them:

> There was a battle between cranes and also between four elephants; animals both tame and wild were slain to the number of nine thousand; and women . . . took part in dispatching them. As for the men, several fought in single combat and several groups contended together both in infantry and naval battles. For Titus suddenly filled [the arena] with water and brought in horses and bulls and some other domesticated animals that had been taught to behave in the liquid element just as on land. He also brought in people on ships, who engaged in a sea-fight there. . . . On the first day there was a gladiatorial exhibition and wild-beast hunt. . . . On the second day there was a horse-race, and on the third day a naval battle between three thousand men, followed by an infantry battle. . . . These were the spectacles that were offered, and they continued for a hundred days.*

*Dio Cassius, *Roman History,* 66.25. Translated by Earnest Cary, *Dio's Roman History,* vol. 8 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925), 311, 313.

7-36 Aerial view of the Colosseum (Flavian Amphitheater; looking east), Rome, Italy, ca. 70–80 CE.

A complex system of concrete barrel vaults once held up the seats in the world's largest amphitheater, where 50,000 spectators could watch gladiatorial combats and wild animal hunts.

Colosseum. The Flavians left their mark on the capital in many ways, not the least being the construction of the Colosseum (FIGS. 7-2, no. 17; 7-36; and 7-37), the gigantic amphitheater that, for most people, still represents Rome more than any other building. The Flavian Amphitheater, as it was then known, was one of Vespasian's first undertakings after becoming emperor. The decision to build the Colosseum was politically shrewd. The site chosen was the artificial lake on the grounds of Nero's Domus Aurea, which engineers drained to make way for the new entertainment center. By building his amphitheater there, Vespasian reclaimed for the public the land that Nero had confiscated for his private pleasure, and provided Romans with the largest arena for gladiatorial combats and other lavish spectacles ever constructed. The Colosseum takes its name, however, not from its size—although it could hold more than 50,000 spectators—but from its location beside the Colossus of Nero (FIG. 7-2, no. 16), the 120-foot-tall statue at the entrance to his urban villa. Vespasian did not live to see the Colosseum in use. But his elder son, Titus, completed and formally dedicated the amphitheater in the year 80 with great fanfare (see "Spectacles in the Colosseum," above).

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7-37 North facade of the Colosseum (Flavian Amphitheater), Rome, Italy, ca. 70–80 CE.

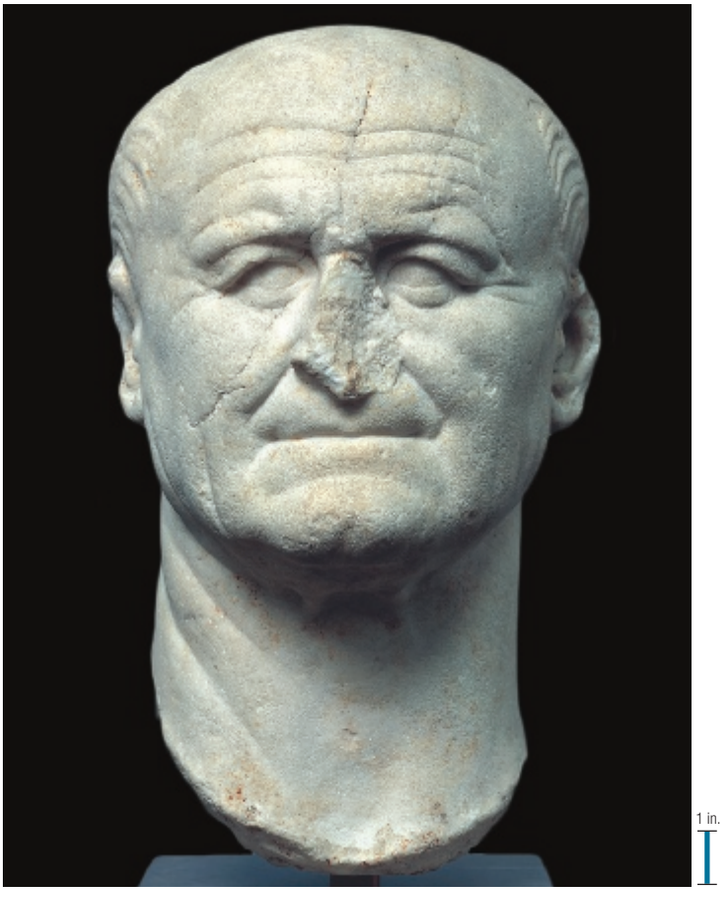
For the facade of the Colosseum, an unknown architect mixed Roman arches and Greek columns—Tuscan on the lowest story, then Ionic and Corinthian. Wood poles held up a velarium over the cavea.

The Colosseum, like the much earlier Pompeian amphitheater (FIG. 7-13), could not have been built without concrete. Concrete engineering had, however, advanced rapidly during the century and a half since the Pompeians constructed the earliest known amphitheater. In the Colosseum, instead of an earthen mound, a complex system of barrel-vaulted corridors held up the enormous oval seating area. This concrete "skeleton" is exposed today because in the centuries following the fall of Rome, the Colosseum served as a convenient quarry for ready-made building materials. All of its marble seats were hauled away (the remaining ones are restorations of the Fascist era in Rome), revealing the network of vaults below (FIG. 7-36). Also visible today but hidden in antiquity are the arena substructures, which in their present form date to the third century CE. They housed waiting rooms for the gladiators, animal cages, and machinery for raising and lowering stage sets as well as animals and humans. Cleverly designed lifting devices brought beasts from their dark dens into the arena's bright light. Above the seats, a great velarium, as at Pompeii (FIG. 7-14), once shielded the spectators.

The exterior travertine shell (FIG. 7-37) is approximately 160 feet high, the height of a modern 16-story building. In antiquity, 76 numbered gateways provided efficient entrance and exit paths leading to and from the cavea, where, as at Pompeii, the spectators sat according to their place in the social hierarchy. The decor of the exterior, however, had nothing to do with function. The architect divided the facade into four bands, with large arched openings piercing the lower three. Ornamental Greek orders frame the arches in the standard Roman sequence for multistory buildings: from the ground up, Tuscan, Ionic, and then Corinthian. The diverse proportions of the orders formed the basis for this progression, with the Tuscan viewed as capable of supporting the heaviest load. Corinthian pilasters (and between them the brackets for the wood poles that held up the velarium; compare FIG. 7-14) circle the uppermost story.

The use of engaged columns and a lintel to frame the openings in the Colosseum's facade is a variation of the scheme used on the Etruscan Porta Marzia (FIG. 6-14) at Perugia. The Romans commonly used this scheme from Late Republican times on—for example, at Palestrina (FIG. 7-5). Just as the Roman pseudoperipteral temple combines Greek orders with an Etruscan plan, this manner of decorating a building's facade mixed Greek orders with an architectural form foreign to Greek post-and-lintel architecture—the arch. The Roman practice of framing an arch with an applied Greek order had no structural purpose, but it added variety to the surface. In the Colosseum, it also unified a multistory facade by casting a net of verticals and horizontals over it.

Flavian Portraiture. Vespasian was an unpretentious career army officer who desired to distance himself from Nero's self-indulgent misrule. His portraits (FIG. 7-38) reflect his much simpler tastes. They also made an important political statement. Breaking



7-38 Portrait of Vespasian, ca. 75–79 CE. Marble, 1′ 4″ high. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.

Vespasian's sculptors revived the veristic tradition of the Republic to underscore the elderly new emperor's Republican values in contrast to Nero's self-indulgence and extravagance.

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7-39 Portrait of a Flavian woman, from Rome, Italy, ca. 90 CE. Marble, 2′ $1\frac{3}{8}$″ high (without modern bust). Museo Capitolino, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

The Flavian sculptor reproduced the elaborate coiffure of this elegant woman by drilling deep holes for the corkscrew curls, and carved the rest of the hair and the face with hammer and chisel.

7-40 East facade of the Arch of Titus, Rome, Italy, after 81 CE.

Domitian built this arch on the road leading into the Roman Forum to honor his brother, the emperor Titus, who became a god after his death. Victories fill the spandrels of the arcuated passageway.

with the tradition that Augustus established of depicting the Roman emperor as godlike and eternally youthful, Vespasian's sculptors resuscitated the veristic tradition of the Republic (FIG. 7-8), probably at his specific direction. The emperor's portraits frankly recorded his receding hairline and aging, leathery skin—proclaiming Vespasian's traditional Republican values in contrast to Nero's undisciplined behavior and excessive spending.

Numerous portraits of people of all ages survive from the Flavian period, in contrast to the Republic, when few but the elderly were deemed worthy of depiction. The purpose of the portrait of a young woman illustrated here (FIG. 7-39) was not to project Republican virtues but to present the sitter as beautiful—in terms of current fashion rather than by emulating the idealized images of Greek goddesses. The portrait is especially notable for the virtuoso way the sculptor rendered the elaborate Flavian coiffure, with its corkscrew curls punched out using a drill instead of a chisel. The sculptor brilliantly set off the dense mass of hair from the softly modeled and highly polished skin of the face and elegant, swanlike neck. The drill played an increasing role in Roman sculpture in succeeding periods, and when long hair and full beards became fashionable for men, sculptors used drills for their portraits as well.

Arch of Titus. When Titus died in 81 CE, only two years after becoming emperor, his younger brother, Domitian, succeeded him. Domitian erected an arch (FIGS. 7-2, no. 13, and 7-40) in Titus's honor on the Sacred Way leading into the Republican Forum Romanum (FIG. 7-2, no. 11). This type of freestanding arch, the so-called *triumphal arch,* has a long history in Roman art and architecture, beginning in the second century BCE. The term is something of a misnomer, however, because Roman arches did not celebrate only military victories. Usually crowned by gilded bronze statues, they commemorated a wide variety of events, ranging from victories abroad to the building of roads and bridges at home (FIG. 7-44A).

The Arch of Titus is a typical early triumphal arch in having only one passageway. As on the Colosseum, engaged columns frame the arcuated opening. The capitals are not Greek, however, but Roman *Composite capitals,* an ornate combination of Ionic volutes and Corinthian acanthus leaves. The new type became popular at about the same time as the Fourth Style in Roman painting. Reliefs depicting personified Victories (winged women, as in Greek art) fill the *spandrels* (the area between the arch's curve and the framing columns and frieze). The dedicatory inscription on the attic states that the Senate erected the arch to honor the god Titus, son of the god Vespasian. To underscore Titus's divinity, at the center of the vault of the passageway is a relief (FIG. 7-40A) showing Titus's *apotheosis* (ascent to Heaven). The Senate normally proclaimed Roman emperors gods after they died, unless they ran afoul of the senators and were damned. The statues of those who suffered *damnatio memoriae* were torn down, and their names were erased from public inscriptions. This was Nero's fate.

7-40A Apotheosis of Titus, after 81 CE.

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7-41 Spoils of Jerusalem, relief panel in the passageway of the Arch of Titus, Rome, Italy, after 81 CE. Marble, 7′ 10″ high.

The reliefs inside the bay of the Arch of Titus commemorate the emperor's conquest of Judaea. Here, Roman soldiers carry in triumph the spoils taken from the Jewish temple in Jerusalem.

7-42 Triumph of Titus, relief panel in the passageway of the Arch of Titus, Rome, Italy, after 81 CE. Marble, 7′ 10″ high.

Victory crowns Titus in his triumphal chariot. Also present are Honor and Valor in this first known instance of the intermingling of human and divine figures in a Roman historical relief.

Inside the passageway of the Arch of Titus are two great relief panels. They represent the triumphal parade of Titus down the Sacred Way after his return from the conquest of Judaea at the end of the Jewish War in 70 CE. One of the reliefs (FIG. 7-41) depicts Roman soldiers carrying the spoils—including the sacred seven-branched candelabrum, the *menorah* (compare FIG. 8-4A)—from the Jewish temple in Jerusalem. Despite considerable damage to the relief, the illusion of movement is convincing. The parade emerges from the left background into the center foreground and disappears through the obliquely placed arch in the right background. The energy and swing of the column of soldiers suggest a rapid march. The sculptor rejected the Classical low-relief style of the Ara Pacis (FIG. 7-31) in favor of extremely deep carving, which produces strong shadows. The heads of the forward figures have broken off because they stood free from the block. Their high relief emphasized their different placement in space compared with the heads in low relief, which are intact. The play of light and shadow across the protruding foreground and receding background figures enhances the sense of movement.

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On the other side of the passageway, the panel (FIG. 7-42) shows Titus in his triumphal chariot. The seeming historical accuracy of the spoils panel, which closely corresponds to the contemporaneous description of Titus's triumph by the Jewish historian Josephus (37–ca. 100 CE), gave way in this panel to allegory. Victory rides with Titus in the four-horse chariot and places a wreath on his head. Below her is a bare-chested youth who is probably a personification of honor (*Honos*). A female personification of valor (*Virtus*) leads the horses. These allegorical figures transform the relief from a record of Titus's battlefield success into a celebration of imperial virtues. A comparable intermingling of divine and human figures characterizes the Dionysiac frieze (FIG. 7-18) of the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii, but the Arch of Titus panel is the first known instance of divine beings interacting with humans on an official Roman historical relief. (On the Ara Pacis [FIG. 7-29], Aeneas and Tellus appear in separate framed panels, carefully segregated from the procession of living Romans.) The Arch of Titus, however, does not honor the living emperor but the deified Titus, who has entered the realm of the Roman gods. But soon afterward, this kind of interaction between mortals and immortals became a staple of Roman narrative relief sculpture, even on monuments erected in honor of emperors during their lifetimes.

HIGH EMPIRE

In the second century CE, under Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, the Roman Empire reached its greatest geographic extent (MAP 7-1) and the height of its power. Rome's might was unchallenged in the Mediterranean world, although the Germanic peoples in Europe, the Berbers in Africa, and the Parthians and Persians in the East constantly applied pressure. Within the Empire's secure boundaries, the Pax Romana meant unprecedented prosperity for all who came under Roman rule.

Trajan

Domitian's extravagant lifestyle and ego resembled Nero's. He demanded to be addressed as *dominus et deus* ("lord and god"), and so angered the Senate that he was assassinated in 96 CE. The senators chose the elderly Nerva (r. 96–98 CE), one of their own, as emperor. Nerva ruled for only 16 months, but before he died he established a pattern of succession by adoption that endured for almost a century. Nerva picked Trajan, a capable and popular general born in Italica, Spain, as the next emperor. Under Trajan, the first non-Italian to rule Rome, imperial armies brought Roman rule to ever more distant areas (see "The Roman Emperor as World Conqueror," page 181), and the imperial government took on ever greater responsibility for its people's welfare by instituting a number of farsighted social programs. Trajan was so popular that the Senate granted him the title *Optimus* (the Best), an epithet he shared with Jupiter (who was said to have instructed Nerva to choose Trajan as his successor). In time, Trajan, along with Augustus, became the yardsticks for measuring the success of later emperors, who strove to be *felicior Augusto, melior Traiano* ("luckier than Augustus, better than Trajan").

Timgad. In 100 CE, as part of his program to extend and strengthen Roman rule on three continents, Trajan founded a new colony for army veterans at Timgad (FIG. 7-43), in what is today Algeria. Like other colonies, Timgad became the physical

7-43 Satellite view of Timgad, Algeria, founded 100 CE.

The plan of Trajan's new colony of Timgad in North Africa features a strict grid scheme, with the forum at the intersection of the two main thoroughfares, the cardo and the decumanus.

embodiment of Roman authority and civilization for the local population. Roman engineers laid out the town with great precision, on the pattern of a Roman military encampment, or *castrum,* although some scholars think that the castrum plan followed the scheme of Roman colonies, not vice versa. Unlike the sprawling unplanned cities of Rome and Pompeii, Timgad is a square divided into equal quarters by its two colonnaded main streets, the cardo and the decumanus, which cross at right angles. The forum is at the point where the two avenues intersect, and imposing gateways marked the ends of both streets. The quarters are subdivided into square blocks, and the forum and public buildings, such as the theater and baths, occupy areas sized as multiples of these blocks. The Roman plan is a modification of the Hippodamian plan of Greek cities (see "Hippodamos's Plan for the Ideal City," page 154), though more rigidly ordered. The Romans laid out most of their new settlements in the same manner, regardless of whether they were in Africa, Mesopotamia, or Britain. This uniformity expresses concretely the centralized power of the Roman Empire at its height. But even the Romans could not regulate human behavior completely. As the satellite view reveals, when the population of Timgad grew sevenfold and burst through the Trajanic colony's walls, the colonists abandoned rational planning, and the city and its streets branched out haphazardly.

Forum of Trajan. Trajan completed several major building projects in Rome, including the remodeling of the Circus Maximus (FIGS. 7-2, no. 2, and 7-43A), Rome's giant chariot-racing stadium, and the

7-43A Funerary relief of a circus official, ca. 110–130 CE.

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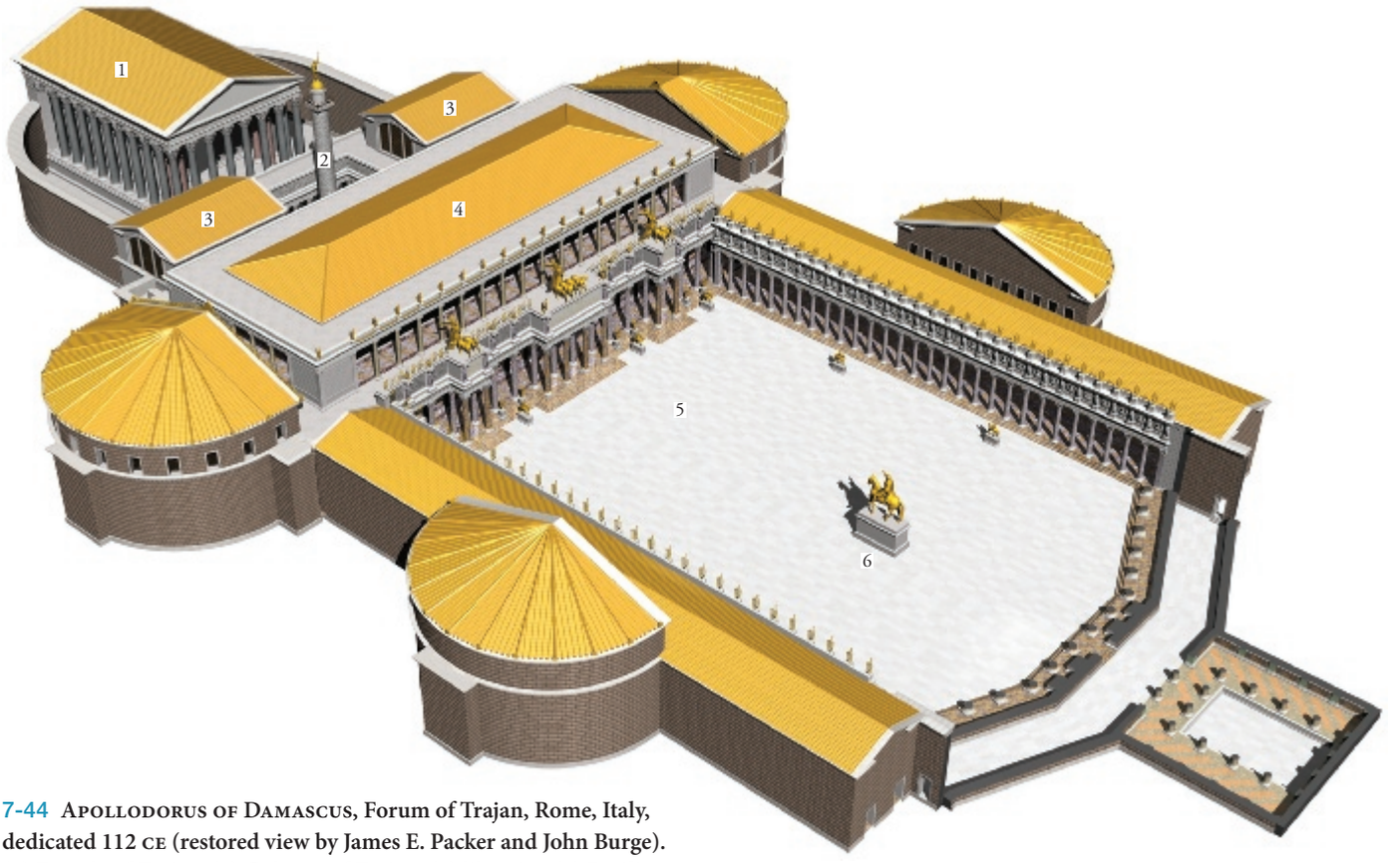

7-44 Apollodorus of Damascus, Forum of Trajan, Rome, Italy, dedicated 112 CE (restored view by James E. Packer and John Burge). (1) Temple of Trajan, (2) Column of Trajan, (3) libraries, (4) Basilica Ulpia, (5) forum, (6) equestrian statue of Trajan.

Funded by the spoils from two Dacian wars, Rome's largest forum featured a basilica with clerestory lighting, two libraries, a commemorative column (FIG. 7-1), and a temple of the deified Trajan.

construction of a vast new bathing complex near the Colosseum, constructed on top of Nero's Golden House. His most important undertaking, however, was a huge new forum (FIGS. 7-2, no. 7, and 7-44), roughly twice the size of the century-old Forum of Augustus (FIG. 7-2, no. 10)—even excluding the enormous adjoining market complex.

The new forum glorified Trajan's victories in his two wars against the Dacians in present-day Romania, the spoils of which paid for Trajan's building program in the capital. The architect was Trajan's chief military engineer during the Dacian wars, Apollodorus of Damascus. Apollodorus's plan incorporated the main features of most early fora (FIG. 7-12), except that a huge basilica (FIG. 7-44, no. 4), not a temple, dominated the colonnaded open square. The temple (FIG. 7-44, no. 1; completed after the emperor's death and dedicated to the newest god in the Roman pantheon—Trajan himself) stood instead behind the basilica facing two libraries and a giant commemorative column (FIGS. 7-1 and 7-44, no. 2). Entry to Trajan's forum was through an impressive gateway resembling a triumphal arch. (Trajan also erected freestanding triumphal arches in Rome and elsewhere in Italy—for example, at Benevento; FIG. 7-44A.) Inside the forum were other reminders of Trajan's military prowess. A larger-than-life-size gilded-bronze equestrian statue (FIG. 7-44, no. 6) of the emperor on horseback, trampling a terrified Dacian, stood at the center of the great court in front of the basilica. Statues of captive Dacians stood above the columns of the forum porticos. (Some were reused on the Arch of Constantine; FIG. 7-76.)

7-44A Arch of Trajan, Benevento, ca. 114–118 CE.

The Basilica Ulpia (Trajan gave his family name, Ulpius, to the structure) was a much larger and far more ornate version of the basilica adjoining the forum of Pompeii (FIG. 7-12, no. 3). As shown in FIG. 7-44, no. 4, it had *apses,* or semicircular recesses, on each short end. Two aisles flanked the nave on each side. In contrast to the Pompeian basilica, the Basilica Ulpia was entered through doorways on the long side facing the forum. The building was vast: about 400 feet long (without the apses) and 200 feet wide. Light entered through clerestory windows, made possible by elevating the timber-roofed nave above the colonnaded aisles, an idea developed first by the Egyptians (see "Illuminating Buildings before Lightbulbs," page 75).

Column of Trajan. Behind the ruins of the Basilica Ulpia still stands, almost perfectly preserved, the 128-foot-tall Column of Trajan (FIG. 7-1), which once had a heroically nude statue of the emperor at the top. (The present statue of Saint Peter dates to the 16th century.) The tall pedestal, decorated with captured Dacian arms and armor, encloses a chamber that originally served as Trajan's tomb.

The Column of Trajan is most noteworthy, however, for its spiral frieze (FIG. 7-45), which was often copied in antiquity, during the Middle Ages (FIG. 11-26A), and even as late as the 19th century. That frieze was probably the brainchild of Apollodorus of Damascus. It was the architect's solution to the problem of how to incorporate a pictorial record of Trajan's military campaigns in a monument—a freestanding column—ill-suited for narrative relief sculpture except on its pedestal.

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7-45 Detail of the spiral frieze of the Column of Trajan (FIG. 7-1), Forum of Trajan, Rome, Italy, dedicated 112 CE.

The spiral frieze of Trajan's Column tells the story of the Dacian wars in 150 episodes. The reliefs depict all aspects of the campaigns, from battles to sacrifices to road and fort construction.

Carving the frieze was a complex process. First, the stonemasons had to fashion enormous marble column drums, hollowed out to accommodate an internal spiral staircase running the entire length of the column shaft. The sculptors carved the relief scenes after the drums were in place to ensure that the figures and buildings lined up perfectly. The sculptors carved the last scenes in the narrative first, working from the top to the bottom of the shaft so that falling marble chips or a dropped chisel would not damage the reliefs below.

Art historians have likened the sculptured frieze winding around the column to an illustrated scroll (FIG. 3-1) of the type housed in the neighboring libraries (FIG. 7-44, no. 3) of the Forum of Trajan. The reliefs recount Trajan's two Dacian campaigns in more than 150 episodes, in which some 2,500 figures appear. The band increases in width as it winds to the top of the column in order to make the upper portions easier to see. Throughout, the relief is very low so as not to distort the contours of the shaft. Paint enhanced the legibility of the figures, but it still would have been very difficult for anyone to follow the narrative from beginning to end.

7-45A Battle and aftermath, Column of Trajan, 112 CE.

7-45B Wounded Romans, Column of Trajan, 112 CE.

7-45C Fort construction, Column of Trajan, 112 CE.

Easily recognizable compositions such as those found on coin reverses and on historical relief panels—Trajan addressing his troops, sacrificing to the gods, and so on—fill most of the frieze. The narrative is not a reliable chronological account of the Dacian wars, as once thought. The sculptors nonetheless accurately recorded the general character of the campaigns. Notably, battle scenes (FIG. 7-45A) and their aftermath (FIG. 7-45B) take up only about a quarter of the frieze. As is true of modern military operations, the Romans spent more time constructing forts (FIG. 7-45C), transporting men and equipment, and preparing for battle than fighting.

Markets of Trajan. On the Quirinal Hill overlooking the forum, Apollodorus built the Markets of Trajan (FIGS. 7-2, no. 8, and 7-46) to house both shops and

7-46 APOLLODORUS OF DAMASCUS, Markets of Trajan (looking northeast), Rome, Italy, ca. 100–112 CE.

Apollodorus of Damascus used brick-faced concrete to transform the Quirinal Hill overlooking Trajan's forum into a vast multilevel complex of barrel-vaulted shops and administrative offices.

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7-47 Apollodorus of Damascus, interior of the great hall, Markets of Trajan, Rome, Italy, ca. 100–112 CE.

The great hall of Trajan's markets resembles a modern shopping mall. It housed two floors of shops, with the upper ones set back and lit by skylights. Concrete groin vaults cover the central space.

administrative offices. As earlier at Palestrina (FIG. 7-5), concrete made possible the transformation of a natural slope into a multilevel complex. Trajan's architect was a master of this modern medium as well as of the traditional stone-and-timber post-and lintel architecture of the forum below. The basic unit was the *taberna,* a single-room shop covered by a barrel vault. Each taberna had a wide doorway, usually with a window above it. The shops were on several levels. They opened either onto a concave semicircular facade winding around one of the forum's large exedras (FIG. 7-46), onto a paved street farther up the hill, or onto a great indoor market hall (FIG. 7-47) resembling a modern shopping mall. The hall housed two floors of shops, with the upper shops set back on each side and lit by skylights. Light from the same sources reached the ground-floor shops through arches beneath the great umbrella-like groin vaults (FIG. 7-6) covering the hall. (Today, as FIG. 7-47 reveals, the hall serves as a museum housing finds from the area, including those from the fora of Augustus and Trajan.)

Hadrian

Hadrian, Trajan's chosen successor and fellow Spaniard, was a connoisseur and lover of all the arts, as well as an author, architect, and avid hunter (FIG. 7-47A). He greatly admired Greek culture and traveled widely as emperor, often in the Greek East. Everywhere he went, local officials set up statues and arches in his honor. That is why more portraits of Hadrian exist today than of any other emperor except Augustus. Hadrian, who was 41 years old at the time of Trajan's death and who ruled for more than two decades, always appears in his portraits as a mature man, but one who never ages. Those likenesses—for example, the marble bust illustrated here (FIG. 7-48)—more closely resemble Kresilas's portrait of Pericles (FIG. 5-42) than those of any Roman emperor before him. Fifth-century BCE statues had provided the prototypes for the idealized official portraits of Augustus (FIG. 7-27), but the Augustan models were Greek images of youthful athletes (FIG. 5-41). The models for Hadrian's artists were Classical statues of bearded adults (FIG. 5-36). Hadrian's beard was a Greek affectation at the time, but thereafter beards became the norm for all Roman emperors for more than a century and a half.

7-47A Hadrianic hunting tondi, ca. 130–138 CE.

Pantheon. Work began on the Pantheon (FIGS. 7-2, no. 5; 7-49; 7-50; and 7-51), the temple of all the gods, soon after Hadrian became emperor (or possibly shortly before, as indicated by the use of some Trajanic bricks in the building's construction). The Pantheon is one of the best-preserved buildings of antiquity, and also one of the most influential designs in architectural history. Hadrian

1 in.

7-48 Portrait bust of Hadrian, from Rome, Italy, ca. 117–120 CE. Marble, 1′ $4\frac{3}{4}$″ high. Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

Hadrian, a lover of all things Greek, was the first Roman emperor to wear a beard. His artists modeled his idealizing official portraits on Classical Greek statues such as Kresilas's Pericles (FIG. 5-42).

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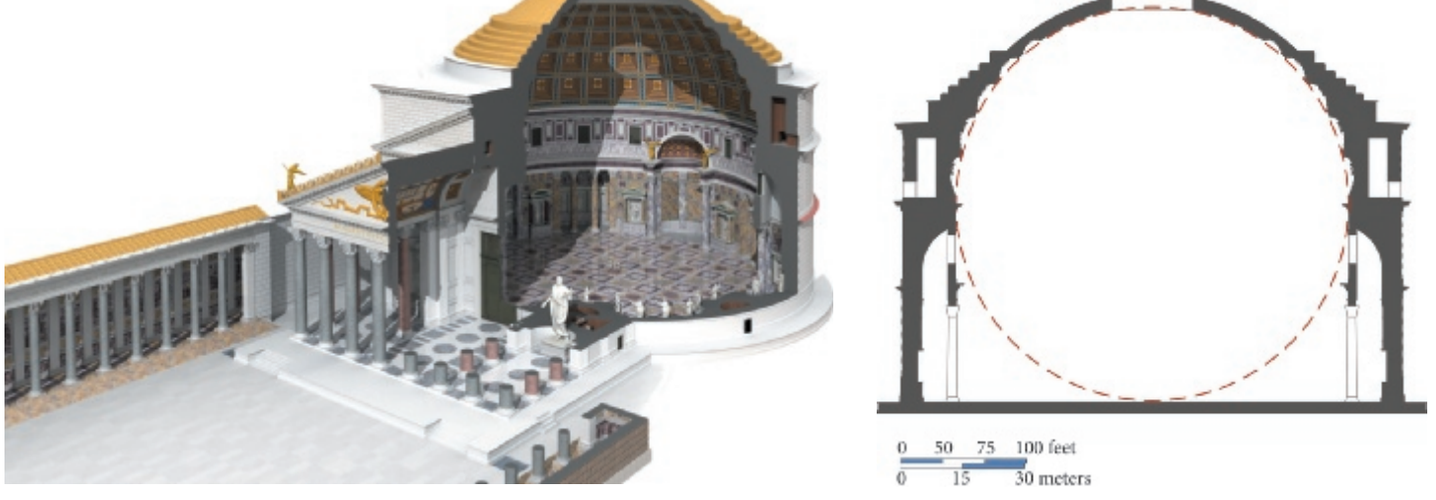
7-49 Pantheon (looking south), Rome, Italy, completed 125 CE.

The Pantheon's traditional facade masked its revolutionary cylindrical drum and its huge hemispherical dome. The interior symbolized both the orb of the earth and the vault of the heavens.

did not take credit for the building, however, preferring, as Augustus did before him (see "*Res Gestae,*" page 202), to dedicate the temple in the name of Marcus Agrippa, who had erected an earlier Pantheon on this site in the late first century BCE. Unfortunately, neither the inscription on the Pantheon facade nor any historical source gives the name of the brilliant architect who in this building revealed the full potential of concrete, both as a construction material and as a means of shaping architectural space.

The original approach to the temple was from a columnar courtyard, and, like a temple in a Roman forum, the Pantheon stood at one narrow end of the enclosure (FIG. 7-50, *left*). Its facade of eight Corinthian columns—almost all that could be seen



7-50 Restored cutaway view (*left*) and lateral section (*right*) of the Pantheon, Rome, Italy, completed 125 CE (John Burge).

Originally, the approach to Hadrian's "temple of all gods" was from a columnar courtyard. Like a temple in a Roman forum (FIG. 7-12), the Pantheon stood at one narrow end of the enclosure.

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

The Ancient World's Largest Dome

If the design of the dome (FIGS. 7-50 and 7-51) of Hadrian's Pantheon (FIG. 7-49) is geometric simplicity itself (a dome whose diameter and height from the floor are equal), executing that design took all the ingenuity of Hadrian's engineers. The builders were faced with the problem of constructing the largest dome in the world up to that time—a feat not surpassed until the 16th century. Their solution was to build up the cylindrical drum level by level using concrete of varied composition. Extremely hard and durable basalt went into the mix for the foundations, and the recipe gradually changed until, at the top of the dome, featherweight pumice replaced stones to lighten the load. The dome's thickness also decreases as it nears the oculus, the circular opening 30 feet in diameter that is the only light source for the interior. The use of *coffers* (sunken decorative panels) lessened the dome's weight without weakening its structure, further reduced its mass, and even provided a handsome pattern of squares within the vast circle. Renaissance drawings suggest that each coffer once had a glistening gilded-bronze rosette at its center, enhancing the symbolism of the dome as the starry heavens.

Below the dome, much of the original marble veneer of the walls, niches, and floor has survived. In the Pantheon, visitors can appreciate, as almost nowhere else (compare FIG. 7-66), how magnificent the interiors of Roman concrete buildings could be. But despite the luxurious skin of the Pantheon's interior, on first entering the structure, visitors do not focus on the walls but on the vastness of the space they enclose. In pre-Roman architecture, the form of the enclosed space was determined by the placement of the solids, which did not so much shape space as interrupt it. Roman architects were the first to conceive of architecture in terms of units of space that could be shaped by the enclosures. The Pantheon's interior is a single unified, self-sufficient whole, uninterrupted by supporting solids, and capped by a dome through the oculus of which the visitor sees the drifting clouds, the blue sky, the sun—and the realm of the gods.

7-51 Interior of the Pantheon (looking south), Rome, Italy, completed 125 CE.

The coffered dome of the Pantheon is 142 feet in diameter and 142 feet high. Light entering through its oculus forms a circular beam that moves across the dome as the sun moves across the sky.

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from the ancient ground level, which was lower than today's—was a bow to tradition. Everything else about the Pantheon was revolutionary. Behind the columnar porch is an immense concrete cylinder covered by a huge hemispherical dome (FIG. 7-51), unseen from the portico. That dome is 142 feet in diameter (see "The Ancient World's Largest Dome," above), and its top is an identical 142 feet from the floor (FIG. 7-50, *right*). The design is thus based on the intersection of two circles (one horizontal, the other vertical). The interior space can be imagined as the orb of the earth, and the dome as the vault of the heavens. The unknown architect enhanced this impression by using light not merely to illuminate the darkness but to create drama and underscore the symbolism of the building's shape. On a sunny day, the light passing through the oculus forms a circular beam, a disk of light that moves across the dome in the course of the day as the sun moves across the sky itself. Escaping from the noise and heat of a Roman summer day into the Pantheon's cool, calm, and mystical immensity is an experience not to be missed.

Hadrian's Villa. Although some have speculated that Hadrian himself was the architect of the Pantheon, that is extremely unlikely. The emperor was, however, an amateur architect, and he became deeply involved with the development of the country villa he owned at Tivoli. One of his projects there was the construction of a pool and an artificial grotto, called the Canopus and Serapeum (FIG. 7-52), respectively. Canopus was an Egyptian city connected to Alexandria by a canal. Its most famous temple was dedicated to the god Serapis. However, nothing about the Tivoli design derives from Egyptian architecture. The grotto at the end of the pool is made of concrete and has an unusual pumpkin-shaped dome that Hadrian probably designed himself (see "Hadrian and Apollodorus of Damascus," page 217). Yet, in keeping with the persistent mixing of styles in

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WRITTEN SOURCES

Hadrian and Apollodorus of Damascus

Dio Cassius, the third-century CE senator who described the games celebrating the opening of the Colosseum (see "Spectacles in the Colosseum," page 207) in his history of Rome from its founding to his day, recounted a revealing anecdote about Hadrian and Apollodorus of Damascus, architect of the Forum of Trajan (FIG. 7-44):

> Hadrian first drove into exile and then put to death the architect Apollodorus who had carried out several of Trajan's building projects. . . . When Trajan was at one time consulting with Apollodorus about a certain problem connected with his buildings, the architect said to Hadrian, who had interrupted them with some advice, "Go away and draw your pumpkins. You know nothing about these problems." For it so happened that Hadrian was at that time priding himself on some sort of drawing. When he became emperor he remembered this insult and refused to put up with Apollodorus's outspokenness. He sent him [his own] plan for the temple of Venus and Roma [FIG. 7-2, no. 14], in order to demonstrate that it was possible for a great work to be conceived without his [Apollodorus's] help, and asked him if he thought the building was well designed. Apollodorus sent a [very critical] reply. . . . [The emperor did not] attempt to restrain his anger or hide his pain; on the contrary, he had the man slain.*

The story says a great deal about both the absolute power that Roman emperors wielded and how seriously Hadrian took his architectural designs. But perhaps the most interesting detail is the description of Hadrian's drawings of "pumpkins." These must have been drawings of concrete domes similar to the one in the Serapeum (FIG. 7-52) at Hadrian's Tivoli villa. Such vaults were too adventurous for Apollodorus, or at least for a public building in Trajanic Rome, and Hadrian had to try them out later at home at his own expense.

*Dio Cassius, *Roman History,* 69.4.1–5. Translated by J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome, c. 753* B.C.–A.D. *337: Sources and Documents* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 175–176.

7-52 Canopus and Serapeum (looking south), Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli, Italy, ca. 125–128 CE.

Hadrian was an architect and may have personally designed some buildings at his private villa at Tivoli. The Serapeum features the kind of pumpkin-shaped concrete dome that the emperor favored.

Roman art and architecture as well as with Hadrian's love of Greek art, traditional Greek columns and marble copies of famous Greek statues, including the Erechtheion caryatids (FIG. 5-54), lined the pool. The Corinthian colonnade at the curved end of the pool is, however, of a type unknown in Classical Greek architecture. The colonnade is not a portico, just a decorative columnar frame at the curved end of the Canopus. Between alternating pairs of columns topped by traditional horizontal lintels are *arcuated lintels* (arch-shaped lintels), also unknown in Greek architecture. This simultaneous respect for Greek forms and willingness to break the rules

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7-53 Al-Khazneh (Treasury, looking east), Petra, Jordan, second century CE (?).

This rock-cut tomb facade is a prime example of Roman "baroque" architecture. The designer used Greek architectural elements in a purely ornamental fashion and with a studied disregard for Classical rules.

of Greek design typifies much Roman architecture of the High and Late Empire.

Al-Khazneh. An even more extreme example of what many have called Roman "baroque" architecture (because of the striking parallels with 17th-century Italian buildings; see "'Baroque' Art and Architecture," page 712) is the tomb nicknamed Al-Khazneh, the "Treasury" (FIG. 7-53), at Petra, Jordan, often dated to the second century CE but possibly much earlier. It is one of the most elaborate of many tomb facades cut into the sheer rock faces of the local rose-colored mountains. As at Hadrian's Tivoli villa, the architect used Greek architectural elements in a purely ornamental fashion and with a studied disregard for Classical rules.

The Treasury's facade is more than 130 feet high and consists of two stories. The lower story resembles a temple facade with six columns, but the columns are unevenly spaced, and the pediment is only wide enough to cover the four central columns. On the upper level, a temple-within-a-temple sits atop the lower temple. Here the facade and roof split in half to make room for a central tholoslike cylinder, which contrasts sharply with the rectangles and triangles of the rest of the design. On both levels, the rhythmic alternation of deep projection and indentation creates dynamic patterns of light and shadow. At Petra, as at Tivoli, the architect used the vocabulary of Greek architecture, but the syntax, or arrangement of elements, is new and distinctively Roman. In fact, the design recalls some of the architectural fantasies painted on the walls of Roman houses—for example, the tholos seen through columns surmounted by a broken pediment (FIG. 7-19, *right*) in the Second Style cubiculum from Boscoreale.

Ostia

The average Roman, of course, did not own a luxurious country villa and was not buried in a grand tomb. About 90 percent of Rome's population of close to one million lived in multistory apartment blocks (*insulae*). After the great fire of 64 CE, these were brick-faced concrete buildings. The rents were not inexpensive, as the law of supply and demand in real estate was just as valid in antiquity as it is today. Juvenal, whose satires are an indispensable source of information about daily life in imperial Rome, commented that people willing to give up chariot races and the other diversions that Rome had to offer could purchase a fine home in the countryside "for a year's rent in a dark hovel" in a city so noisy that "the sick die mostly from lack of sleep."[3] Conditions were much the same for the inhabitants of Ostia, Rome's harbor city. After its new port opened under Trajan, Ostia's fortunes boomed, and so did its population. A burst of building activity began under Trajan and continued under Hadrian and throughout the second century CE. Visitors to Ostia today can see temples, a theater, public baths (FIG. 7-53A), warehouses, and apartment houses that all mirror buildings of similar date in Rome.

7-53A Baths of Neptune mosaic, Ostia, ca. 140 CE.

Apartment Houses. The most common buildings in second-century Ostia were its multistory insulae (FIG. 7-54). Shops occupied the ground floors. Above were up to four floors of apartments. Although many of the apartments were large and had frescoed walls and ceilings, as in the aptly named Insula of the Painted Vaults (FIG. 7-54A), they had neither the space nor the light of the typical Pompeian private domus (see "The Roman House," page 193). In place of peristyles, insulae had only narrow light wells or small courtyards. Consequently, instead of looking inward, large numbers of windows faced the city's noisy streets. The residents cooked their food in the hallways. Only deluxe apartments had private toilets. Others shared latrines, often on a different floor from their apartments. Still, these insulae were more similar to modern apartment houses (which also sometimes have shops on the ground floor) than any other ancient building type.

7-54A Insula of the Painted Vaults, Ostia, ca. 200–220 CE.

Another strikingly modern feature of these multifamily residences is their brick facades, which were not concealed by stucco or marble veneers. When builders desired to incorporate a Classical motif, they added brick pilasters or engaged columns, but always left the brick exposed. Ostia and Rome have many examples

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7-54 Model of an insula, Ostia, Italy, second century CE. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome.

Rome and Ostia were densely populated cities, and most Romans lived in multistory brick-faced concrete insulae (apartment houses) with shops on the ground floor. Private toilet facilities were rare.

1 in.

7-55 Funerary relief of a vegetable vendor, from Ostia, Italy, second half of second century CE. Painted terracotta, 1′ 5″ high. Museo Archeologico Ostiense, Ostia.

Terracotta plaques illustrating the activities of middle-class merchants frequently adorned Ostian tomb facades. In this relief of a vegetable seller, the artist tilted the counter to display the produce clearly.

of apartment houses, warehouses, and tombs with intricate moldings and contrasting colors of brick. In the second century CE, brick came to be appreciated as attractive facing material in its own right.

Isola Sacra. Brick-faced concrete was also the preferred medium for the tombs in Ostia's Isola Sacra cemetery. The Ostian tombs were not the final resting places of the very wealthy. Rather, they were communal houses of the dead for middle-class families. The tombs resembled the multifamily insulae of most Ostians. Small painted terracotta plaques immortalizing the activities of merchants and professional people frequently adorned the facades of those tombs. A characteristic example (FIG. 7-55) depicts a vegetable seller behind a counter. The artist had little interest in the Classical-revival style that the emperors favored, and tilted the counter forward so that the observer could see the produce clearly. Comparable scenes of daily life appear on Roman funerary reliefs from sites throughout Europe. They were as much a part of the Roman artistic legacy to the later history of Western art as the emperors' monuments, which until recently were the almost exclusive interest of art historians.

The Antonines

Early in 138 CE, Hadrian adopted the 51-year-old Antoninus Pius (r. 138–161 CE). At the same time, he required Antoninus to adopt Marcus Aurelius (r. 161–180 CE) and Lucius Verus (r. 161–169 CE), thereby assuring a peaceful succession for at least another generation. When Hadrian died later in the year, the Senate proclaimed him a god, and Antoninus Pius became emperor. Antoninus ruled the Roman world with distinction for 23 years.

Column of Antoninus Pius. Shortly after Antoninus's death and deification, his adopted sons and new coemperors erected a memorial column in his honor. Atop the column was a gilded bronze portrait statue of Antoninus. The pedestal had a dedicatory inscription on the front and sculpted reliefs on the other three

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7-56 Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, relief on the rear of the pedestal of the Column of Antoninus Pius, Rome, Italy, ca. 161 CE. Marble, 8′ 1½″ high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.

This representation of the joint apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina is firmly in the Classical tradition with its elegant, well-proportioned figures, personifications, and single ground line.

7-57 Decursio, pedestal of the Column of Antoninus Pius, Rome, Italy, ca. 161 CE. Marble, 8′ 1½″ high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.

In contrast to the apotheosis scene (FIG. 7-56), the decursio reliefs break sharply with Classical art conventions. The ground is the whole surface of the relief, and the figures stand on floating patches of earth.

sides. The back (FIG. 7-56) depicts the apotheosis of Antoninus and his wife, Faustina the Elder. On the adjacent sides are two identical representations of the *decursio* (FIG. 7-57), or ritual circling of the imperial funerary pyre. The two figural compositions are very different. The apotheosis relief remains firmly in the Classical tradition with its elegant, well-proportioned figures, personifications, and single ground line corresponding to the panel's lower edge. The Campus Martius (Field of Mars), personified as a youth holding the Egyptian obelisk that was an important local landmark, reclines at the lower left corner. Roma (Rome personified) leans on a shield decorated with the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus (compare FIG. 6-11). Roma waves farewell to the couple being lifted into the realm of the gods on the wings of a personification of uncertain identity. Scenes of apotheosis (FIG. 7-40A) had been standard in imperial art since Augustus. New to the pictorial repertoire, however, was the fusion of time that the joint apotheosis represents. Faustina had died 20 years before her husband. By depicting the two as ascending together, the artist wished to suggest that Antoninus had been faithful to his wife for two decades and that now they would be reunited in the afterlife—a common conceit in Roman non-elite funerary art (FIG. 7-43A).

The decursio reliefs (FIG. 7-57) break even more strongly with Classical convention. The figures are much stockier than those in the apotheosis relief, and the sculptor did not conceive the panel

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as a window onto the world. The ground is the whole surface of the relief, and marching soldiers and galloping horses alike stand on floating patches of earth. This, too, had not occurred before in imperial art, only in the art of freedmen (FIG. 7-10A). After centuries of following the rules of Classical design, elite Roman artists and patrons finally were becoming dissatisfied with them. When seeking a new direction, they adopted some of the non-Classical conventions of the art of the lower classes. This stylistic shift, still tentative and used for only one of the compositions on Antoninus's column pedestal, nonetheless represents a major turning point in the history of Roman art.

Marcus Aurelius. Another break with the past occurred in the official portraits of Marcus Aurelius, although his images retain the pompous trappings of imperial iconography. In a larger-than-life-size gilded-bronze equestrian statue (FIG. 7-58), the emperor possesses a superhuman grandeur and is much larger in relation to his horse than any normal human would be. Marcus stretches out his right arm in a gesture that is both a greeting and an offer of clemency. Beneath the horse's raised right foreleg, an enemy once cowered, begging the emperor for mercy. The statue is a rare example of an imperial equestrian portrait, but the type was common in antiquity. For example, an equestrian statue of Trajan stood in the middle of his forum (FIG. 7-44, no. 6). Marcus's portrait survived the wholesale melting down of ancient bronze statues during the Middle Ages because it was mistakenly thought to portray Constantine, the first Christian emperor of Rome. Perhaps more than any other statuary type, the equestrian portrait expresses the Roman emperor's majesty and authority.

This message of supreme confidence is not, however, conveyed by the portrait head of Marcus's equestrian statue or any of the other portraits of the emperor in the years just before his death. Portraits of aged emperors were not new (FIG. 7-38), but Marcus's were the first in which a Roman emperor appeared weary, saddened, and even worried. For the first time, the strain of constant warfare on the frontiers and the burden of ruling a worldwide empire show in the emperor's face. The Antonine sculptor ventured beyond Republican verism, exposing the ruler's character, his thoughts, and his soul for all to see, as Marcus revealed them himself in his *Meditations,* a deeply moving philosophical treatise setting forth the emperor's personal worldview. This too was a major turning point in the history of ancient art, and, coming as it did when relief sculptors were also challenging the Classical style (FIG. 7-57), it marked the beginning of the end of Classical art's domination in the Greco-Roman world.

7-58 Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, from Rome, Italy, ca. 175 CE. Bronze, 11′ 6″ high. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

In this equestrian portrait of Marcus Aurelius as omnipotent conqueror, the emperor stretches out his arm in a gesture of clemency. An enemy once cowered beneath the horse's raised foreleg.

From Cremation to Burial. Other profound changes were taking place in Roman art and society at this time. Under Trajan and Hadrian and especially during the rule of the Antonines, Romans began to favor burial over cremation. This reversal of funerary practices may reflect the influence of Christianity and other Eastern religions, whose adherents believed in an afterlife for the human body, as did the ancient Egyptians (see "Mummification and Immortality," page 61). Although the emperors themselves continued to be cremated in the traditional Roman manner, many private citizens opted for burial. Thus they required larger containers for their remains than the ash urns that were the norm until the second century CE. This in turn led to a sudden demand for sarcophagi, which are more similar to modern coffins than any other ancient type of burial container.

Orestes Sarcophagus. Greek mythology was one of the most popular subjects for the decoration of these sarcophagi. In many cases, especially in the late second and third centuries CE, Roman men and women identified themselves on their coffins with Greek heroes and heroines, whose heads often were portraits of the deceased. These private patrons were following the model of imperial portraiture, in which emperors and empresses frequently masqueraded as gods and goddesses and heroes and heroines (see "Role Playing in Roman Portraiture," page 200, and FIG. 7-58A, a portrait of Commodus, son and successor of Marcus Aurelius, in the guise of Hercules). An early example of the type (although it lacks any

7-58A Commodus as Hercules, ca. 190–192 CE.

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7-59 Sarcophagus with the myth of Orestes, from Rome, Italy, ca. 140–150 CE. Marble, 2′ 7½″ high. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.

Under the Antonines, Romans began to favor burial over cremation, and sarcophagi became very popular. Themes from Greek mythology, such as the tragic saga of Orestes, were common subjects.

7-60 Asiatic sarcophagus with kline portrait of a woman, from Rapolla, near Melfi, Italy, ca. 165–170 CE. Marble, 5′ 7″ high. Museo Nazionale Archeologico del Melfese, Melfi.

The Romans produced sarcophagi in several regions. Western sarcophagi have carvings on the front and sides. Eastern sarcophagi, such as this one with a woman's portrait on the lid, feature reliefs also on the back.

portraits) is a sarcophagus (FIG. 7-59) now in Cleveland, one of many decorated with the story of the tragic Greek hero Orestes. All the examples of this type use the same basic composition. Orestes appears more than once in every case. Here, at the center, Orestes slays his mother, Clytaemnestra, and her lover, Aegisthus, to avenge their murder of his father, Agamemnon. At the right, Orestes takes refuge at Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi (symbolized by the god's *tripod*).

The repetition of sarcophagus compositions indicates that Roman sculptors had access to pattern books. In fact, sarcophagus production was a major industry during the High and Late Empire. Several important regional manufacturing centers existed. The sarcophagi produced in the Latin West, such as the Cleveland Orestes sarcophagus, differ in format from those made in the Greek-speaking East. Western sarcophagi have reliefs only on the front and sides, because they were placed in floor-level niches inside Roman tombs. Eastern sarcophagi have reliefs on all four sides and stood in the center of the burial chamber. This contrast parallels the essential difference between the Etrusco-Roman and the Greek temple. The former was set against the back wall of a forum or sanctuary and was approached from the front, whereas the latter could be reached (and viewed) from every side.

Melfi Sarcophagus. An elaborate sarcophagus (FIG. 7-60) of the Eastern type—found at Rapolla, near Melfi in southern Italy, but manufactured in Asia Minor—attests to the vibrant export market for these luxury items in Antonine times. The characteristically Asiatic decoration of all four sides of the marble box consists of statuesque images of Greek deities and heroes in architectural frames. The figures portrayed include Venus and the legendary beauty, Helen of Troy. The lid portrait, which carries on the tradition of Etruscan sarcophagi (FIGS. 6-5, 6-16, and 6-16A), is also a feature of the most expensive Western Roman coffins. Here, the deceased woman reclines on a *kline,* or couch. (The triclinium [FIG. 7-15, no. 7], or dining room of a Roman house, takes its name from the standard arrangement of one dining couch on each of three walls of the room.) With her are her faithful little dog (only its forepaws remain at the left end of the lid) and Cupid (at the right). The winged infant god mournfully holds a downturned torch, a reference to the death of a woman whose beauty rivaled that of his mother, Venus, and of Homer's Helen.

Mummy Portraits. In Egypt, as noted, burial had been practiced for millennia. Even after Augustus reduced the Kingdom of the Nile to a Roman province in 30 BCE, Egyptians continued to bury their dead in mummy cases (for example, FIG. 7-60A). In Roman times, however, painted wood panels depicting the deceased

7-60A Mummy of Artemidorus, ca. 100–120 CE.

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Iaia of Cyzicus and the Art of Encaustic Painting

The names of very few Roman artists survive, and the known names tend to be those of artists and architects who directed major imperial building projects (Severus and Celer, Domus Aurea; Apollodorus of Damascus, Forum of Trajan), worked on a gigantic scale (Zenodorus, Colossus of Nero), or made precious objects for famous patrons (Dioscurides, gem cutter for Augustus).

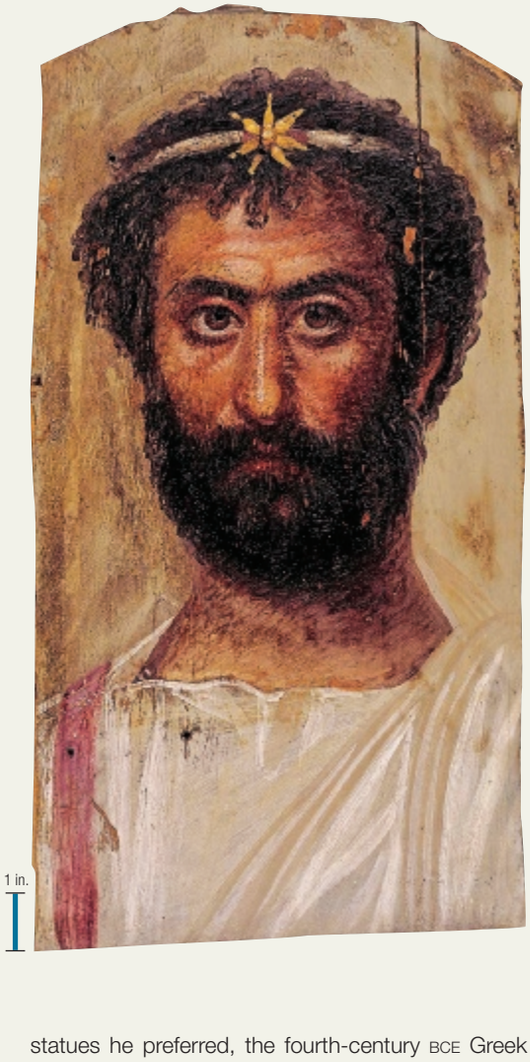
An interesting exception to this rule is Iaia of Cyzicus. Information about Roman artists is scant in ancient literature, and descriptions of works by female artists is rarer still. But Pliny the Elder has a lot to say about Iaia, a female painter from Asia Minor who worked in Italy during the Republic and painted a self-portrait, an artistic genre for which there is little evidence before the 15th century (FIG. 20-12 is an early example).

> Iaia of Cyzicus, who remained a virgin all her life, painted at Rome during the time when M. Varro [116–27 BCE; a renowned Republican scholar and author] was a youth, both with a brush and with a cestrum on ivory, specializing mainly in portraits of women; she also painted a large panel in Naples representing an old woman and a portrait of herself done with a mirror. Her hand was quicker than that of any other painter, and her artistry was of such high quality that she commanded much higher prices than the most celebrated painters of the same period.*

7-60B Young woman, Hawara, ca. 110–120 CE.

The *cestrum* mentioned by Pliny is a small spatula used in *encaustic* painting, a technique of mixing colors with hot wax and then applying them to the surface. Pliny knew of encaustic paintings of considerable antiquity, including those of the fifth-century BCE master Polygnotos of Thasos. The best evidence for the technique comes, however, from Roman Egypt, where mummy cases routinely incorporated encaustic portraits on wood panels (FIGS. 7-60A, **7-60B**, and 7-61).

Artists applied encaustic to marble (FIG. 5-63A) as well as to wood. According to Pliny, when Praxiteles was asked which of his statues he preferred, the fourth-century BCE Greek artist, perhaps the ancient world's greatest marble sculptor, replied: "Those that Nikias painted."† This anecdote underscores the importance of coloration in ancient statuary.



1 in.

7-61 Mummy portrait of a priest of Serapis, from Hawara (Faiyum), Egypt, ca. 140–160 CE. Encaustic on wood, 1′ 4 3/4″ × 8 3/4″. British Museum, London.

In Roman times, the Egyptians continued to bury their dead in mummy cases, but painted portraits replaced the traditional masks. The painting medium is encaustic—colors mixed with hot wax.

*Pliny the Elder, *Natural History,* 35.147–148. Translated by J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Rome, c. 753 B.C.–A.D. 337: Sources and Documents* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 87.

†Pliny the Elder, *Natural History,* 35.133.

often replaced the traditional stylized portrait masks (see "Iaia of Cyzicus and the Art of Encaustic Painting," above). Many scholars have postulated that these portraits, which date mostly to the second and third centuries, were painted while the subjects were still alive and then cut down to fit into the mummy cases. However, CAT scans of intact mummies associated with painted portraits have revealed a correspondence between the age of the deceased and the apparent age of the person in the portrait. Therefore, the portraits were created for insertion into mummy cases and were not "recycled" portraits from the homes of the deceased.

One of the hundreds of Roman mummy portraits unearthed in the cemeteries of the Faiyum district depicts a priest of the Egyptian god Serapis (FIG. 7-61). The priest's curly hair and beard closely emulate the Antonine fashion in Rome, but the corkscrew curls of hair on his forehead are distinctive to images of Serapis and his followers. The mummy portrait exhibits the painter's masterful use of the brush and spatula to depict different textures and the play of light over the soft and delicately modeled face. The Faiyum mummies enable art historians to trace the history of portrait painting after Mount Vesuvius erupted in 79 CE. (Compare, for example, FIGS. 7-24 and 7-24A with FIGS. 7-61 and 7-61A.)

LATE EMPIRE

By the time of Marcus Aurelius, two centuries after Augustus established the Pax Romana, Roman power was beginning to erode. The Roman legions found it increasingly difficult to keep order on the frontiers, and even within the Empire, many challenged the

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authority of Rome. The assassination of Marcus's son Commodus (FIG. 7-58A) in 192 CE brought the Antonine dynasty to an end. The economy was in decline, and the efficient imperial bureaucracy was disintegrating. Even the official state religion was losing ground to Eastern cults, Christianity among them. The Late Empire was a pivotal era in world history, during which the classical world and its multitude of gods gradually gave way to the Christian Middle Ages.

The Severans

Civil conflict followed Commodus's death. When it ended, an African-born general named Septimius Severus (r. 193–211 CE) was master of the Roman world. He succeeded in establishing a new dynasty that ruled the Empire for nearly a half century.

Severan Portraiture. Anxious to establish his legitimacy after the civil war, Septimius Severus adopted himself into the Antonine dynasty, declaring that he was Marcus Aurelius's son. It is not surprising, then, that to underscore his fictional lineage, the official portraits of the emperor in bronze and marble depict him with the long hair and beard of his Antonine "father"—whatever Severus's actual appearance may have been. That is also how Severus appears in the only preserved painted portrait (FIG. 7-62) of an emperor. Discovered in Egypt and painted in *tempera* (pigments in egg yolk) on wood (as were many of the mummy portraits from Faiyum), the portrait is of *tondo* (circular) format. It shows Severus with his wife, Julia Domna, the daughter of a Syrian priest, and their two sons, Caracalla and Geta. Painted likenesses of the imperial family must have been quite common in Italy and the provinces, but their perishable nature explains their almost total loss.

The Severan family portrait is of special interest for two reasons beyond its survival. Severus's hair is tinged with gray, suggesting that his marble portraits—which, like all marble sculptures in antiquity, were painted—also may have revealed his advancing age in this way. (The same was very likely true of the marble likenesses of the elderly Marcus Aurelius.) The group portrait is also notable because of the erasure of Geta's face. When Caracalla (r. 211–217 CE) succeeded his father as emperor, he ordered his younger brother murdered and had the Senate damn Geta's memory. (Caracalla also arranged the death of his own wife, Plautilla, and his influential father-in-law in order to consolidate his power.) The Severan family portrait is an eloquent testimony to that damnatio memoriae and to the long arm of Roman authority, which reached all the way to Egypt in this case. This kind of defacement of a rival's image is not unique to ancient Rome, but the Roman government employed damnatio memoriae as a political tool more often and more systematically than any other civilization.

Caracalla. In the Severan painted tondo, the artist portrayed Caracalla as a boy with long, curly Antonine hair. The portraits of Caracalla as emperor are very different. In the bust in Berlin illustrated here (FIG. 7-63), Caracalla appears in heroic nudity save for a mantle over one shoulder and a *baldric* across his chest. His hair and beard, although still curly, are much shorter—initiating a new fashion in male coiffure during the third century CE. More remarkable, however, is the moving characterization of Caracalla's ruthless personality, a further development from the groundbreaking introspection of Marcus Aurelius's portraits. Caracalla's brow is knotted—the V of his forehead forms an X with the lines running from his nostrils

7-62 Painted portrait of Septimius Severus and his family, from Egypt, ca. 200 CE. Tempera on wood, 1′ 2″ diameter. Altes Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

The only known painted portrait of an emperor shows Septimius Severus with gray hair. With him are his wife, Julia Domna, and their two sons, but Geta's head was removed after his damnatio memoriae.

7-63 Bust of Caracalla, ca. 211–217. Marble, 1′ 10 3/4″ high. Altes Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

Caracalla's portraits introduced a new fashion in male coiffure, but are more remarkable for the dramatic turn of the emperor's head and the moving characterization of his personality.

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7-64 Chariot procession of Septimius Severus, relief from the attic of the Arch of Septimius Severus, Lepcis Magna, Libya, 203 CE. Marble, 5′ 6″ high. Castle Museum, Tripoli.

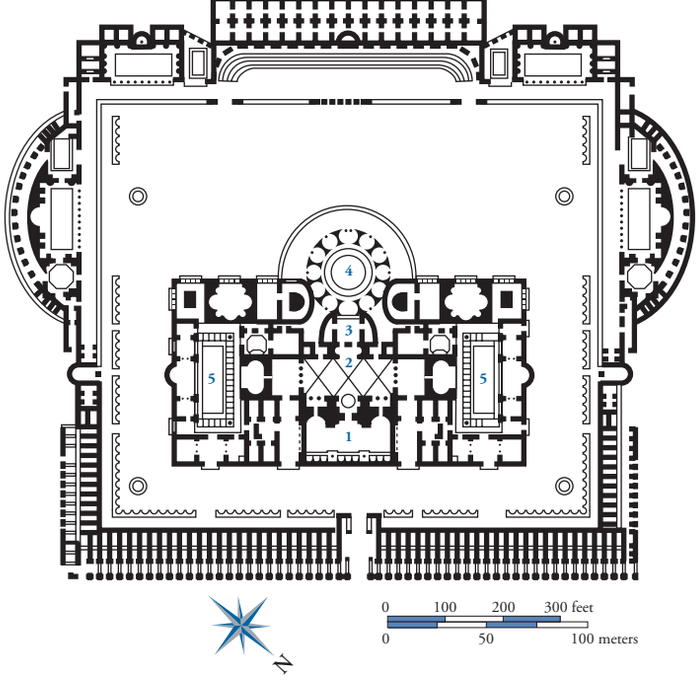
This relief from a triumphal arch exemplifies a new non-naturalistic aesthetic—the Late Antique style. Septimius Severus and his two sons face the viewer even though their chariot is moving to the right.

to the corners of his mouth—and he abruptly turns his head over his left shoulder. The sculptor probably intended the facial expression and the dramatic movement to suggest energy and strength, but it appears to modern viewers as if Caracalla suspects danger from behind. The emperor had reason to be fearful. An assassin's dagger felled him in the sixth year of his rule. Assassination would be the fate of many Roman emperors during the turbulent third century CE.

Lepcis Magna. The hometown of the Severans was Lepcis Magna, on the Mediterranean coast of what is now Libya. In the late second and early third centuries CE, the Severans constructed a modern harbor there, as well as a new forum, basilica, arch, and other monuments. The Lepcis Arch of Septimius Severus has friezes on the attic on all four sides. One (FIG. 7-64) depicts the chariot procession of the emperor and his two sons on the occasion of their homecoming in 203. Unlike the triumph panel (FIG. 7-42) on the Arch of Titus in Rome, this relief gives no sense of rushing motion. Rather, it has a stately stillness. The chariot and the horsemen behind it move forward, but the emperor and his sons are frozen in place and face the viewer. Also different is the way the figures in the second row, whether on horseback or on foot, have no connection with the ground. The sculptor elevated them above the heads of those in the first row so that they could be seen more clearly.

Both the frontality and the floating figures were new to official Roman art in Antonine and Severan times, but both appeared long before in the private art of freed slaves (FIGS. 7-10A and 7-11). Once these non-Classical elements were embraced by sculptors in the emperor's employ, they had a long afterlife, largely (although never totally) displacing the Classical style that the Romans adopted from Greece. As is often true in the history of art, the emergence of this new aesthetic was a by-product of a period of social, political, and economic upheaval. Art historians call this new non-naturalistic, more abstract style the *Late Antique* style.

Baths of Caracalla. The Severans were also active builders in the capital. The Baths of Caracalla (FIG. 7-65) in Rome were the greatest in a long line of bathing and recreational complexes constructed, beginning with Augustus, with imperial funds to win the public's favor. Caracalla's baths dwarfed the typical baths of cities and towns such as Ostia (FIG. 7-53A) and Pompeii. All the rooms had thick brick-faced concrete walls up to 140 feet high, covered by enormous concrete vaults. The design was symmetrical along a central axis, facilitating the Roman custom of taking sequential plunges in warm-, hot-, and cold-water baths in, respectively, the *tepidarium, caldarium,* and *frigidarium.* The caldarium (FIG. 7-65, no. 4) was a huge circular chamber with a concrete drum even taller than the Pantheon's (FIGS. 7-50 and 7-51) and a dome almost as large. Caracalla's 50-acre bathing complex also included landscaped gardens, lecture halls, libraries, colonnaded exercise courts (*palaestras*), and a giant swimming pool (*natatio*). Archaeologists estimate that up to 1,600 bathers



7-65 Plan of the Baths of Caracalla, Rome, Italy, 212–216 CE. (1) natatio, (2) frigidarium, (3) tepidarium, (4) caldarium, (5) palaestra.

Caracalla's baths could accommodate 1,600 bathers. They resembled a modern health spa and included libraries, lecture halls, and exercise courts in addition to bathing rooms and a swimming pool.

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7-66 Frigidarium, Baths of Diocletian, Rome, Italy, ca. 298–306 (remodeled by Michelangelo Buonarroti as the nave of Santa Maria degli Angeli, 1563).

The groin-vaulted nave of the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rome was once the frigidarium of the Baths of Diocletian. It gives an idea of the lavish adornment of imperial Roman baths.

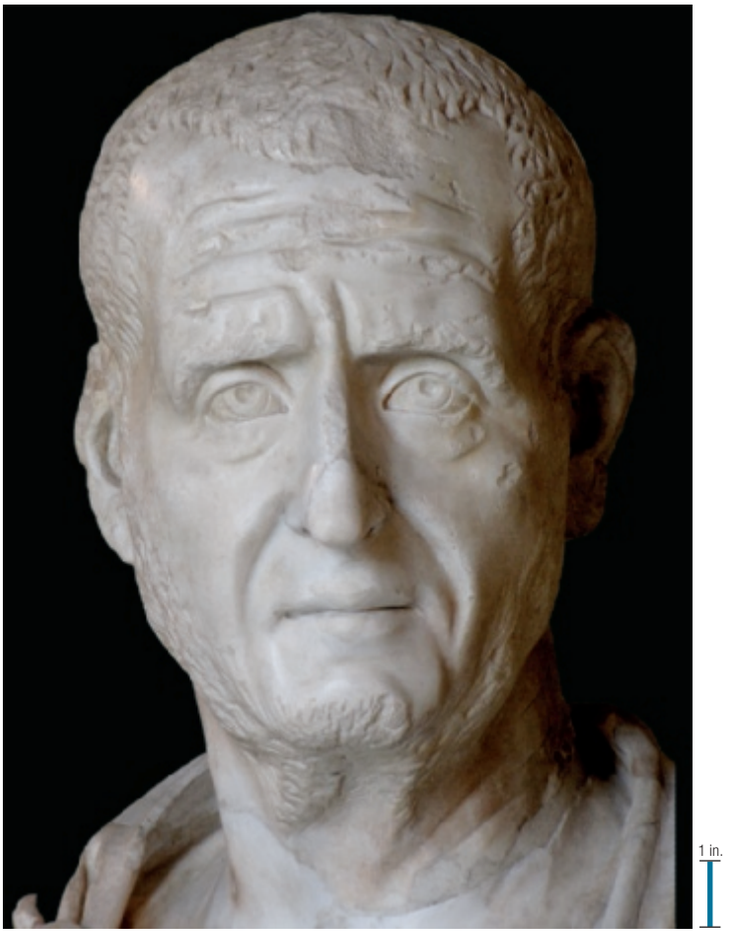
at a time could enjoy this Roman equivalent of a modern health spa. A branch of one of the city's major aqueducts supplied water, and furnaces circulated hot air through hollow floors and walls throughout the bathing rooms. (The Romans were pioneers in central heating, as in so many other areas.)

The Baths of Caracalla also featured stucco-covered vaults, marble-faced walls, marble statuary, and mosaic floors—both black-and-white (compare fig. 7-53A) and polychrome. One of the statues on display was the 10-foot-tall marble version of Lysippos's Herakles (fig. 5-66), whose muscular body must have inspired Romans to exercise vigorously. The concrete vaults of the Baths of Caracalla collapsed long ago, but visitors can approximate the original appearance of the central bathing hall, the frigidarium, by entering the nave (fig. 7-66) of the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rome, which was once the frigidarium of the later Baths of Diocletian. The Renaissance interior (remodeled in the 18th century) of that church has, of course, many features foreign to a Roman bath, including a painted altarpiece. The ancient mosaics and marble revetment are long gone, but the present-day interior—with its rich wall treatment, colossal columns with Composite capitals, immense groin vaults, and clerestory lighting—provides a better sense of what it was like to be in a Roman imperial bathing complex than does any other building in the world. It takes a powerful imagination to visualize the original appearance of Roman concrete buildings from the pathetic ruins of brick-faced walls and fallen vaults at ancient sites today, but Santa Maria degli Angeli—and the Pantheon (fig. 7-51)—make the task much easier.

The Soldier Emperors

The Severan dynasty ended with the murder of Severus Alexander (r. 222–235 ce). The next half century was one of almost continuous civil war. The Roman legions declared as emperor one general after another, only to have each murdered in turn by another general a few years or even a few months later. (In the year 238, two coemperors selected by the Senate were dragged from the imperial palace and murdered in public after only three months of rule.) In such unstable times, no emperor could begin ambitious architectural projects. The only significant building activity in Rome during the era of the "soldier emperors" occurred under Aurelian (r. 270–275 ce). He constructed a new defensive circuit wall for the capital—a military necessity and a poignant commentary on the decay of Roman power.

Trajan Decius. If architects went hungry in third-century Rome, engravers and sculptors had much to do. The mint produced great quantities of coins (in debased metal) to ensure that the troops could be paid with money stamped with the current emperor's portrait and not with the likeness of his predecessor or rival. Each new ruler set up portrait statues and busts everywhere he could to



7-67 Portrait bust of Trajan Decius, 249–251 ce. Marble, 1′ 2″ high (without modern bust). Museo Capitolino, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

This portrait of a short-lived soldier emperor depicts an older man with bags under his eyes and a sad expression. The eyes glance away nervously, seemingly reflecting the anxiety of an insecure ruler.

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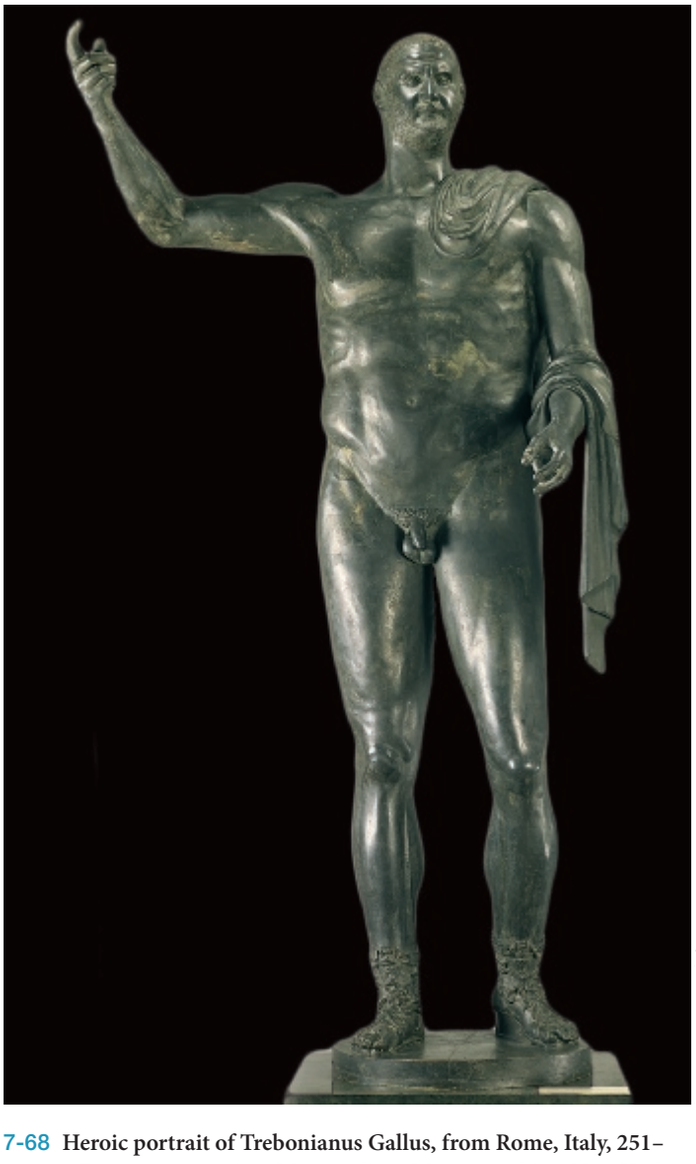
assert his authority, although few are preserved because of these rulers' brief reigns and the many decrees of damnatio memoriae. The sculpted portraits that do survive from the third century CE are among the most moving ever made, as notable for their emotional content as they are for their technical virtuosity. Portraits of Trajan Decius (r. 249–251 CE; FIG. 7-67) show the emperor best known for persecuting Christians as an old man with bags under his eyes and a sad expression. The eyes glance away nervously rather than engage the viewer directly, revealing the anxiety of a man who knows he can do little to restore order to an out-of-control world. The sculptor modeled the marble as if it were pliant clay, compressing the sides of the head at the level of the eyes, etching the hair and beard into the stone, and chiseling deep lines in the forehead and around the mouth. The portrait seems to reveal the anguished soul of the man and of the times, but it and the many like it present a problem in interpretation. It is hard to believe that the soldier emperors approved being represented as weak and troubled.

Trebonianus Gallus. Portraits of Decius's short-lived predecessor, Philip the Arabian (r. 244–249 CE), and successor, Trebonianus Gallus (r. 251–253 CE), also exist today. Philip's busts (FIG. 7-67A) are marble and typical of the era, but the portrait of Trebonianus illustrated here (FIG. 7-68) is a larger-than-life-size bronze statue. Trebonianus appears in heroic nudity, as had so many emperors and generals (FIG. 7-9) before him. His physique, however, is not that of the strong but graceful Greek athletes whom Augustus and his successors admired so much. Instead, his is a wrestler's body with massive legs and a swollen trunk. The heavyset body dwarfs the head, with its nervous expression. In this portrait, the Greek ideal of the keen mind in the harmoniously proportioned body gave way to an image of brute force—an image well suited to the age of the soldier emperors.

7-67A Philip the Arabian, 244–249 CE.

Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus. By the third century CE, burial of the dead had become so widespread that even the imperial family practiced it in place of cremation. Sarcophagi were more popular than ever. The unusually large sarcophagus illustrated here (FIG. 7-69) was discovered in Rome in 1621 and purchased by



1 ft.

7-68 Heroic portrait of Trebonianus Gallus, from Rome, Italy, 251–253 CE. Bronze, 7′ 11″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

In this over-life-size statue, Trebonianus Gallus projects an image of brute force. He has the massive physique of a powerful wrestler, in contrast to the lean bodies of Greek athletes and earlier emperors.

1 ft.

7-69 Battle of Romans and barbarians (*Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus*), from Rome, Italy, ca. 250–260 CE. Marble, 5′ high. Palazzo Altemps, Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome.

A chaotic scene of battle between Romans and barbarians decorates the front of this sarcophagus. The sculptor piled up the writhing, emotive figures in an emphatic rejection of Classical perspective.

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7-70 Sarcophagus of a philosopher, ca. 270–280 CE. Marble, 4′ 11″ high. Musei Vaticani, Rome.

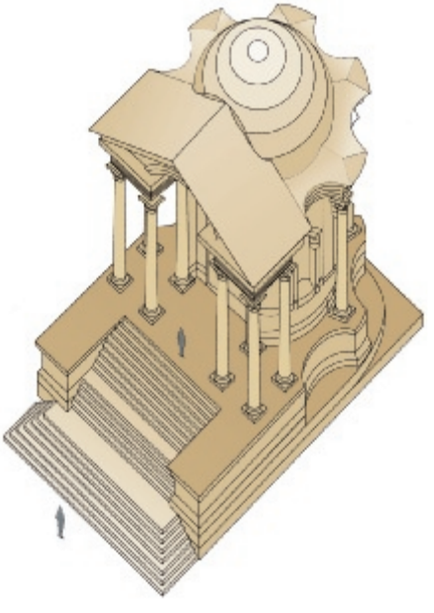
On many third-century CE sarcophagi, the deceased appears as a learned intellectual. Here, the seated philosopher is the central frontal figure. His two female muses also have portrait features.

Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi (1595–1632), a great collector of antiquities. On the front of the *Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus* is a chaotic scene of Romans fighting one of their northern foes, probably the Goths. The sculptor spread the writhing and highly emotive figures evenly across the entire relief, with no illusion of space behind them. This piling of figures is an even more emphatic rejection of Classical perspective than was the use of floating ground lines in the decursio panel (FIG. 7-57) of the Column of Antoninus Pius. It underscores the increasing dissatisfaction of Late Antique artists with the Classical style.

Within this dense mass of intertwined bodies, the central horseman stands out vividly. He wears no helmet and thrusts out his open right hand to demonstrate that he holds no weapon. Several scholars have identified him as one of the sons of Trajan Decius. In an age when the Roman army was far from invincible and Roman emperors were continuously assassinated by other Romans, the young general on the *Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus* boasts that he is a fearless commander assured of victory. His self-assurance may stem from his having embraced one of the increasingly popular Oriental mystery religions. On the youth's forehead, the sculptor carved the emblem of Mithras, the Persian god of light, truth, and victory over death.

Philosopher Sarcophagus. The insecurity of the times led some Romans to seek solace in philosophy. On many third-century sarcophagi, the deceased assumed the role of the learned intellectual. One especially large example (FIG. 7-70) depicts a seated Roman philosopher holding a scroll. Two standing women (also with portrait features) gaze at him from left and right, confirming his importance. In the background are other philosophers, students or colleagues of the central deceased teacher. The two women may be the deceased's wife and daughter, two sisters, or some other combination of family members. The composition, with a frontal central figure and two subordinate flanking figures, is typical of the Late Antique style (compare FIG. 7-64). This type of sarcophagus became popular for Christian burials. Sculptors used the wise-man motif to portray not only the deceased (FIG. 8-7) but also Christ flanked by saints (FIG. 8-8, *top center*).

Baalbek. Significant deviations from the norms of Classical art also are evident in third-century architecture. At Baalbek in present-day



7-71 Ruins (*left,* looking southwest) and restored view (*right,* looking northeast) of the Temple of Venus, Baalbek, Lebanon, mid-third century CE.

This "baroque" temple violates almost every rule of Classical design. It has a scalloped platform and entablature, five-sided Corinthian capitals, and a facade with an arch inside the pediment.

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Tetrarchic Portraiture

With the establishment of the tetrarchy in 293 CE, the sculptors in the emperors' employ suddenly had to grapple with a new problem—namely, how to represent four individuals who oversaw different regions of a vast empire but were equal partners in power. Although in life the four tetrarchs were rarely in the same place, in art they usually appeared together, both on coins and in statues. Artists did not try to capture their individual appearances and personalities—the norm in portraiture of the preceding soldier emperors (FIGS. 7-67, 7-67A, and 7-68)—but sought instead to represent the power-sharing nature of the tetrarchy itself.

The finest extant tetrarchic portraits are the two pairs of porphyry (purple marble) statues (FIG. 7-72) that have since medieval times adorned the southwestern corner of the great church (FIG. 9-26) dedicated to Saint Mark in Venice. (Originally, they adorned the shafts of two columns, probably in Byzantium, present-day Istanbul, Turkey.) In this and similar tetrarchic group portraits, it is impossible to name the rulers. Each of the four emperors has lost his identity as an individual and been absorbed into the larger entity of the tetrarchy. All the tetrarchs are identically clad in cuirass and cloak. Each grasps a sheathed sword in his left hand. With their right arms, the corulers embrace one another in an overt display of concord. The figures, like those on the decursio relief (FIG. 7-57) of the Column of Antoninus Pius, have large cubical heads and squat bodies. The drapery is schematic, the bodies are shapeless, and the faces are emotionless masks, distinguished only by the beards of two of the tetrarchs (the older Augusti, differentiating them from the younger Caesars). Other than the presence or absence of facial hair, each pair is as alike as freehand carving can achieve.

In this group portrait, carved eight centuries after Greek sculptors first freed the human form from the rigidity of the Egyptian-inspired kouros stance, an artist or artists once again conceived the human figure in iconic terms. Idealism, naturalism, individuality, and personality have disappeared.

7-72 Portraits of the four tetrarchs, from Constantinople, ca. 300 CE. Porphyry, 4′ 3″ high. Saint Mark's, Venice.

Diocletian established the tetrarchy to bring order to the Roman world. In group portraits, artists always depicted the four corulers as nearly identical partners in power, not as distinct individuals.

Lebanon, the architect of the Temple of Venus (FIG. 7-71), following in the "baroque" tradition of the Petra Treasury (FIG. 7-53), ignored almost every rule of Classical design. Although made of stone, the building, with its circular domed cella set behind a gabled columnar facade, is in many ways a critique of the concrete Pantheon (FIG. 7-49), which by then had achieved the status of a "classic." Many features of the Baalbek temple intentionally depart from the norm. The platform, for example, is scalloped all around the cella. The columns—the only known instance of five-sided Corinthian capitals with corresponding pentagonal bases—support a matching scalloped entablature (which serves to buttress the shallow stone dome). These concave forms and those of the niches in the cella walls play off against the cella's convex shape. Even the "traditional" facade of the Baalbek temple is eccentric. The unknown architect inserted an arch within the triangular pediment. Many centuries later, the Venus temple would inspire the design of a "Temple of Apollo" (FIG. 26-32A) on the grounds of an English private estate.

Diocletian and the Tetrarchy

In an attempt to restore order to the Roman Empire, Diocletian (r. 284–305 CE), whose troops proclaimed him emperor, decided to share power with his potential rivals. In 293, he established the *tetrarchy* (rule by four) and adopted the title of Augustus of the East. The other three *tetrarchs* were a corresponding Augustus of the West, and Eastern and Western Caesars (whose allegiance to the two Augusti was cemented by marriage to their daughters). The four coemperors ruled without strife until Diocletian retired in 305, and they often appeared together in group portraits (FIG. 7-72) to underscore their harmonious partnership (see "Tetrarchic Portraiture," above). Without Diocletian's leadership, however, the tetrarchic form of government collapsed, and renewed civil war followed. Nonetheless, the division of the Roman Empire into eastern and western spheres persisted throughout the Middle Ages, setting the Greek East (Byzantium) apart from the Latin West.

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7-73 Restored view of the palace of Diocletian, Split, Croatia, ca. 298–306.

Diocletian's palace resembled a fortified Roman city (compare FIG. 7-43). Within its high walls, two avenues intersected at the forumlike colonnaded courtyard leading to the emperor's residential quarters.

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Palace of Diocletian. When Diocletian abdicated in 305, he returned to his birthplace, Dalmatia (roughly the former Yugoslavia), where he built a palace (FIG. 7-73) at Split on the Adriatic coast. Just as Aurelian had felt it necessary to girdle Rome with fortress walls, Diocletian instructed his architects to provide him with a walled suburban palace. The fortified complex, which covers about 10 acres, has the layout of a Roman castrum, complete with watchtowers flanking the gates. It gave the retired emperor a sense of security in the most insecure of times.

Within the high walls, two avenues (comparable to the cardo and decumanus of a Roman city; FIG. 7-43) intersected at the palace's center. Where a city's forum would have been situated, Diocletian's palace had a colonnaded court leading to the entrance to the imperial residence, which had a templelike facade with an arch within its pediment, as in Baalbek's Temple of Venus (FIG. 7-71). Diocletian presented himself as if he were a god in his temple when he appeared before those who gathered in the court to pay homage to him. On one side of the court was a Temple of Jupiter. On the other side was Diocletian's domed octagonal *mausoleum* (FIG. 7-73, *center right*), which towered above all the other structures in the complex. Domed tombs of this type became very popular in Late Antiquity, not only for mausoleums but eventually also for churches, especially in the Byzantine Empire (FIGS. 9-10 and 9-11). In fact, Diocletian's mausoleum is a church today.

Constantine

An all-too-familiar period of conflict followed the short-lived concord among the tetrarchs that ended with Diocletian's abdication. This latest war among rival Roman armies lasted two decades. The eventual victor was Constantine I, son of Constantius Chlorus, Diocletian's Caesar of the West. After the death of his father, Constantine (r. 306–337 CE), later called Constantine the Great, invaded Italy. In 312 CE, in a decisive battle at Rome's Milvian Bridge, he defeated and killed Maxentius and took control of the capital. Constantine attributed his victory to the aid of the Christian god. The next year, he and Licinius, Constantine's coemperor in the East, issued the Edict of Milan, ending the persecution of Christians.

In time, Constantine and Licinius became foes, and in 324 Constantine defeated and executed Licinius near Byzantium. Constantine, now unchallenged ruler of the whole Roman Empire, founded a "New Rome" at Byzantium and named it Constantinople (City of Constantine). In 325, at the Council of Nicaea, Christianity became the de facto official religion of the Roman Empire. From this point on, the ancient cults declined rapidly. Constantine dedicated Constantinople on May 11, 330, "by the commandment of God," and in 337 the emperor was baptized on his deathbed. For many scholars, the transfer of the seat of power from Rome to Constantinople and the recognition of Christianity mark the end of antiquity and the beginning of the Middle Ages.

Constantinian art is a mirror of this transition from the ancient to the medieval world. In Rome, for example, Constantine was a builder in the grand tradition of the emperors of the first, second, and early third centuries, erecting public baths, a basilica on the road leading into the Roman Forum, and a triumphal arch. But he was also the patron of the city's first churches (see "The First Churches," page 248).

Basilica Nova. Constantine's basilica in the Roman Forum was called the Basilica Nova (New Basilica) and was the first major building project in the forum since the Severans. Its ruins (FIGS. 7-2, no. 12, and 7-74) never fail to impress tourists with their size and mass. The original structure was 300 feet long and 215 feet wide. Brick-faced concrete walls 20 feet thick supported coffered barrel vaults in the aisles. These vaults also buttressed the groin vaults of the nave, which was 115 feet high. Marble slabs and stuccoes covered the walls and floors. The reconstruction effectively suggests the immensity of the interior. Noteworthy too is the *fenestration* of the groin vaults (FIG. 7-6), a lighting system akin to the clerestory of a traditional stone-and-timber basilica. The architect here applied to basilica design the lessons learned in the design and construction of earlier Roman buildings, such as Trajan's great market hall (FIG. 7-47) and the Baths of Caracalla and Diocletian (FIG. 7-66).

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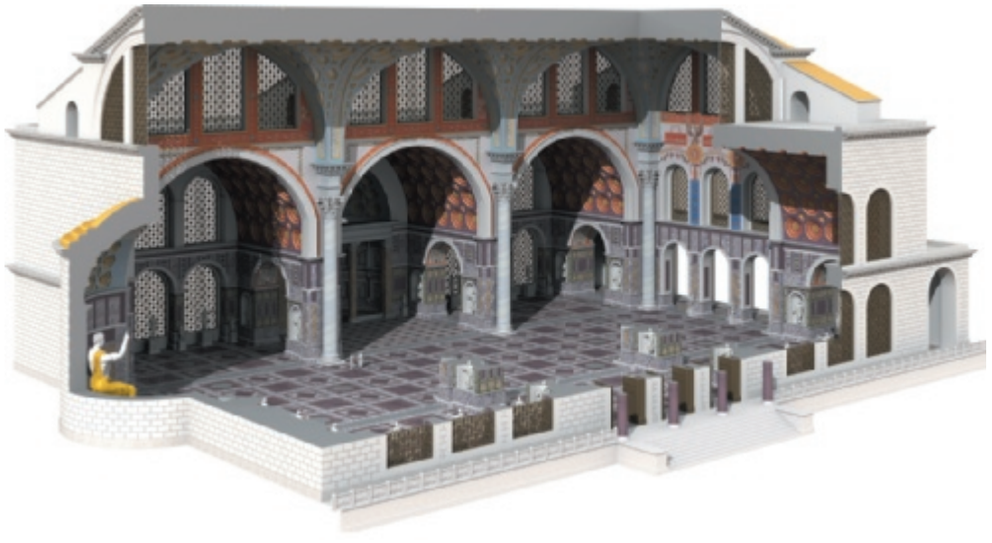
7-74 Basilica Nova, Rome, Italy, ca. 306–312 CE. *Top:* looking northeast; *bottom:* restored cutaway view (John Burge).

Roman builders applied the lessons learned constructing baths and market halls to the Basilica Nova, in which fenestrated concrete groin vaults replaced the clerestory of a stone-and-timber basilica.



Aula Palatina. Few architects, however, followed suit. At Trier on the Moselle River in Germany, the imperial seat of Constantius Chlorus as Caesar of the West, Constantine built a traditional basilica-like audience hall, the Aula Palatina, as part of his new palace complex. The Trier *aula* measures about 190 feet long and 95 feet wide. Inside (FIG. 7-75, *left*), the hall was very simple, unlike the contemporaneous Basilica Nova in Rome. Its flat, coffered wood ceiling is some 95 feet above the floor. The interior has no aisles, only a wide space with two stories of large windows that provide ample light. At the narrow north end, a *chancel arch* divides the main hall from the semicircular apse (which also has a flat ceiling). The Aula Palatina's interior is quite severe, although mosaics and marble plaques originally covered the arch and apse to provide a magnificent frame for the enthroned emperor.

The exterior (FIG. 7-75, *right*) of the Trier basilica is also austere, with brick walls enlivened somewhat by highlighting in grayish-white stucco. The use of lead-framed panes of glass for

7-75 Interior (*left,* looking north) and exterior (*above,* looking southeast) of the Aula Palatina, Trier, Germany, early fourth century CE.

The austere brick exterior of Constantine's Aula Palatina at Trier is typical of later Roman architecture. The interior resembles a timber-roofed basilica with an apse, but there are no aisles.

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7-76 Arch of Constantine (looking southwest), Rome, Italy, 312–315 CE.

Much of the sculptural decoration of Constantine's arch came from monuments of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius. Sculptors recut the heads of the earlier emperors to substitute Constantine's features.

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the windows enabled the builders to give life and movement to the blank exterior surfaces. The design of the exterior of the Aula Palatina has close parallels in many Early Christian churches (FIG. 8-19).

Arch of Constantine. Between 312 and 315, the Senate erected a grandiose triple-passageway arch (FIGS. 7-2, no. 15; 7-76; and 7-77) next to the Colosseum to commemorate Constantine's defeat of Maxentius. The arch was the largest erected in Rome since the end of the Severan dynasty. The builders, however, took much of the sculptural decoration from earlier monuments of Trajan, Hadrian (FIG. 7-47A), and Marcus Aurelius, and all of the columns and other architectural elements date to an earlier era. As a result, art historical evaluations of the Arch of Constantine differ sharply (see "The Arch of Constantine," page 233).

Colossus of Constantine. Until Constantine's victory over Maxentius, his portraits conformed to the tetrarchic mode, but once he secured control of Rome, the portraits he commissioned took on a very different look, resuscitating the Augustan image of a perpetually youthful head of state. The most impressive of the emperor's preserved portraits is an 8½-foot-tall head (FIG. 7-78), one of several fragments of a colossal enthroned statue of the emperor set up in the western apse of the Basilica Nova (FIG. 7-74, *bottom*). The emperor's image dominated the interior of the basilica in much the same way that statues of Greco-Roman divinities loomed over awe-struck mortals in temple cellas (compare FIG. 5-46).

The statue's head and limbs were marble, but it had a brick core and a wood torso covered with bronze. The emperor held an orb (possibly surmounted by the cross of Christ), the symbol of global power, in his extended left hand. The sideways glance of

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A SECOND OPINION

The Arch of Constantine

The Arch of Constantine (FIG. 7-76) presents one of the greatest interpretive problems in ancient art. Most of the sculptural ornament consists of reused sculptures, or *spolia* ("spoils"), and the reliefs that are of Constantinian date have traditionally been judged to be of inferior quality. Consequently, the arch has often been cited as the primary example of the lack of creativity and technical skill and of what one eminent art historian called the "decline of form"* that paralleled the deteriorating economy of the third and fourth centuries CE.

By contrast, some scholars have argued that the reuse of earlier sculptures was not an act of desperation but an attempt to associate Constantine with the "good emperors" of the second century CE. One of the arch's few Constantinian reliefs (FIG. 7-47A, *bottom*) underscores that message. It shows Constantine on the speaker's platform in the Roman Forum between statues of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. Moreover, Constantine's sculptors refashioned the second-century reliefs to honor him by recutting the heads of the earlier emperors with his features. They also added labels to the old reliefs, such as *Liberator Urbis* (Liberator of the City) and *Fundator Quietus* (Bringer of Peace), references to the downfall of Maxentius and the end of civil war.

The "decline of form" is a valid judgment only if the Classical style is used as the yardstick of artistic excellence. In another Constantinian relief (FIG. 7-77), the emperor distributes largesse to grateful citizens, who approach him from right and left. Constantine is a frontal and majestic presence, elevated on a throne above the recipients of his generosity. The figures are squat in proportion, as are the tetrarchs (FIG. 7-72). They move, not according to any Classical principle of naturalistic motion, but rather with the mechanical and repeated stances and gestures of puppets. The relief is very shallow, the forms are not fully modeled, and the details are incised. The frieze is less a narrative of action than a picture of actors frozen in time. Is this a "decline of form"? Perhaps not. In this relief, the viewer can instantly distinguish the all-important imperial donor (the largest figure, enthroned at the center) from his attendants (to the left and right above) and the recipients of the largesse (below), both of smaller stature than the emperor. The composition's rigid formality, determined by the rank of those portrayed, reflects a new set of values that supplanted the Classical notion that a picture is a window onto a world of anecdotal action. Comparing this Constantinian relief with a Byzantine icon (FIG. 9-19) reveals that the compositional principles of the Late Antique style became those of early medieval art. They were very different from, but not "better" or "worse" than, those of Greco-Roman art.

The Arch of Constantine is the quintessential monument of its era, exhibiting a respect for the past in its use of second-century spolia while rejecting the norms of Classical design in its frieze and thereby paving the way for the iconic art of the Middle Ages.

*Bernard Berenson, *The Arch of Constantine: or, The Decline of Form* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1954).

7-77 Constantine distributing largesse, detail of the north frieze of the Arch of Constantine, Rome, Italy, 312–315 CE. Marble, 3′ 4″ high.

This Constantinian frieze is less a narrative of action than a picture of actors frozen in time. The composition's rigid formality reflects the new values that would come to dominate medieval art.

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third-century portraits is absent, replaced by a frontal mask with enormous eyes set into the broad and simple planes of the head (FIG. 7-78). Constantine's personality is lost in this immense image of eternal authority. The colossal size, the likening of the emperor to Jupiter, the eyes directed at no person or thing of this world—all combine to produce a formula of overwhelming power appropriate to Constantine's exalted position as absolute ruler.

Constantinian Coins. No examination of Constantinian art is complete without a discussion of his coins, because they reveal

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7-78 Portrait of Constantine, from the Basilica Nova, Rome, Italy, ca. 315–330 CE. Marble, 8′ 6″ high. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Musei Capitolini, Rome.

Constantine's portraits revive the Augustan image of a perpetually youthful ruler. This colossal head is one fragment of an enthroned Jupiter-like statue of the emperor holding the orb of world power.

7-79 Two coins with portraits of Constantine. *Top*: nummus, 307 CE. Billon, diameter 1″. American Numismatic Society, New York. *Bottom:* medallion, ca. 315 CE. Silver, diameter 1″. Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich.

These two coins underscore that portraits of Roman emperors were rarely true likenesses. On the earlier coin, Constantine appears as a bearded tetrarch. On the later coin, he appears eternally youthful.

both the essential character of Roman imperial portraiture and the special nature of the works he commissioned. Two are illustrated here. The first (FIG. 7-79, *top*) dates shortly after the death of Constantine's father, when Constantine was in his early 20s and his position was still insecure. Here, in his official portrait, he appears considerably older, because he adopted the imagery of the tetrarchs. Indeed, were it not for the accompanying label identifying this Caesar as Constantine, it would be impossible to know whom the coin engraver portrayed. Eight years later (FIG. 7-79, *bottom*)—after the defeat of Maxentius and the Edict of Milan—Constantine, now the unchallenged Augustus of the West, is clean-shaven and looks his real age, having rejected the mature tetrarchic look in favor of youth. These two coins should dispel any uncertainty about the often fictive nature of imperial portraiture and the ability of Roman emperors to choose any official image that suited their needs. In Roman art, "portrait" is often not synonymous with "likeness."

The later coin is also an eloquent testimony to the dual nature of Constantinian rule. The emperor appears in his important role as imperator, dressed in armor, wearing an ornate helmet, and carrying a shield bearing the enduring emblem of the Roman state—the she-wolf nursing Romulus and Remus (compare FIG. 6-11 and Roma's shield in FIG. 7-56). Yet he does not carry the traditional eagle-topped scepter of the Roman emperor. Rather, he holds a cross crowned by an orb. At the crest of his helmet, at the front, just below the grand plume, is a disk containing the *Christogram,* the monogram made up of *chi* (X), *rho* (P), and *iota* (I), the initial letters of Christ's name in Greek (compare the shield held by a soldier in FIG. 9-13). The artist portrayed Constantine as both Roman emperor and soldier in the army of the Lord. The coin, like Constantinian art in general, belongs to both the ancient and the medieval worlds.

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THE BIG PICTURE

The Roman Empire

Monarchy and Republic 753–27 BCE

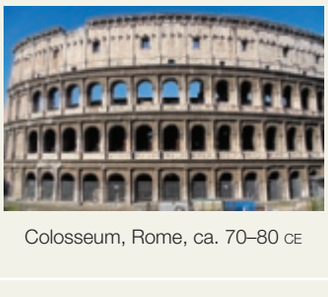
- According to legend, Romulus founded Rome on April 21, 753 BCE. In the sixth century BCE, Etruscan kings ruled the city, and Roman art was Etruscan in character.
- In the centuries following the establishment of the Republic in 509 BCE, Rome conquered its neighbors in Italy and then moved into Greece, gaining exposure to Greek art and architecture.
- Republican temples combined Etruscan plans with the Greek orders, and houses had peristyles with Greek columns. The Romans, however, pioneered the use of concrete as a building material.
- The First Style of mural painting derived from Greece and imitates marble revetment, but the illusionism of the Second Style is distinctly Roman.
- Republican portraits usually depicted elderly patricians. The superrealistic likenesses celebrated traditional Roman values.

Man with ancestor busts, late first century BCE

Early Empire 27 BCE–96 CE

- Augustus (r. 27 BCE–14 CE), the first Roman emperor, defeated Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 BCE and established the Pax Augusta, the beginning of the Pax Romana.
- Augustan art revived the Classical style with frequent references to Periclean Athens. Augustus's ambitious building program made lavish use of marble, and his portraits always represented him as an idealized youth.
- Under the Julio-Claudians (r. 14–68 CE), builders began to realize the full potential of concrete in buildings such as the Golden House of Nero.
- The Flavian emperors (r. 69–96 CE) built the Colosseum, the largest amphitheater in the world, and other grandiose buildings in Rome. The Arch of Titus celebrated the Flavian victory in Judaea and Titus's apotheosis.
- The eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE buried Pompeii and Herculaneum. During the quarter century before the disaster, painters decorated the walls of houses in the Third and Fourth Styles.

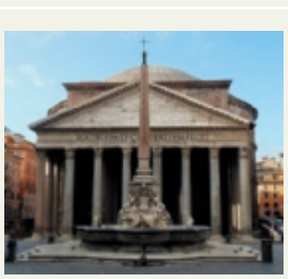
Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome, 13–9 BCE



Colosseum, Rome, ca. 70–80 CE

High Empire 96–192 CE

- The Roman Empire reached its greatest extent under Trajan (r. 98–117 CE). The emperor's new forum and markets transformed the civic center of Rome. The Column of Trajan commemorated his two campaigns in Dacia in a 625-foot-long spiral frieze.
- Hadrian (r. 117–138 CE), emulating Greek statesmen and philosophers, was the first emperor to wear a beard. His Pantheon is a triumph of concrete technology and boasts the ancient world's largest dome.
- Under the Antonines (r. 138–192 CE), the dominance of Classical art began to erode, and imperial artists introduced new compositional schemes in relief sculpture and a psychological element in portraiture.



Pantheon, Rome, completed 125 CE

Late Empire 193–337 CE

- In the art of the Severans (r. 193–235 CE), the non-naturalistic Late Antique style took root. Artists represented the emperor as a central frontal figure disengaged from the action around him.
- During the chaotic era of the soldier emperors (r. 235–284 CE), artists portrayed the short-lived emperors in portraits displaying an unprecedented psychic intensity.
- Diocletian (r. 284–305 CE) reestablished order by sharing power. Statues of the tetrarchs portray the four coemperors as identical and equal rulers, not as individuals.
- Constantine (r. 306–337 CE) restored one-man rule, ended persecution of Christians, and transferred the capital of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople in 330. The abstract formality of Constantinian art paved the way for the iconic art of the Middle Ages.

Arch of Constantine, Rome, 312–315 CE

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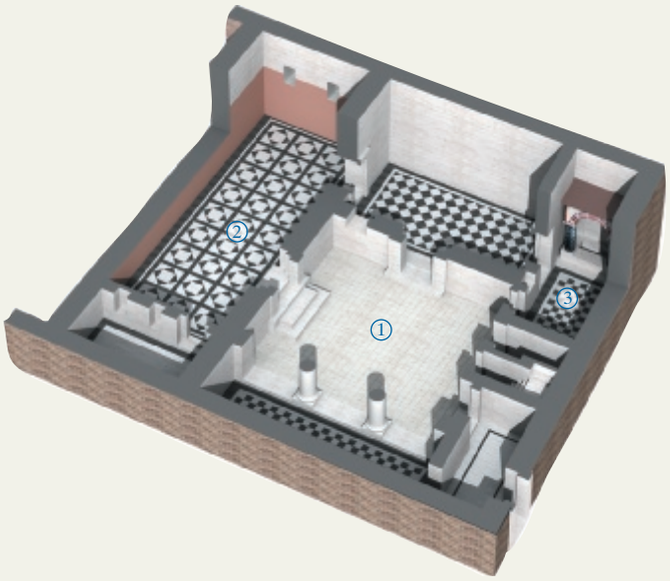
▼**8-1a** The Dura synagogue murals surprised scholars because the Second Commandment prohibits Jews from worshiping images. This detail shows the prophet Samuel anointing the future King David.



▲**8-1b** The Christians also had a place for community worship at Dura—a modest remodeled Roman house with a central courtyard, a meeting hall, and a baptistery. It could accommodate about 70 people.

8-1 Interior of the synagogue, Dura-Europos, Syria, with wall paintings of biblical themes, ca. 245–256. Tempera on plaster. Reconstruction in National Museum of Damascus, Damascus.

▶**8-1c** The frescoes of the Dura baptistery are the earliest known Christian iconographical program. The representations include Jesus as the Good Shepherd and New Testament miracles and parables.

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LATE ANTIQUITY 8

FRAMING THE ERA

Polytheism and Monotheism at Dura-Europos

During the third and fourth centuries, a rapidly growing number of Romans rejected *polytheism* (belief in multiple gods) in favor of *monotheism* (the worship of a single all-powerful god). This period of religious upheaval—Late Antiquity—is one of the most significant in history, marking the transition from the ancient Roman Empire to medieval Christian Europe and Byzantium.

These religious crosscurrents may be seen in microcosm in a distant outpost of the Roman Empire on a promontory overlooking the Euphrates River in Syria (MAP 8-1). Called Europos by the Greeks and Dura by the Romans, the town probably was founded by one of the successors of Alexander the Great. By the end of the second century BCE, Dura-Europos was in the hands of the Parthians. Trajan captured the city in 115 CE, but Dura reverted to Parthian control shortly thereafter. In 165, under Marcus Aurelius, the Romans retook the city. Dura-Europos fell in 256 to Rome's new enemy in the East, the Sasanians (FIGS. 2-28A and 2-29). The Romans abandoned the town, leaving its buildings largely intact. Excavations of this "Pompeii of the desert" have revealed the remains of more than a dozen different religious shrines, including many for the polytheistic religions of the Mediterranean and Mesopotamia as well as one each for Judaism and Christianity.

The *synagogue* (Jewish house of worship) at Dura-Europos was a converted private house with a central courtyard and a main room (FIG. 8-1) with a niche for the *Torah* (the scroll containing the *Pentateuch,* the first five books of the Hebrew Bible) at the center of one long wall. The synagogue is remarkable not only for its very existence in a Roman garrison town but also for its extensive cycle of mural paintings. The Christian community at Dura-Europos also had a place to gather for worship and to conduct important ceremonies. Like the synagogue, the Christian meetinghouse was a remodeled private residence. It consisted of a central courtyard, a meeting hall, and a *baptistery* for initiating newborns and converts into the Christian religion. The baptistery, like the synagogue, had frescoes on its walls.

These modest shrines stand in striking contrast to the grand temples of the Roman gods. Without the approval of the state, both Jews and Christians remained small in number during the first three centuries CE. The Christians especially suffered from persecution by the Roman authorities, which ended only in 311, when Galerius issued an edict of toleration. A new chapter in the history of Christianity opened in 313, when Constantine, who embraced the Christians' God as the source of his power rather than a threat to it, issued the Edict of Milan. That proclamation established Christianity as a legal religion with equal or superior standing to the traditional Roman cults.

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MAP 8-1 **The Mediterranean world in Late Antiquity.**

THE LATE ANTIQUE WORLD

The Roman Empire was home to an extraordinarily diverse population. In Rome alone on any given day, someone walking through the city's various quarters would have encountered people of an astonishing range of social, ethnic, racial, linguistic, and religious backgrounds. This multicultural character of Roman society became only more pronounced as the Romans expanded their territories throughout Europe, Africa, and Mesopotamia (MAP 7-1). Chapter 7 focused on the public and private art and architecture of those Romans through the time of Constantine who worshiped the traditional gods and embraced the values of the classical world.* This chapter treats Late Antique Jewish and Christian artworks, created both before and after Constantine, as well as post-Constantinian examples of the persistence of classical subjects (and of the classical style) through the early sixth century.† It is important to note at the outset that the Judeo-Christian sculptures, paintings, mosaics, and other artworks discussed in this chapter are no less Roman than imperial portraits, statues of gods and heroes, or sarcophagi with mythological scenes. Indeed, the artists may in some cases have been the same. But although they are Roman in style and technique, the Jewish and Christian sculptures, paintings, and buildings of Late Antiquity differ significantly in subject and often in function from contemporaneous Roman art and architecture. They are pivotal works in the history of art through the ages and constitute the bridge between ancient and medieval art and architecture.

FROM THE SOLDIER EMPERORS TO THE SACK OF ROME

Very little is known about the art of the first Christians. When art historians speak about "Early Christian art," they are referring to the earliest preserved artworks with Christian subjects, not to the art of

*In *Art through the Ages*, the adjective "Classical," with uppercase C, refers specifically to the Classical period of ancient Greece, 480–323 BCE. Lowercase "classical" refers to Greco-Roman antiquity in general—that is, the period treated in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

†In this and succeeding chapters, all dates are CE unless otherwise indicated.

LATE ANTIQUITY

235–306	306–337	337–527
Soldier Emperors to Constantine	**Constantine**	**Sons of Constantine to Justinian**
■ Syrian artists paint biblical scenes on the walls of the Dura-Europos synagogue ■ The murals in the baptistery of Dura's Christian community house are the earliest preserved Christian pictorial program ■ Late Antique sarcophagi and catacomb paintings are also among the first efforts at the establishment of a standard iconography for Christian subjects	■ Constantine erects Christian shrines in Rome, Jerusalem, and Bethlehem, and at other sites throughout the Roman Empire ■ Roman basilicas instead of temples serve as models for the first churches in Rome, including Old Saint Peter's, which stood, like many other Early Christian shrines, above the grave of a Christian martyr ■ Constantine moves his capital to Constantinople and dedicates it as the New Rome on the site of Greek Byzantium	■ Construction of basilican churches as well as central-plan mausolea and martyria—for example, Santa Costanza in Rome—continues ■ The luxury arts of metalwork, ivory carving, and manuscript illumination flourish ■ Mosaics become a major medium for church decoration ■ A new aesthetic focused on the spiritual rather than the physical world emerges in Late Antique art ■ Theodosius establishes Christianity as the state religion, and Honorius moves the capital of the Western Roman Empire to Ravenna

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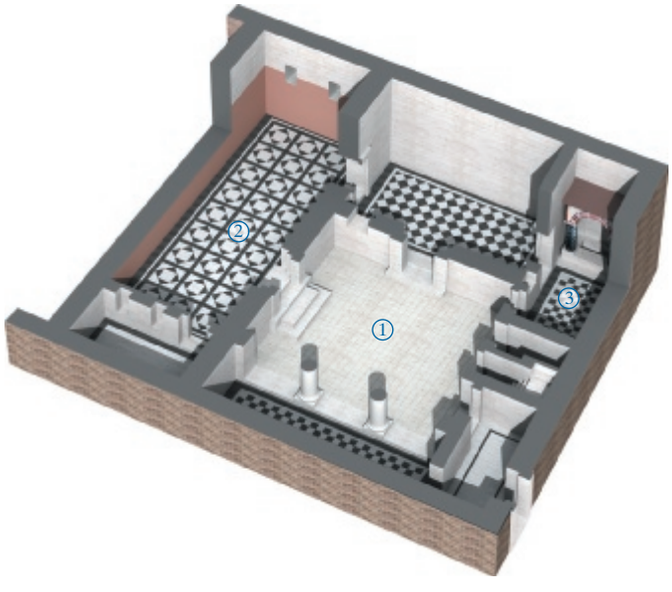
8-2 Samuel anoints David, detail of the main interior wall of the synagogue, Dura-Europos, Syria, ca. 245–256. Tempera on plaster, 4′ 7″ high.

The figures in this scene from the book of Samuel lack volume, stand in frontal rows, and exhibit stylized gestures—features characteristic of Late Antique art, regardless of subject matter.

Christians living in the time of Jesus. The same is true, of course, for Jewish art of the time of Abraham. Most of the oldest extant examples of Jewish and Christian art date to the period from the soldier emperors of the mid-third century to the sack of Rome in 410.

Dura-Europos

Among the earliest preserved artworks depicting Jewish and Christian subjects, the most important adorned the walls of the synagogue and baptistery of Dura-Europos (see "Polytheism and Monotheism at Dura-Europos," page 237).



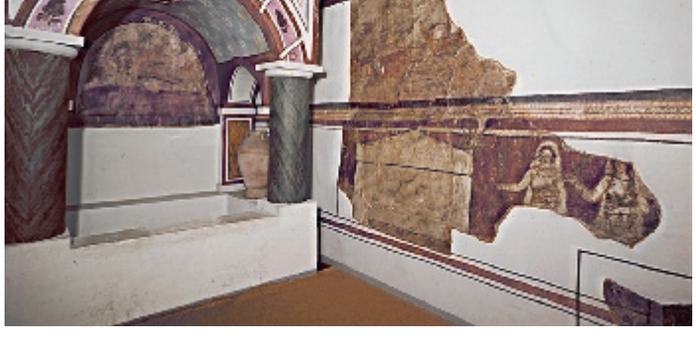
8-3 Restored cutaway view of the Christian community house (looking southwest), Dura-Europos, Syria, ca. 240–256 (John Burge). (1) former courtyard of private house, (2) meeting hall, (3) baptistery.

The Christian community at Dura-Europos met in a remodeled private home that could accommodate only about 70 people. The converted house had a central courtyard, a meeting hall, and a baptistery (FIG. 8-4).

Synagogue Paintings. The discovery almost a century ago of the elaborate mural cycle in the Dura synagogue (FIG. 8-1) initially surprised scholars because they had assumed that the Second Commandment (Exodus 20:4–6), which prohibits Jews from worshiping images, precluded the display of figural scenes in houses of worship. It now seems likely that narrative scenes such as those at Dura were features of many Late Antique synagogues as well as of Hebrew manuscripts, although no illustrated Bible of this period survives (see "Manuscript Illumination," page 252). God (YHWH, or Yahweh in the Torah) never appears in the Dura paintings, however, except as a hand emerging from the top of the framed panels.

The Dura murals are mostly devoid of action, even when the subject is a narrative theme. The artists told the stories through stylized gestures, and the figures, which have expressionless features, in most cases lack both volume and shadow. The painting illustrating the episode in the Book of Samuel in which Samuel anoints David (FIG. 8-2) exemplifies this Late Antique style, also seen in the friezes of the Arch of Septimius Severus (FIG. 7-64) at Lepcis Magna and the Arch of Constantine (FIG. 7-77) in Rome. The scene is on the main wall just to the right of the Torah niche. The prophet anoints the future king of Israel, as David's six older brothers look on. The painter drew attention to Samuel by depicting him larger than all the rest, a familiar convention in Late Antique art. David and his brothers are frontal figures looking out at the viewer. They seem almost weightless. Some bodies do not have legs to support them. The painter distinguished David from his brothers by the purple toga he wears. Purple was the color associated with the Roman emperor, and the Dura artist borrowed the imperial toga from Roman state art to signify David's royalty.

Christian Community House. The place where Christians gathered at Dura was also a remodeled home (FIG. 8-3). Its meeting hall (no. 2)—created by breaking down the partition between two rooms on the south side of the courtyard (no. 1)—could accommodate no more than about 70 people at a time. It had a raised platform at one end where the leader of the congregation sat or stood. The baptistery (no. 3), a small room 22 feet long and 10 feet wide with a font at the west end, was on the opposite side of the courtyard. This modest room is, nonetheless, of great importance because it was decorated with the oldest known Christian iconographical program (FIG. 8-4).



8-4 Baptistery (looking northwest) in the Christian community house (FIG. 8-3), Dura-Europos, Syria, ca. 240–256. Reconstructed in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.

The frescoes of the Dura baptistery are the oldest surviving Christian iconographical program. The representations include Jesus as the Good Shepherd and New Testament miracles and parables.

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The baptistery frescoes include, on the long wall, representations of two of Christ's miracles—the healing of the paralytic and Jesus (and Peter) walking on water (see "The Life of Jesus in Art," pages 244–245) and the parable of the wise and foolish virgins. Above the font is Christ as the Good Shepherd, a popular Early Christian motif (FIGS. 8-6, 8-7, and 8-24) that can be traced back to Archaic Greek art, but there the calf bearer (FIG. 5-8) was a bearded man offering his animal in sacrifice to Athena. In Early Christian art, Christ is the youthful and loyal protector of the Christian flock. He said to his disciples, "I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd gives his life for the sheep" (John 10:11). In the Christian motif, the sheep on Christ's shoulders is not a sacrificial offering. It is one of the lost sheep Christ has retrieved, and it symbolizes a sinner who has strayed and been rescued. Near the baptismal font is a painting of a woman at a well, recently identified as the Virgin Mary learning that she is "blessed among women" because she will give birth to the Son of God. The Dura fresco of Mary is the earliest known depiction of Jesus's mother in the history of art.

Rome

Most of the Jewish and Early Christian art in Rome dates to the third and fourth centuries and is found in the *catacombs*—vast subterranean networks of *galleries* (passageways) and chambers designed as cemeteries for burying Christians and, to a lesser extent, Jews (FIG. 8-4A) and others. The name derives from the Latin *ad catacumbas,* which

8-4A Villa Torlonia Catacomb, Rome, third century.

A SECOND OPINION

The Via Latina Catacomb

Discovered in 1955, the catacomb in the Via Dino Compagni on the ancient Via Latina outside the walls of Rome features an extensive series of high-quality mural paintings. Of unusually regular plan, the underground complex probably was the private burial place of a small number of families of considerable means. According to many scholars, some of these families must have been Christian, others possibly Jewish, and some traditional Roman, based on the subjects chosen for the murals, which range from Old Testament themes—for example, Moses and the Israelites crossing the Red Sea—to the miracles of Christ to Greco-Roman mythology.

In place of the long galleries of modest loculi that characterize most catacombs, the Via Latina Catacomb consists of a series of elaborate cubicula with groin vaults, columns, pediments, cornices, and niches carved out of the bedrock and then decorated with mural paintings. The frescos in cubiculum N (FIG. 8-5) celebrate the greatest Greco-Roman hero, Hercules (see "Herakles," page 126). The setting of the story in the main niche is Hades. (The three-headed guardian dog of the Underworld, Cerberus, establishes the location; compare FIG. 6-8.) The painter depicted Hercules rescuing Alcestis from the Underworld and presenting her to her husband, Admetus, seated at the right. The side walls of the niche illustrate two of the hero's seemingly impossible 12 labors: the multiheaded hydra of Lerna, and the golden apples of the Hesperides (compare FIG. 5-31), the last of his labors, after which the gods awarded Hercules immortality.

Does the presence of mythological scenes in the same burial complex as biblical themes featuring both Hebrew prophets and Jesus mean that the Via Latina Catacomb housed the remains of adherents of different faiths? Not necessarily. About the time that painters were decorating this catacomb (ca. 320–360), the Church officially incorporated the Hebrew Bible—called the Old Testament by Christians—into the full Bible as we know it today. The Jewish subjects were thus merged into a coherent Christian "story line" in which the events of the Old Testament were seen as predictive forerunners of those of the New Testament (see "Old Testament Subjects in Christian Art," page 242).

Traditional Greco-Roman mythological themes also took on new meaning for Christians. In the Via Latina Catacomb, the patrons

8-5 Cubiculum N, Via Latina Catacomb, Rome, Italy, ca. 320–360.

The commingling of mythological and Old and New Testament subjects in the mural decoration of this unusually elaborate catacomb typifies Late Antique art. Cubiculum N celebrates the hero Hercules.

undoubtedly chose the labors of Hercules to highlight the hero's role as conqueror of death and savior of humankind, establishing Hercules as an ancient counterpart to Christ. The commingling of religious iconography and artistic traditions in this catacomb typifies the world of Late Antiquity and of fourth-century Rome in particular.

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means "in the hollows." The Christian and Jewish communities tunneled the catacombs out of the tufa bedrock, much as the Etruscans created the underground tomb chambers (FIGS. 6-7 and 6-8) in the Cerveteri necropolis. The catacombs are less elaborate than the Etruscan tombs, but much more extensive. The known catacombs in Rome (others exist elsewhere) ring the outskirts of the city. Their combined galleries run for 60 to 90 miles. From the second through the fourth centuries, these burial complexes were in constant use, accommodating as many as four million bodies.

In accordance with Roman custom, the dead had to be buried outside a city's walls on private property. Families often pooled funds in a burial association, or *confraternity.* Each of the now-labyrinthine catacombs was initially of modest extent. First, the builders dug a gallery 3 to 4 feet wide around the perimeter of the burial ground at a convenient level below the surface. In the walls of these galleries, they cut *loculi* (stacked openings, like shelves, to receive the bodies of the dead). Often, small rooms carved out of the rock, called *cubicula* (as in Roman houses of the living), served as mortuary chapels. Once the original perimeter galleries were full of loculi and cubicula, the excavators cut other galleries at right angles to them. This process continued as long as lateral space permitted, at which point the confraternities opened lower levels connected by staircases to those above. Some Roman catacomb systems extend as deep as five levels. When adjacent burial areas belonged to members of the same confraternity, or by gift or purchase fell into the same hands, the owners opened passageways between the respective cemeteries. The galleries thus spread laterally, and gradually acquired a vast extent.

After Christianity received official approval under Constantine, churches rose on the land above Rome's Christian catacombs so that the pious could worship openly at the burial sites of some of the earliest Christian *martyrs* (men and women who chose to die rather than deny their religious beliefs), whom the Church had declared *saints* (see "Early Christian Saints and Their Attributes," pages 246–247).

Via Latina Catacomb. As already noted, Late Antique Jewish and Christian works of art do not differ from contemporaneous Roman artworks in style or technique, only in subject. Some catacomb paintings, including many of those in a fourth-century catacomb on the Via Latina in Rome, even depict traditional Greco-Roman myths (see "The Via Latina Catacomb," page 240).

Peter and Marcellinus. It is not surprising, therefore, that the painted ceiling (FIG. 8-6) of a cubiculum in the Catacomb of Saints Peter and Marcellinus in Rome is similar in format to the painted vaults (FIG. 7-54A) of some third-century apartment houses at Ostia that have a circular frame with a central medallion and *lunettes* (semicircular frames) around the circumference. In the corners of the catacomb fresco are the heads of the personified Four Seasons, another borrowing from the repertoire of classical art.

The lunettes in the Peter and Marcellinus cubiculum contain the key episodes from the biblical story of Jonah. Sailors throw him from his ship on the left. He emerges on the right from the "whale." (The Greek word is *ketos* ("sea dragon"), and that is how the artist represented the monstrous marine creature that swallowed Jonah; compare the sea dragon on the Ara Pacis—FIG. 7-30, *right.*) At the bottom, safe on land, Jonah contemplates the miracle of his salvation and the mercy of God. His figure is based on representations, common on Roman sarcophagi, of the Greek hero Endymion, who was beloved by Selene, the moon goddess, who asked Zeus to grant Endymion eternal youth. Jonah was a popular figure in Early Christian painting and sculpture, especially in funerary contexts. The Christians honored him as a *prefiguration* (prophetic forerunner) of Christ, who rose from death as Jonah had been delivered from the belly of the ketos, also after three days. Old Testament miracles prefiguring Christ's resurrection abound in the catacombs and in Early Christian art in general (see "Old Testament Subjects in Christian Art," page 242).

A man, a woman, and at least one child occupy the compartments between the Jonah lunettes. They are *orants* (praying figures),

8-6 The Good Shepherd, the story of Jonah, orants, and Seasons, frescoed ceiling of a cubiculum in the Catacomb of Saints Peter and Marcellinus, Rome, Italy, early fourth century.

Christian catacomb paintings often mixed Old and New Testament themes. Jonah was a popular subject because he emerged safely from a sea monster after three days, prefiguring Christ's resurrection.

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Old Testament Subjects in Christian Art

When the Christians codified the Bible in its familiar form in the fourth century, they incorporated the Hebrew Torah and other writings, and designated the Jewish books as the "Old Testament" in contrast to the Christian books of the "New Testament." From the beginning, the Old Testament played an important role in Christian life and Christian art, in part because Jesus was a Jew and so many of the first Christians were converted Jews, but also because Christians came to view many of the persons and events of the Old Testament as *prefigurations* of New Testament persons and events.

Christ himself established the pattern for this kind of biblical interpretation, called *typology,* when he compared Jonah's spending three days in the belly of the sea dragon (usually translated as "whale" in English) to the comparable time that he would be entombed in the earth before his resurrection (Matt. 12:40). Saint Augustine (354–430) confirmed the validity of this typological approach to the Old Testament when he stated that "the New Testament is hidden in the Old; the Old is clarified by the New."* Thus the events recounted in the Hebrew Bible figured prominently in Early Christian art in all media. Biblical tales of Jewish faith and salvation were especially common in funerary contexts, but appeared also in churches and on household objects.

The following are three of the most popular Old Testament stories depicted in Early Christian art:

- ***Adam and Eve*** (FIG. 8-8, *bottom, second from left*) Eve, the first woman, tempted by a serpent, ate the forbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge, and fed some to Adam, the first man. As punishment, God expelled Adam and Eve from Paradise. This "Original Sin" ultimately led to Christ's sacrifice on the cross so that all humankind could be saved. Christian theologians often consider Christ the new Adam and his mother, Mary, the new Eve.
- ***Sacrifice of Isaac*** (FIG. 8-8, *top left*) God instructed Abraham, the father of the Hebrew nation, to sacrifice Isaac, his only son with his wife, Sarah, as proof of his faith. (The mother of Abraham's first son, Ishmael, was Sarah's handmaiden.) When it became clear that Abraham would obey, the Lord sent an angel to restrain him and provided a ram for sacrifice in Isaac's place. Christians view this episode as a prefiguration of the sacrifice of God's only son, Jesus.
- ***Jonah*** (FIGS. 8-6, *lunettes,* and 8-7, *left*) The Old Testament prophet Jonah had disobeyed God's command. In his wrath, the Lord caused a storm while Jonah was at sea. Jonah asked the sailors to throw him overboard, and the storm subsided. A sea dragon then swallowed Jonah, but God answered his prayers, and the monster spat Jonah out after three days, foretelling Christ's resurrection.

*Augustine, *City of God,* 16.26.

8-7 Sarcophagus with philosopher, orant, and Old and New Testament scenes, ca. 270. Marble, 1′ 11¼″ × 7′ 2″. Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome.

This Early Christian sarcophagus depicts the salvation of Jonah, Christ as Good Shepherd, and the baptism of Christ. The two figures with unfinished heads were to become portraits of the deceased.

raising their arms in the ancient attitude of prayer. Together they make up a cross-section of the Christian family seeking a heavenly afterlife, although they may be generic portraits of the owners of the cubiculum. The central medallion shows Christ as the Good Shepherd, whose powers of salvation the painter underscored by placing the four episodes of the Jonah story around him.

Santa Maria Antiqua Sarcophagus. Most Christians rejected cremation because they believed in the resurrection of the body, and the wealthiest Christian faithful favored impressive marble sarcophagi, as did well-to-do non-Christian Romans. Many of these coffins have survived in the catacombs and elsewhere. As one might expect, the most common themes painted on the walls and vaults of the Roman subterranean cemeteries were also the subjects that appeared most frequently on Early Christian sarcophagi. Often, the decoration of the marble coffins was a collection of significant Old and New Testament themes, just as on the painted ceiling (FIG. 8-6) in the Catacomb of Saints Peter and Marcellinus.

On the front of a sarcophagus (FIG. 8-7) in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome, the story of Jonah occupies the left third. At the center are

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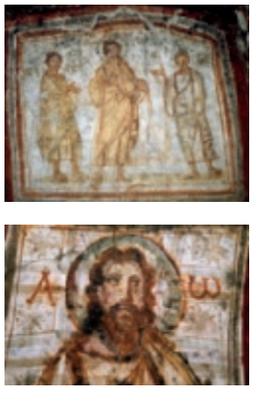
an orant and a seated philosopher, the latter a motif, like the reclining Jonah motif, borrowed directly from Roman sarcophagi (FIG. 7-70) and popular also in Roman painting (FIG. 7-25) and statuary. The heads of both the praying woman and the seated man reading a scroll are unfinished. Roman workshops often produced sarcophagi before knowing who would purchase them. The sculptors added the portraits at the time of burial, if they added them at all. This practice underscores the universal appeal of the themes chosen.

At the right are two different, yet linked, representations of Jesus—as the Good Shepherd and as a child receiving baptism in the Jordan River in the presence of the dove of the Holy Spirit, though he really was baptized as an adult (see "The Life of Jesus in Art," pages 244–245). In the early centuries of Christianity, baptism was usually delayed almost to the moment of death because it cleansed the Christian of all sin. One of those who was baptized on his deathbed was Emperor Constantine. On this sarcophagus, the newly baptized child Jesus turns his head away from John and toward the Good Shepherd and one of the sheep at his feet—perhaps the sculptor's way of suggesting Jesus's future ministry.



8-7A Catacomb of Commodilla, Rome, ca. 370–385.

Early Christian artists almost invariably represented Christ either as the Good Shepherd or as a teacher. Only after Christianity became the Roman Empire's official religion in 380 did Christ commonly take on in art such imperial attributes as the halo, the purple robe, and the throne, which denoted rulership. Eventually, artists depicted Christ with the beard of a mature adult—as in the late-fourth-century Catacomb of Commodilla (FIG. **8-7A**) in Rome. The bearded Christ soon became the standard, if not the exclusive, "portrait" of the Savior, supplanting the youthful imagery of most Early Christian portrayals.

Junius Bassus Sarcophagus. We do not know who purchased the Santa Maria Antiqua sarcophagus, but the blank portrait heads prove that it was a stock piece. Other patrons, however, had the wealth and interest to commission costly custom marble coffins. One of them was Junius Bassus, the mid-fourth-century city prefect of Rome who converted to Christianity and, according to the inscription on his sarcophagus (FIG. **8-8**), was baptized just before his death in 359. He is a prominent example of a mid-fourth-century patrician who grew up immersed in traditional Roman culture and initially paid homage to the old Roman gods. It is not surprising, then, that he chose to be buried in a richly decorated sarcophagus that included images of the major divinity that he revered at the time of his death—Jesus.

The reliefs on Junius Bassus's sarcophagus are only on the front and two short sides in the western Roman manner (FIG. 7-59). The front has 10 figural scenes in two registers of five compartments, each framed by columns, as on Asiatic sarcophagi (FIG. 7-60). However, the deceased does not appear in any of those compartments. Instead, Old and New Testament stories fill the niches. Jesus has pride of place and appears in the central compartment of each register: enthroned between Saints Peter and Paul (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247), and entering Jerusalem on a donkey. Both compositions owe a great deal to official Roman art. In the upper zone, Christ, like an enthroned Roman emperor, sits above the sky god, who holds a billowing mantle over his head, indicating that Christ is ruler of the cosmos. The scene below derives in part from representations of Roman emperors entering conquered cities on horseback, but the sculptor here emphasized humility, not majesty. Jesus's steed and the absence of imperial attributes stand in stark and doubtless intentional contrast to the models the sculptor must have used as compositional sources.

1 ft.

8-8 Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, from Rome, Italy, ca. 359. Marble, 3′ 10½″ × 8′. Museo Storico del Tesoro della Basilica di San Pietro, Rome.

Episodes from the Old Testament appear beside scenes from the life of Jesus on this lavishly decorated sarcophagus. Jesus is in the center of the upper register, flanked by the saints Peter and Paul.

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The Life of Jesus in Art

Christians believe that Jesus of Nazareth is the son of God, the prophesied *Messiah* (Savior, *Christ*) of the Jews. His life—his miraculous birth from the womb of a virgin mother, his preaching and miracle working, his execution by the Romans and subsequent ascent to Heaven—has been the subject of countless artworks from Late Antiquity through the present day. The primary literary sources for these representations are the Gospels of the New Testament attributed to the four evangelists (Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; see "The Four Evangelists," page 331); later apocryphal works; and medieval theologians' commentaries on these texts.

The life of Jesus dominated the subject matter of Christian art to a far greater extent than Greco-Roman religion and mythology ever did classical art. Whereas images of athletes, portraits of statesmen and philosophers, narratives of war and peace, genre scenes, and other secular subjects were staples of the classical tradition, Christian iconography held a near monopoly in the art of the Western world during the Middle Ages.

Although during certain periods artists rarely, if ever, depicted many of the events of Jesus's life, the cycle as a whole has been one of the most frequent subjects of Western art, even after the widespread revival of classical and secular themes during the Renaissance. Thus it is useful to summarize at the outset the entire cycle of events as they usually appear in artworks.

INCARNATION AND CHILDHOOD

The first "cycle" of the life of Jesus consists of the events of his conception (incarnation), birth, infancy, and childhood.

- ***Annunciation to Mary*** (FIGS. 9-34 and 21-21) The archangel Gabriel announces to the Virgin Mary that she will miraculously conceive God's son, Jesus. Artists sometimes indicated God's presence at the Incarnation by a dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, the third "person" of the *Trinity* with God the Father and Jesus.
- ***Visitation*** (FIGS. 13-25 and 20-4, *left*) The pregnant Mary visits Elizabeth, her older cousin, who is pregnant with the future John the Baptist. Elizabeth is the first to recognize that the baby in Mary's womb is the son of God, and they rejoice.
- ***Nativity*** (FIG. 14-3), ***Annunciation to the Shepherds*** (FIG. 11-32), and ***Adoration of the Shepherds*** (FIG. 20-16) Jesus is born at night in Bethlehem and placed in a manger. Mary and her husband, Joseph, marvel at the newborn in a stable or, in Byzantine art, in a cave. An angel announces the birth of the Savior to shepherds in the field, who rush to adore the infant Jesus.
- ***Adoration of the Magi*** (FIG. 21-17) A bright star alerts three wise men (*magi*) in the East that the king of the Jews has been born. They travel 12 days to find the holy family and present precious gifts to the infant Jesus.
- ***Presentation in the Temple*** (FIGS. 10-36 and 20-4, *right*) In accordance with Jewish tradition, Mary and Joseph bring their firstborn son to the temple in Jerusalem, where the aged Simeon, who God said would not die until he had seen the Messiah, recognizes Jesus as the prophesied savior of humankind.
- ***Massacre of the Innocents*** and ***Flight into Egypt*** (FIG. 24-15) King Herod, fearful that a rival king has been born, orders the massacre of all infants in Bethlehem, but an angel warns the holy family, and they escape to Egypt.
- ***Dispute in the Temple*** Joseph and Mary travel to Jerusalem for the feast of *Passover* (the celebration of the release of the Jews from bondage to the pharaohs of Egypt). Jesus, only 12 years old at the time, engages in learned debate with astonished Jewish scholars in the temple, foretelling his ministry.

PUBLIC MINISTRY

The public-ministry cycle comprises the teachings of Jesus and the miracles he performed.

- ***Baptism*** (FIGS. 8-24A and 12-27) Jesus's public ministry begins with his baptism by John the Baptist in the Jordan River, where the dove of the Holy Spirit appears and God's voice is heard proclaiming that Jesus is his son.
- ***Apostles*** and ***Miracles*** In the course of his teaching and travels, Jesus enlists 12 disciples (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247) to serve as his messengers (apostles), including the fisherman Peter and the tax collector Matthew (FIG. 24-17). Jesus performs many miracles, revealing his divine nature. These include acts of healing and raising the dead, turning water into wine, walking on water and calming storms, and creating wondrous quantities of food. In the miracle of the loaves and fishes (FIG. 8-26), for example, Jesus transforms a few loaves of bread and a handful of fish into enough food to feed several thousand people.
- ***Delivery of the Keys to Peter*** (FIG. 21-41) Jesus chooses the apostle Peter (whose name means "rock") as the leader of the Christian community. Jesus declares that Peter is the rock on which his church will be built, and symbolically delivers to Peter the keys to the kingdom of Heaven.
- ***Transfiguration*** (FIG. 9-16) Jesus scales a high mountain and, in the presence of Peter and two other disciples, James and John the Evangelist, transforms into radiant light. God, speaking from a cloud, again discloses that Jesus is his son.
- ***Cleansing of the Temple*** Jesus returns to Jerusalem, where he finds money changers and merchants conducting business in the temple. He rebukes them and drives them out of the sacred precinct.

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PASSION

The passion (from Latin *passio,* "suffering") cycle includes the episodes leading to Jesus's death, resurrection, and ascent to Heaven.

- ***Entry into Jerusalem*** (FIGS. 8-8 and 14-11A) On the Sunday before his crucifixion (Palm Sunday), Jesus rides into Jerusalem on a donkey, accompanied by disciples. Crowds of people enthusiastically greet Jesus and place palm fronds in his path.
- ***Last Supper*** (FIG. 22-4) and ***Washing of the Disciples' Feet*** (FIG. 11-30A) In Jerusalem, Jesus celebrates Passover with his disciples. During this final meal with his followers, Jesus foretells his imminent betrayal, arrest, and death, and he invites the disciples to remember him when they eat unleavened bread (symbol of his body) and drink wine (his blood). This ritual became the central feature of the celebration of *Mass* (*Eucharist*) in the Catholic Church. Jesus also sets an example of humility for his apostles by washing their feet.
- ***Agony in the Garden*** Jesus goes to the Mount of Olives in the Garden of Gethsemane, where he struggles to overcome his human fear of death by praying for divine strength. The apostles who accompanied him there fall asleep despite his request that they stay awake with him while he prays.
- ***Betrayal*** and ***Arrest*** (FIG. 14-12) The disciple Judas Iscariot agrees to betray Jesus to the Jewish authorities in return for 30 pieces of silver. Judas leads the soldiers to Jesus and identifies the "king of the Jews" by kissing him, whereupon the soldiers arrest Jesus. Later, a remorseful Judas hangs himself from a tree (FIG. 8-16).
- ***Trials of Jesus*** (FIG. 9-17B) and ***Denial of Peter*** The soldiers bring Jesus before Caiaphas, the Jewish high priest, who interrogates Jesus about his claim to be the Messiah. Meanwhile, the disciple Peter thrice denies knowing Jesus, as Jesus predicted he would. Jesus is then brought before the Roman governor of Judaea, Pontius Pilate, on the charge of treason because he had proclaimed himself as the Jews' king. Pilate asks the crowd to choose to free either Jesus or Barabbas, a murderer. The people select Barabbas, and the judge condemns Jesus to death. Pilate then washes his hands, symbolically relieving himself of responsibility for the mob's decision.
- ***Flagellation*** (FIG. 21-43) and ***Mocking*** The Roman soldiers who hold Jesus captive whip (*flagellate*) him and mock him by dressing him as king of the Jews and placing a crown of thorns on his head.
- ***Carrying of the Cross, Raising of the Cross*** (FIG. 25-2), and ***Crucifixion*** (FIGS. 9-24 and 23-2) The Romans force Jesus to carry the cross on which he will be crucified from Jerusalem to Mount Calvary (Golgotha, the "Place of the Skull," Adam's burial place). Jesus falls three times, and his robe is stripped from him along the way. Soldiers erect the cross—often labeled in art *INRI* (the initial letters of "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews" in Latin)—and nail his hands and feet to it. Jesus's mother, John the Evangelist, and Mary Magdalene mourn at the foot of the cross, while the Roman soldiers torment Jesus. One of them (the centurion Longinus) stabs the Savior in the side with a spear. After suffering great pain, Jesus dies. The Crucifixion occurred on a Friday, and Christians celebrate the day each year as Good Friday.
- ***Deposition*** (FIG. 20-13), ***Lamentation*** (FIGS. 9-29 and 14-10), and ***Entombment*** (FIGS. 12-30C and 24-17B) Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus remove Jesus's body from the cross (the Deposition). Sometimes those present at the Crucifixion look on. They then take Jesus to the tomb that Joseph had purchased for himself, and Joseph, Nicodemus, the Virgin Mary, John the Evangelist, and Mary Magdalene mourn over the dead Jesus (the Lamentation). (When in art the isolated figure of the Virgin Mary cradles her dead son in her lap, it is called a *Pietà* (FIGS. 13-52 and 22-12)—Italian for "pity.") In portrayals of the entombment, his followers lower Jesus into a sarcophagus in the tomb.
- ***Descent into Limbo*** (FIG. 9-32) During the three days he spends in the tomb, Jesus descends into Hell, or Limbo, and triumphantly frees the souls of the righteous, including Adam, Eve, Moses, David, Solomon, and John the Baptist. In Byzantine art, the label *Anastasis* (Greek, "resurrection") often identifies this episode, although the event precedes Jesus's own emergence from the tomb and reappearance on earth.
- ***Resurrection*** (FIG. 21-25) and ***Three Marys at the Tomb*** (FIG. 9-18A) On the third day (Easter Sunday), Jesus rises from the dead and leaves the tomb while the Roman guards sleep. The Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, and Mary, the mother of James, visit the tomb but find it empty. An angel informs them of Jesus's resurrection.
- ***Noli Me Tangere*** (FIG. 9-18A), ***Supper at Emmaus,*** and ***Doubting of Thomas*** (FIG. 12-9B) During the 40 days between Jesus's resurrection and his ascent to Heaven, he appears on several occasions to his followers. Jesus warns Mary Magdalene, weeping at his tomb, with the words "Don't touch me" (*Noli me tangere* in Latin), but he tells her to inform the apostles of his return. At Emmaus, he eats supper with two of his astonished followers. Later, Christ invites Thomas, who cannot believe that Jesus has risen, to touch the wound in his side that he received at his crucifixion.
- ***Ascension*** (FIG. 9-18) On the 40th day, on the Mount of Olives, with his mother and apostles as witnesses, Jesus gloriously ascends to Heaven in a cloud.

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Early Christian Saints and Their Attributes

A distinctive feature of Christianity is the veneration accorded to *saints* (from the Latin word for "holy"—*sanctus*), a practice dating to the second century. Most of the earliest Christian saints were *martyrs* who died for their faith at the hands of the Roman authorities, often after suffering cruel torture. During the first millennium of the Church, the designation of sainthood, or *canonization,* was an informal process, but in the late 12th century, Pope Alexander III (r. 1159–1181) ruled that only the papacy could designate individuals as saints, and only after a lengthy and detailed review of the life, character, deeds, and miracles of the person under consideration. A preliminary stage is *beatification,* the official determination that a deceased individual is a *beatus* (blessed person).

In Christian art, saints almost always have *haloes* around their heads. To distinguish individual saints, artists commonly depicted them with one or more characteristic *attributes*—often the means of their martyrdom, although saintly attributes take a wide variety of forms.

The most important saints during the centuries before Constantine's Edict of Milan were contemporaries of Jesus, but several later martyrs also received widespread veneration and continue to do so today. They may be classified in several categories.

FAMILY OF JESUS AND MARY

- ***Anne*** The parents of the Virgin Mary were Anne and Joachim, a couple childless after 20 years of marriage. Angels separately announced to them that Anne would give birth, and the couple celebrated the news by embracing at Jerusalem's Golden Gate. That meeting became a popular subject for artists, as did the depiction of the birth of the Virgin (FIGS. 14-15 and 21-26) as a parallel to the Nativity of Jesus (see "The Life of Jesus," pages 244–245).
- ***Elizabeth*** A cousin of Anne, Elizabeth was also an elderly barren woman. The angel Gabriel announced to her husband, the priest Zacharias, that she would give birth to a son named John. Six months later, Gabriel informed Mary that she would become the mother of the son of God (the Annunciation), whereupon Mary visited Elizabeth, and in Elizabeth's womb the future John the Baptist leaped for joy at the approach of the Mother of God. In depictions of the Visitation (FIG. 13-25), Elizabeth is a veiled matron. Sometimes, artists depicted the infants Jesus and John the Baptist and the two mothers together (FIG. 22-3).
- ***Joseph*** Although a modest craftsman, Joseph was a descendant of King David. An elderly widower, he was chosen among several suitors to wed the much younger Mary when his staff miraculously blossomed (FIG. 22-7). He married Mary even after learning of her pregnancy because an angel informed him of her chastity and that the child in her womb was the son of God. Joseph probably died before Christ's passion. He appears in artworks as a carpenter (FIG. 20-8) and as foster father and protector of Jesus in scenes of Jesus's infancy, such as the Nativity (FIGS. 14-3 and 14-4) and the flight into Egypt (FIG. 24-15). His principal attributes are the flowering staff and carpentry tools.
- ***John the Baptist*** Elizabeth's son, John, became a preacher in the wilderness with many followers. He promoted baptism as a means of cleansing Jews of their sins in preparation for the coming of the Messiah (Savior) prophesied in the Hebrew scriptures. When he baptized Jesus in the Jordan River, the dove of the Holy Spirit descended to identify Jesus as the Lamb of God. Later, John denounced the marriage of Herod Antipas (r. 4 BCE–39 CE) to Herodias, his niece and brother's wife. John met his death when Herodias's daughter, Salome, demanded John's head on a platter (FIGS. 21-8 and 28-26) and Herod ordered his decapitation, making John the earliest Christian martyr. John most often appears in art as a bearded hermit baptizing a much younger Jesus (FIG. 8-7), even though John was only six months older. His attribute is a lamb.

APOSTLES

During the course of his ministry, Jesus called 12 men to be his *apostles* (from the Greek for "messenger") to spread the news of the coming of the son of God. The first two—Andrew and John the Evangelist—were followers of John the Baptist. Andrew introduced his brother Simon to Jesus, who renamed him Peter. The others were John's brother James, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Thomas, James "the Lesser," Jude, Simon "the Zealot," and Judas Iscariot. All 12 apostles were present at the Last Supper (FIGS. 21-22, 22-4, and 22-50). After Judas's betrayal and suicide (FIG. 8-16), the remaining 11 witnessed the Ascension (FIG. 9-18) and then chose another follower of Jesus, Matthias, to replace Judas. On the day of Pentecost (FIG. 12-15), the Holy Spirit assigned the 12 apostles the mission of spreading the Gospel throughout the world. All but John the Evangelist eventually suffered martyrdom.

Four of the apostles figure prominently in the history of art:

- ***Peter*** The "prince of apostles," Peter was a fisherman whom Jesus made a "fisher of men." Jesus designated Peter as the rock on which he would found his Church and presented him with the keys to the kingdom of Heaven (FIG. 21-41). The keys are Peter's chief attribute (FIG. 23-6). He was the leader of the Christian community in Rome—its first bishop and the head of the long line of popes. Peter died in Rome around 64 under Nero—crucified upside down because Peter insisted that he was unworthy to die as Jesus did. Peter figures prominently in pictorial cycles of the ministry and passion of Jesus, including, for example, Masaccio's *Tribute Money* (FIG. 21-18), in which he retrieves a coin from a fish's mouth to pay the tax collector, and scenes of the betrayal of Jesus (for example, FIG. 14-10A), in which he cuts off the ear of the high priest's servant. He was one of three apostles present at the Transfiguration (FIG. 9-16).
- ***John the Evangelist*** Another fisherman, John was the youngest apostle and "the disciple whom Jesus loved." With Peter and James, John witnessed Jesus's transfiguration, and he was present at the miracle of the loaves and fishes (FIG. 8-26). John sat next to Jesus at the Last Supper (FIG. 22-4) and was the only apostle

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who did not desert Jesus at the Crucifixion (FIGS. 9-24 and 23-2). From the cross, Jesus entrusted Mary to John's care. He was also one of two apostles who became *evangelists*—those who recorded Jesus's life in the Gospels (see "The Four Evangelists," page 331). During his exile on the Greek island of Patmos (FIG. 25-32), John also wrote the Book of Revelation. His attribute is an eagle.

- ***Matthew*** The second evangelist among the apostles, Matthew was a Jewish tax collector. Called Levi when Jesus summoned him in Capernaum to serve as his disciple (FIGS. 24-17 and 25-7), Matthew appears most frequently in art as a seated robed figure writing his Gospel (FIGS. 11-13 and 11-14). Different accounts report that he was either stabbed to death or beheaded while saying Mass. His attribute is a winged man.
- ***James*** The brother of John the Evangelist and also a fisherman, James the Greater was the first apostle to be martyred—by beheading at the order of Herod Agrippa I (r. 41–44). With Peter and John, he was one of the inner circle of apostles and witnessed Jesus's transfiguration. According to tradition, before his martyrdom he preached the Gospel in Spain. His tomb is at Santiago de Compostela (FIG. 12-6B), which became the most important pilgrimage site in Europe after Rome (see "Pilgrimage Roads in France and Spain," page 350). James's attribute is a scallop shell, the emblem of pilgrims to his Spanish shrine.

OTHER EARLY SAINTS

Several other saints who died before Constantine ended the persecution of Christians have also frequently been the subjects of artworks:

- ***Paul*** A Roman citizen by birth, Paul had been a Jew named Saul who fervently opposed Christian teaching until Christ spoke to him in a blinding burst of light on the road to Damascus (FIG. 24-17A). The priest Ananias restored Paul's sight and baptized him. Converted, Paul became the "Apostle to the Gentiles," preaching the Gospel to non-Jews as well as Jews. He traveled widely, establishing churches in all the communities he visited. His *Epistles* are the foundation of Christian theology. In Rome, Paul became a close associate of Peter and was beheaded under Nero. In Early Christian art, he holds a scroll and often appears with Peter flanking Christ (FIG. 8-8), although, unlike the original apostles, Paul never met Jesus. In later representations, he may hold the sword of his martyrdom (FIG. 23-6).
- ***Mark*** The two evangelists who were not apostles were disciples of Paul. Mark (FIG. 21-5) accompanied Paul on his first missionary journey and was with him and Peter in Rome at the time of their executions. Mark later became the first bishop of Alexandria, where he was martyred under Nero or Vespasian by being dragged with a rope around his neck through the city's streets. His remains, which the Venetians acquired in 828, are in the Basilica of Saint Mark (FIG. 9-26). His attribute—a lion (see "The Four Evangelists," page 331, and FIG. 12-16A)—is the emblem of Venice to this day.
- ***Luke*** A close companion of Paul on several missionary journeys, Luke was a Gentile physician who, in addition to being a Gospel author, also painted a portrait of Mary and the infant Jesus (FIGS. 20-1 and 23-14A) and became the patron saint of artists as well as doctors. Tradition says that he never married and died peacefully at the age of 84. His attribute is an ox.
- ***Mary Magdalene*** Born in Magdala on the Sea of Galilee, Mary Magdalene became one of Jesus's most devoted followers. Often identified with the sinner who washed Jesus's feet with her tears and dried them with her hair, Mary was one of the few disciples present at the Crucifixion (FIGS. 9-18A and 23-2). She was the first to arrive at Christ's empty tomb. The resurrected Savior instructed Mary to inform the others that he had risen, but warned her, "Do not touch me!" (FIG. 9-18A). Tradition records that the penitent Mary Magdalene lived to old age in the wilderness. The Magdalene's *relics* are in the church dedicated to her at Vézelay (FIG. 12-15) in France. Her major attribute is her long hair (FIG. 21-11A).
- ***Lawrence*** Born in Spain, Lawrence became one of seven *deacons* (church officials charged with distributing alms to the poor) under Pope Sixtus II (r. 257–258). He died in 258 during the persecution under Valerian. Lawrence's attribute is a gridiron because tradition holds that the Romans roasted him on a grill three days after the pope's martyrdom. The Escorial palace complex (FIG. 23-25) near Madrid is dedicated to Saint Lawrence and has a gridiron plan.
- ***George*** A Christian soldier in the Roman army, George saved a town and a princess by slaying a dragon after 15,000 of the townspeople converted to Christianity. He was beheaded in 303 under Diocletian after refusing to renounce his faith. In art, George wears military garb (FIG. 21-6) and is often portrayed on horseback fighting a dragon (FIG. 21-7). He was a very popular saint among late medieval Crusaders.
- ***Theodore*** Another soldier-martyr (FIG. 13-19) under Diocletian, Theodore refused to worship the Roman gods, and set fire to a temple of Cybele, for which he stood trial and was convicted and burned to death in a furnace. His relics are in Chartres Cathedral (FIG. 13-12).
- ***Anthony Abbot*** The founder of *monasticism,* Anthony was a pious Egyptian Christian who fled to the desert in 286 to escape persecution and became an ascetic hermit who attracted many followers and founded a *monastery* on Mount Pispir in 311. While Anthony was in the desert, he was tempted by a lewd woman, but he resisted (FIGS. 20-24 and 23-2). Horrible demons also tormented him. He died in 356, more than 100 years old. Artists portrayed Anthony as an elderly man with a long beard and a T-shaped staff because a T-cross was the symbol of Alexandrian Christians.

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The Old Testament scenes include the salvation tale of Daniel, unscathed by flanking lions, saved by his faith (FIG. 8-8, lower row, to the right of the Entry into Jerusalem), and of special significance, the Genesis stories of Abraham and Isaac (top left) and Adam and Eve (lower row, second from left), which Christians believe foretell events in the life of their savior. Christians view Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac as a parallel to God's sacrifice of his own son, Jesus. Adam and Eve's sin of eating the apple in the Garden of Eden ultimately necessitated that sacrifice for the salvation of humankind. Note how the Early Christian sculptor approached the representation of Adam and Eve. Unlike classical nudes, these figures are embarrassed by their nakedness—an essential element of the biblical account.

The Crucifixion, however, does not appear on Junius Bassus's sarcophagus and was rarely depicted in Early Christian art. (FIGS. 8-16 and 8-19B are exceptions in the fifth century.) Artists emphasized Christ's exemplary life as teacher and miracle worker, not his suffering and death as a condemned mortal criminal at the hands of the Romans. Nonetheless, this sculptor alluded to the Crucifixion in the scenes in the two compartments at the upper right of the sarcophagus. They depict Jesus being led before Pontius Pilate for judgment (see "The Life of Jesus in Art," pages 244–245), which resulted in the execution of Jesus, but he triumphantly overcame death. Junius Bassus hoped for a similar salvation.

8-8A Christ as the Good Shepherd, ca. 300–350.

8-8B Christ seated, ca. 350–375.

Freestanding Statuary. Apart from the reliefs on privately commissioned sarcophagi such as the Santa Maria Antiqua sarcophagus (FIG. 8-7) and that of the city prefect Junius Bassus (FIG. 8-8), large-scale sculpture became increasingly uncommon in the fourth century. Roman emperors and other officials continued to set up portraits, and sculptors still carved and cast statues of Greco-Roman gods and mythological figures, but the number of freestanding sculptures decreased sharply. Two exceptional Early Christian statuettes portraying Christ are today in the Vatican (FIG. 8-8A) and the Roman National Museum (FIG. 8-8B) and were probably commissioned by recent Roman converts who, unlike Jews and Christians, had no qualms about possessing "idols" portraying divinities.

The First Churches. Before Constantine, Christians conducted some ceremonies in the catacombs, but regular services took place in private community houses of the type found at Dura-Europos (FIG. 8-3). Once Christianity achieved imperial sponsorship in the early fourth century, an urgent need suddenly arose to construct churches (see "What Should a Church Look Like?" page 249). Constantine claimed that the Christians' God had guided him to victory over Maxentius, and he thereafter protected and advanced Christianity throughout his empire. As Roman emperor, he was of course obliged to safeguard the traditional culture, and he was (for his time) a builder on a grand scale in the heart of the city (FIGS. 7-74 and 7-76). But Constantine, eager to provide buildings to house the Christian rituals and venerated burial places, especially the memorials of founding saints (*martyria*), also was the first major patron of Christian architecture. He constructed elaborate churches, memorials, and *mausolea* not only in Rome but also in Ostia, Naples, and other Italian cities; in North Africa and Syria; in Constantinople, the emperor's "New Rome" in the East; and in Palestine—most notably in Bethlehem, the birthplace of Jesus, and Jerusalem, the site of his crucifixion and entombment. Constantine's Church of the Holy Sepulchre (FIG. 8-8C) marks the location both of the cross (Golgotha) and of Jesus's empty tomb (see "The Life of Jesus," pages 244–245).

8-8C Anastasis Rotunda, Jerusalem, 326–335.

Old Saint Peter's. The greatest of Constantine's churches in Rome was Old Saint Peter's (FIGS. 8-9 and 8-10), probably begun as early as 319. The present-day church (FIGS. 22-25, 24-3, and 24-4), one of the masterpieces of Italian Renaissance and Baroque architecture, is a replacement for the Constantinian structure. Old Saint Peter's stood on the western side of the Tiber River, on a terrace on the irregular slope of the Vatican Hill over the ancient cemetery in which Constantine and Pope Sylvester (r. 314–335) believed that Peter, the founder of the Christian community in Rome, had been buried (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). In keeping with Roman burial practice, Peter's grave, like those of all Christian martyrs, was on the city's outskirts. The decision to erect Peter's church on the Vatican Hill also enabled Constantine to locate the new Christian shrine away from the city center to avoid any confrontation between Rome's Christians and those who continued to worship the old gods.

Excavations in the Roman cemetery beneath Saint Peter's have in fact revealed a second-century martyrium erected in honor of Peter at his reputed grave. Capable of housing 3,000 to 4,000 worshipers at one time, the immense church (its nave was 300 feet long) enshrined Peter's tomb, one of the most hallowed sites in Christendom, second only to the Holy Sepulchre (FIG. 8-8C) in Jerusalem, the site of Christ's resurrection. The project also fulfilled the figurative words of Christ himself, when he said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church" (Matt. 16:18). Peter was Rome's first bishop and the head of the long line of popes extending to the present. (Saint Peter's, however, is not the *cathedral* of Rome—the bishop's church, from the Latin word for seat or throne, *cathedra*—despite its location in Vatican City.)

Old Saint Peter's followed the pattern of Roman basilicas in most respects (see "What Should a Church Look Like?" page 249), but a special feature of this Constantinian church was the *transept,* or transverse aisle, an area perpendicular to the nave between the nave and apse (FIG. 8-10). Over the archway leading into the transept was an inscription stating that "Constantine, victor, built this hall." The transept housed Saint Peter's *relics,* which attracted hordes of pilgrims. (Relics are body parts, clothing, or objects associated with a saint or Christ himself; see "The Veneration of Relics," page 349.) Transepts were, however, rare additions to Early Christian basilicas. The transept became a standard element of church design in the West only much later (compare, for example, FIGS. 12-5 and 12-6), when it also took on, with the nave and apse, the symbolism of the Christian cross. Saint Peter's basilica also had an open colonnaded courtyard in front of the narthex, very much like the forum proper in the Forum of Trajan (FIG. 7-44, no. 5), but called an *atrium* (compare FIGS. 8-9 and 12-24), like the central room in a Roman private house (FIG. 7-15, no. 2).

Compared with Roman temples, which usually displayed statuary in pediments on their facades, most Early Christian basilicas

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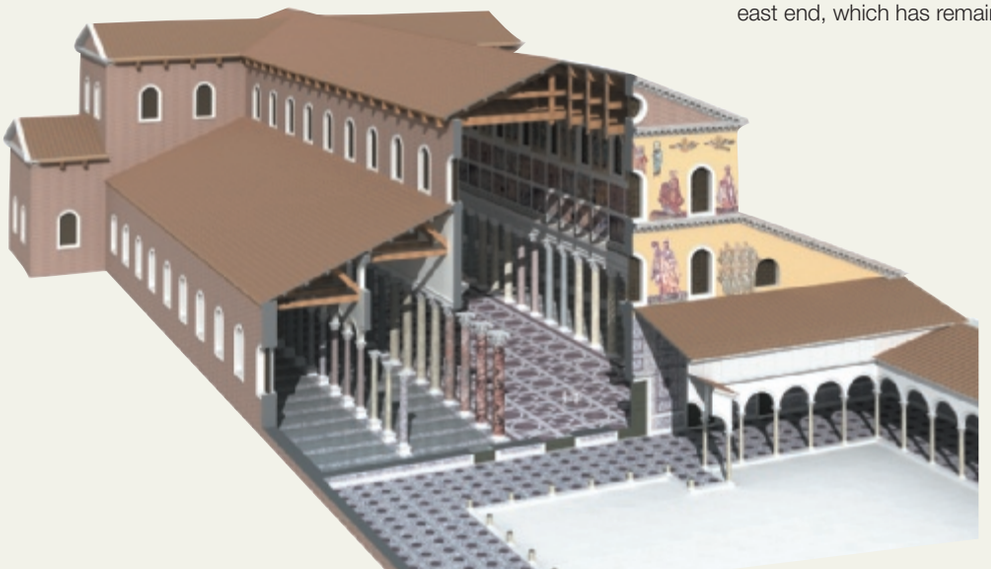
What Should a Church Look Like?

When Constantine conferred official recognition on Christianity and became its first imperial sponsor, Christians could finally begin openly to construct buildings in which to celebrate the Christian *liturgy* (the official ritual of public worship). But what form should these new buildings—*churches,* not temples—take? The Christians, understandably, did not want their houses of worship to mimic the form of polytheistic shrines, but practical considerations also contributed to their rejection of the classical temple type. Greco-Roman temples housed only statues of deities and votive offerings. The priests and worshipers stood outside, where the rituals were performed at open-air altars. Therefore, Late Antique architects would have found it difficult to adapt the classical temple to accommodate large numbers of people within it. Roman *basilicas* and audience halls, by contrast, were ideally suited as places for congregation, and Christian architects readily selected these secular building types as models for the first churches, including the official church of Rome's bishop (Saint John Lateran) and the enormous church Constantine constructed over the site of Saint Peter's tomb in what is today Vatican City.

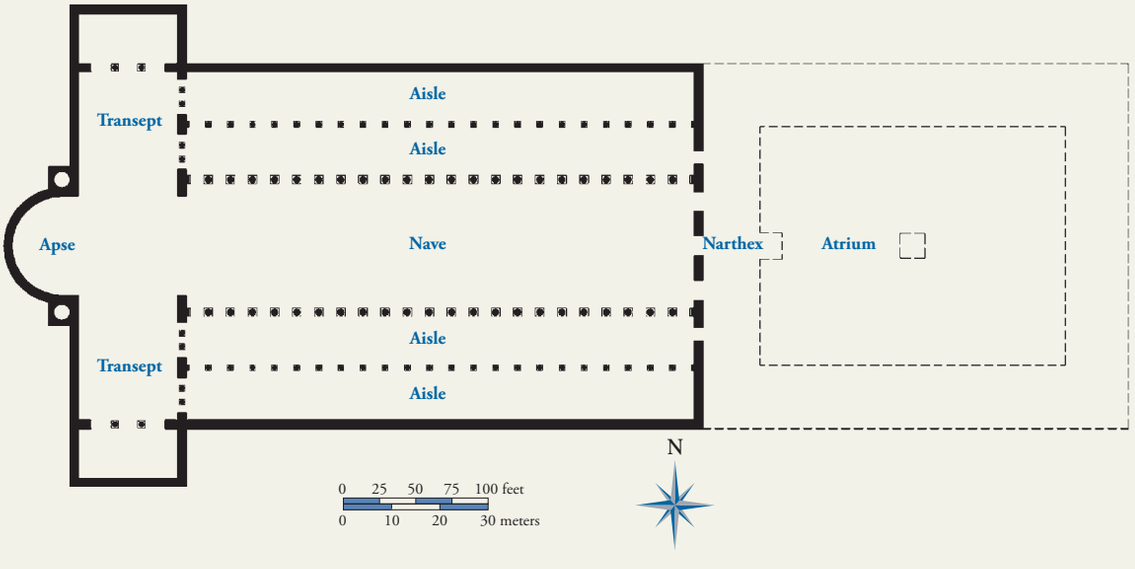
Indeed, the elevation (FIG. 8-9) and plan (FIG. 8-10) of Old Saint Peter's resemble those of Roman meeting and audience halls, such as the Basilica Ulpia (FIG. 7-44, no. 4) in the Forum of Trajan and Constantine's own Aula Palatina (FIG. 7-75) at Trier, rather than the design of any Greco-Roman temple. Like most Roman basilicas, Old Saint Peter's had a wide central *nave* with flanking *aisles* and an *apse* at the end. And, as in the Roman basilicas, the new churches had *clerestory* windows above the *nave arcade* to provide natural illumination to complement the light of candelabras. But unlike Roman basilicas, which sometimes had doorways on one long side opening onto an aisle (FIG. 7-44, no. 4), Early Christian basilicas all have a *longitudinal plan* (FIGS. 8-9, 8-18, and 8-25). Worshipers entered the basilica through a *narthex,* or vestibule. When they emerged in the nave, they had an unobstructed view of the altar and the officiating priest in the apse, framed by the *chancel arch.* Thus the Christians turned to an old building type and modified it as the perfect solution to a new problem.

One feature of the typical Greco-Roman temple was retained, however. Constantine's churches also faced east toward the rising sun. By the end of the fourth century, the orientation of basilican churches was reversed, with the entrance facade on the west and the apse at the east end, which has remained the norm ever since.



8-9 Restored cutaway view of Old Saint Peter's (looking northwest, with later mosaics decorating the east facade), Rome, Italy, begun ca. 319 (John Burge).

Built by Constantine, the first imperial patron of Christianity, this huge church stood over Saint Peter's grave. The building's plan and elevation resemble those of Roman basilicas, not temples.



8-10 Restored plan of Old Saint Peter's, Rome, Italy, begun ca. 319.

Old Saint Peter's closely followed the plan of a Roman basilica and had a 300-foot-long nave with flanking aisles leading to an apse, but unlike other early churches, it also had a transept and an atrium.

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8-11 Interior of Santa Costanza (looking southwest), Rome, Italy, ca. 337–351.

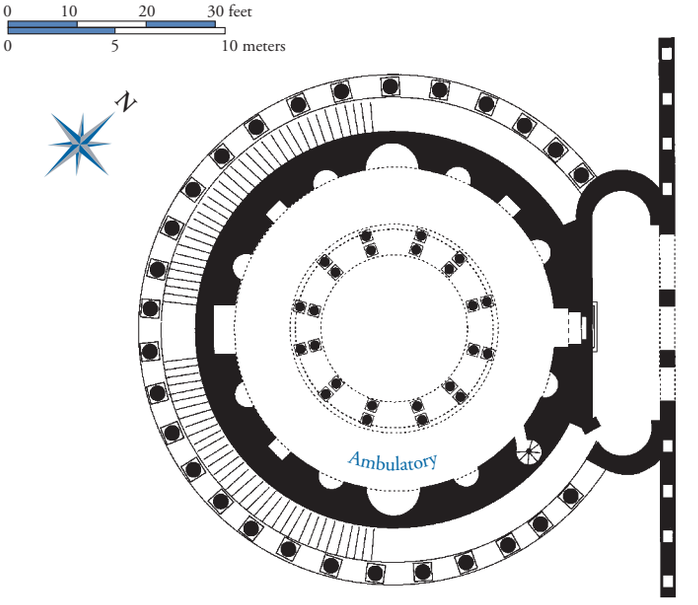
Built as the mausoleum of Constantine's daughter, Santa Costanza later became a church. Its central plan, featuring a domed interior, would become the preferred form for Byzantine churches.

were quite austere on the exterior. Inside, however, were frescoes and mosaics, marble columns (*spolia* taken from older Roman buildings, as was customary at the time), and costly ornaments. The *Liber Pontificalis,* or *Book of the Pontiffs* (*Popes*), compiled by an anonymous sixth-century author, lists Constantine's gifts to Old Saint Peter's. They included altars, chandeliers, candlesticks, pitchers, goblets, and plates fashioned of gold and silver and sometimes embellished with jewels and pearls, as well as jeweled altar cloths for use in the Mass and gold foil to sheathe the vault of the apse. A huge marble *baldacchino* (domical canopy over an altar), supported by four spiral porphyry columns, marked the spot of Saint Peter's tomb.

Santa Costanza. The rectangular basilican church design was long the favorite of the Western Christian world. But Early Christian architects also adopted another classical architectural type: the *central-plan* building, in which the parts are of equal or almost equal dimensions around the center. Roman central-plan buildings were usually round or polygonal domed structures. Byzantine architects developed this form to massive proportions and amplified its theme in numerous ingenious variations. In the West, builders generally used the central plan for structures adjacent to the main basilicas, such as mausolea, baptisteries, and private chapels, rather than for churches, as in the East.

A highly refined example of the central-plan design is Santa Costanza (FIGS. 8-11 and 8-12), built on the northern outskirts of Rome in the mid-fourth century as the mausoleum for Constantina, the emperor Constantine's daughter. The mausoleum, later converted into a church, housed Constantina's unusually large porphyry sarcophagus and stood next to the basilican church of Saint Agnes, erected over the catacomb in which she was buried. Santa Costanza's distant antecedents were the tholos tombs (FIGS. 4-20 and 4-21) of the Mycenaeans, but the immediate predecessors were the domed structures of the Romans, such as the Pantheon (FIG. 7-51) and especially imperial mausolea such as Diocletian's (FIG. 7-73) at Split. At Santa Costanza, the architect modified the interior design of those Roman buildings to accommodate an *ambulatory,* as in the Anastasis Rotunda (FIG. 8-8C) of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Santa Costanza's ambulatory is a ringlike barrel-vaulted corridor separated from the central domed cylinder by a dozen pairs of columns—the earliest instance of a dome resting on a colonnade.

Like Early Christian basilicas, Santa Costanza has a severe brick exterior. Its interior was once richly adorned with mosaics, although most are lost. Old and New Testament themes appeared side by side, as in the catacombs and on Early Christian sarcophagi. The Santa Costanza mosaic program, however, also included subjects common



8-12 Plan of Santa Costanza, Rome, Italy, ca. 337–351.

Santa Costanza has antecedents in the domed temples (FIG. 7-51) and mausolea (FIG. 7-73) of the Romans, but its dome resting on 12 pairs of columns framed by a vaulted ambulatory is new.

in Roman funerary art, although they lent themselves to a Christian interpretation. In one section (FIG. 8-13, *center*) of the mosaic in the ambulatory vault, for example, are scenes of putti harvesting grapes and making wine. (Similar scenes decorate Constantina's sarcophagus.) A portrait bust is at the center of a rich vine scroll. A second bust appears in another section of the mosaic vault, but both are heavily restored, and the identification of the pair as Constantina and her husband is uncertain. In the Roman world, wine was primarily associated with Bacchus, but for a Christian, the vineyards brought to mind the wine of the Eucharist and the blood of Christ. As early as the third century, however, mosaics of explicitly Christian content had been used in tombs—for example, in the Mausoleum of the Julii

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8-13 Mosaic in the ambulatory vault of Santa Costanza, Rome, Italy, ca. 337–351.

The ambulatory mosaics of Santa Costanza depict putti harvesting grapes and making wine, motifs associated with Bacchus, but for a Christian, the scenes evoked the Eucharist and Christ's blood.

in the ancient cemetery beneath Saint Peter's in Rome, where Christ, in the guise of Sol Invictus (FIG. 8-13A), the Invincible Sun, drives his chariot across the heavens.

8-13A Christ as Sol Invictus, late third century.

Luxury Arts

Throughout history, artists have produced so-called minor arts—jewelry, metalwork, cameos, ivories, among other crafts—alongside the "major arts" of sculpture and painting. Although the traditional terminology unfortunately suggests a difference in importance or quality, "minor" refers only to size. Indeed, the artists who fashioned jewelry, carved ivories and cameos, and produced gold and silver vessels by casting or hammering (*repoussé*) employed the costliest materials known. Some of these artists—for example, Dioscurides, official gem cutter of the emperor Augustus—are among the few Roman artists working in any medium whose names survive. In Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the minor arts—more appropriately called "luxury arts"—enjoyed high status, and they figure prominently in the history of art through the ages.

Mildenhall Treasure. Especially prized in Late Antiquity were items of tableware fashioned out of precious metals (as were their counterparts in earlier ages—for example, the gold Achaemenid rhyton [FIG. 2-28] from Hamadan and the Mycenaean drinking cups [FIG. 4-24] from Vapheio). An especially rich hoard of silver tableware dating to the mid-fourth century came to light in 1942 when a farmer plowing his fields near Mildenhall, England, discovered what was quickly dubbed the "Mildenhall Treasure." The hoard consists of 34 silver pieces, including bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons, and must have been the proud possession of a wealthy local family.

The most spectacular item is a large platter known as the "Great Dish" (FIG. 8-14). At the center is the bearded head of the god Oceanus, framed by a ring of *Nereids* (sea nymphs, daughters of Nereus, a Greek sea god). A larger outer band celebrates the consumption of wine and features a drinking contest between Bacchus (with his left foot resting on a panther) and Hercules, who is so drunk that two satyrs struggle to support him. Three of the spoons bear the Greek letters *chi, rho, alpha,* and *omega*—explicit references to Christ (compare FIG. 8-7A)—but the figural decoration of all the items in the treasure consists of characters from classical

8-14 Oceanus and Nereids, and drinking contest between Bacchus and Hercules, "Great Dish," from Mildenhall, England, mid-fourth century CE. Silver, 1′ $11\frac{3}{4}$″ diameter. British Museum, London.

Part of a hoard of silver tableware owned by a Christian family, this large platter nonetheless features sea deities and a drinking contest between Bacchus, the Roman god of wine, and Hercules.

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Manuscript Illumination

Rare as Late Antique books are, they are far more numerous than their classical predecessors. An important invention during the Early Roman Empire was the *codex* (plural, *codices*), which greatly aided the dissemination of *manuscripts* (handwritten books, from the Latin *manu scriptus*) as well as their preservation. A codex is much like a modern book, composed of separate leaves (*folios*) enclosed within a cover and bound together at one side. The new format, with pages with fronts (*recto*) and backs (*verso*), superseded the long manuscript scroll (*rotulus*) of the Egyptians (FIG. 3-1), Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans. (The Etruscan magistrate Lars Pulena [FIG. 6-16]; the philosophers on Roman and Early Christian sarcophagi [FIGS. 7-70 and 8-7]; and Christ himself in his role as lawgiver [FIGS. 8-8 and 8-8B] all hold rotuli in their hands.) Much more durable *vellum* (calfskin) and *parchment* (lamb and other animal skins), which provided better surfaces for painting, also replaced the comparatively brittle *papyrus* used for ancient scrolls. As a result, luxuriousness of ornamentation became increasingly typical of Christian sacred books, and at times the material beauty of the pages and their illustrations overwhelm or usurp the spiritual beauty of the text. Art historians refer to the luxurious painted books produced before the invention of the printing press as *illuminated manuscripts,* from the Latin *illuminare,* meaning "to adorn, ornament, or brighten." The oldest preserved examples (FIGS. 8-15, 9-17, 9-17A, and 9-17B) date to the fifth and sixth centuries.

Illuminated books were costly to produce, and the process involved many steps. Numerous artisans performed very specialized tasks, beginning with the curing and cutting (and sometimes the dyeing; FIGS. 9-17, 9-17A, and 9-17B) of the animal skin, followed by the sketching of lines to guide the scribe and to set aside spaces for illumination, the lettering of the text, the addition of pigment and gold leaf for paintings, and finally the binding of the pages and attachment of covers, buckles, and clasps. The covers could be even more extravagant than the book itself. Many preserved covers are fashioned of gold and decorated with jewels, ivory carvings, and repoussé reliefs (FIG. 11-16).

8-15 ***Old Farmer of Corycus,*** **folio 7 verso of the** ***Vatican Vergil,*** **ca. 400–420. Tempera on parchment, 1′ $\frac{1}{2}$″ × 1′. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome.**

The earliest surviving painted Latin manuscript is a collection of the poet Vergil's works. This page includes part of the text of the *Georgics* and a pastoral scene reminiscent of Roman landscape murals.

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mythology. The hoard attests to the survival of the Roman gods and of classical iconography during the Late Antique period, even in Christian contexts.

Vatican Vergil. Although few examples survive, illustrated books were popular in the ancient world. The long tradition of placing pictures in *manuscripts* began in Egypt (FIG. 3-1) and continued in Greek and Roman times and throughout the Middle Ages (see "Manuscript Illumination," above). The oldest preserved painted Greek or Latin manuscript is the *Vatican Vergil,* which dates from the early fifth century and is among the earliest preserved illustrated books. It originally contained more than 200 pictures illustrating all of Vergil's works. Today only 50 painted *folios* (pages) of the *Aeneid* and *Georgics* survive. The manuscript is important not only because of its age. The *Vatican Vergil* is a prime example of traditional Roman iconography and of the classical style long after Theodosius banned worship of the old gods—underscoring, as does the Mildenhall Treasure, that European art did not become exclusively "Early Christian" even after the Roman emperors abandoned their old gods in favor of the new monotheistic religion.

The page illustrated here (FIG. 8-15) includes a section of text from the *Georgics* at the top and a framed illustration below. Vergil recounts his visit to a modest farm near Taranto in southern Italy belonging to an old man from Corycus in Asia Minor. In the illustration, the old farmer sits at the left. His rustic farmhouse is in the background, rendered in three-quarter view. The farmer speaks about the pleasures of the simple life in the country—a recurrent theme in Latin poetry—and on his methods of gardening. His audience is two laborers and, at the far right, Vergil himself in the guise of a farmhand. The style is reminiscent of Pompeian landscapes, with quick touches that suggest space and atmosphere. In fact, the dark red frame has close parallels in the Third and Fourth Styles of Roman mural painting (compare FIG. 7-34A).

Suicide of Judas and Crucifixion. Among the other important luxury arts of Late Antiquity was ivory carving, which has a much longer history in the ancient world than metalwork and book illustration (see "Ivory Carving," page 253). In the early fifth century, a Roman or northern Italian master sculptor produced an extraordinary series of ivory plaques recounting the suffering and

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Ivory Carving

Ivory has been prized since the earliest times, when sculptors fashioned the tusks of Ice Age European mammoths into pendants, beads, and other items for body adornment, and, occasionally, statuettes (FIGS. 1-3 and 1-4A). The primary ivory sources in the historical period have been the elephants of India and especially Africa, where the species is larger than the Asian counterpart and the tusks longer, heavier, and of finer grain. African elephant tusks 5 to 6 feet in length and weighing 10 pounds are common, but tusks of male elephants can be 10 feet long or more and weigh well over 100 pounds. Objects carved from hippopotamus ivory have been found as well. Carved ivories are familiar, if precious, finds at Mesopotamian and Egyptian sites, and ivory objects were also coveted in the prehistoric Aegean (FIGS. 4-13A and 4-25) and throughout the classical world. Most frequently employed then for household objects, small votive offerings, and gifts to the deceased, ivory also could be used in grandiose statues such as Phidias's *Athena Parthenos* (FIG. 5-46).

In the Greco-Roman world, people admired ivory both for its beauty and because of its exotic origin. Elephant tusks were costly imports, and Roman generals proudly displayed them in triumphal processions when they paraded the spoils of war before the people. (In FIG. 9-4, a barbarian brings tribute to a Byzantine emperor in the form of an ivory tusk.) Adding to the expense of the material itself was that only highly skilled artisans were capable of working in ivory. The tusks were very hard and of irregular shape, and the ivory workers needed a full toolbox of saws, chisels, knives, files, and gravers close at hand to cut the tusks into blocks for statuettes or thin plaques decorated with relief figures and ornamentation.

In Late Antiquity and the early medieval period, artists chose ivory most frequently for book covers, chests and boxes (FIG. 8-16), and diptychs (FIGS. 8-17 and 9-2). A *diptych* is a pair of hinged tablets, usually of wood, with a wax layer on the inner sides for writing letters and other documents. (The women in two painted portraits from Pompeii [FIGS. 7-24 and 7-24A] and the court scribe recording Jesus's trial in the *Rossano Gospels* [FIG. 9-17B] all hold wood diptychs.) Diptychs fashioned from ivory generally were reserved for ceremonial and official purposes—for example, to announce the election of a consul or a marriage between two wealthy families or to commemorate the death of an elevated member of society.

1 in.

8-16 *Suicide of Judas and Crucifixion of Christ,* plaque from a box, early fifth century. Ivory, 3″ × 3 7/8″. British Museum, London.

This plaque from a luxurious ivory box is one of the first known representations of Christ's crucifixion. The Savior is a beardless youth who experiences no pain. At the left, Judas, his betrayer, hangs himself.

triumph of Christ. The plaques were affixed to the sides of a small box. The narrative begins with Pilate washing his hands, Jesus carrying the cross on the road to Calvary, and the denial of Peter, all compressed into a single panel. The plaque illustrated here, *Suicide of Judas and Crucifixion of Christ* (FIG. 8-16), is the next in the sequence. It shows, at the left, Judas hanging from a tree with his open bag of silver dumped on the ground beneath his feet. The Crucifixion is at the right. The Virgin Mary and the apostle John are to the left of the cross. On the other side, Longinus thrusts his spear into the side of the "king of the Jews" (the inscribed letters *REX IVD* appear above Jesus's head). The two remaining panels show two Marys and two soldiers at the open doors of a tomb with an empty coffin within, and the doubting Thomas touching the wound of the risen Christ.

The series is one of the oldest cycles of passion scenes preserved today. It dates to the period when artists were beginning to establish the standard iconographical types for medieval narratives of Christ's life. On these plaques, Jesus always appears as a beardless youth. In the Crucifixion scene (FIG. 8-16, *right*), one of the earliest known renditions of the subject in the history of art (compare FIG. 8-19B), the Savior exhibits a superhuman indifference to pain. Jesus is a muscular, nearly nude, heroic figure who appears virtually weightless. He does not *hang* from the cross. He is *displayed* on it—a divine being with open eyes who will be resurrected, not

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1 in.

8-17 Woman sacrificing at an altar, right leaf of the diptych of the Nicomachi and the Symmachi, ca. 400. Ivory, $11\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Even after Theodosius banned all cults of the old gods in 391, some Roman families still practiced the ancient rites. The sculptor who carved this ivory plaque also carried on the classical artistic style.

the mortal condemned to death by Pontius Pilate (see "The Life of Jesus," pages 244–245). The striking contrast between the powerful frontal unsuffering Jesus on the cross and the limp, hanging body of his betrayer with his snapped neck is highly effective, both visually and symbolically.

Diptych of the Symmachi. As noted earlier, although Constantine endorsed Christianity and dedicated his New Rome in the East to the Christian God, not everyone converted to the new religion, even after Theodosius banned all ancient cults and closed all temples in 391. An ivory plaque (FIG. 8-17), probably produced in Rome around 400, strikingly exhibits the endurance of the traditional Roman gods and of the classical style on the eve of Alaric's sack of the "eternal city" in 410. The ivory, one of a pair of leaves of a diptych, commemorates two powerful Roman families of the senatorial class, the Nicomachi and the Symmachi, and may mark the passing within a decade of two prominent male members of the two families. Whether or not the diptych refers to any specific event(s), the Nicomachi and the Symmachi here ostentatiously reaffirmed their faith in the old gods. Certainly, they favored the aesthetic ideals of the classical past, as exemplified by the stately processional friezes of the Greek Parthenon (FIG. 5-50, *bottom*) and the Roman Ara Pacis (FIG. 7-31).

The leaf inscribed "of the Symmachi" (FIG. 8-17) represents a woman, assisted by an attendant, sacrificing at an altar in front of a tree. She wears ivy in her hair and seems to be celebrating the rites of Bacchus—the same wine god featured on the Mildenhall silver platter (FIG. 8-14). Some scholars dispute the identity of the divinity honored, but no one questions that the deity is one of the Roman gods whose worship had been banned. The other diptych panel (not illustrated), inscribed "of the Nicomachi," also shows a woman at an open-air altar. She holds a torch pointing to the ground, a sign of mourning (compare Cupid on the lid of the Melfi sarcophagus; FIG. 7-60). On both panels, the graceful line, the relaxed poses, and the mood of spiritual serenity reveal an artist who practiced within a still-vital classical tradition that idealized human beauty as its central focus. The great senatorial magnates of Rome, who resisted the empire-wide imposition of the Christian faith at the end of the fourth century, probably deliberately sustained the classical tradition, which was never fully extinguished in the Middle Ages.

FROM THE SACK OF ROME TO JUSTINIAN

The basilican solution that Constantinian architects formulated for church design (see "What Should a Church Look Like?" page 249) has dominated ecclesiastical architecture in the Western world to the present day. Unfortunately, no fourth-century church survives in its original form, least of all the radically redesigned dome-capped Saint Peter's (FIGS. 22-25, 24-3, and 24-4) in the Vatican. But some fifth-century basilicas that followed the Constantinian pattern still stand relatively unchanged over the past 16 centuries.

Rome

Santa Sabina. Some idea of the character, if not the scale, of the timber-roofed interior of Old Saint Peter's can be gleaned from the interior of Santa Sabina (FIGS. 8-18 and 8-19) in Rome. Built a century later, the church, which sits atop the Aventine Hill with a

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8-18 Interior of Santa Sabina (looking northeast), Rome, Italy, 422–432.

Santa Sabina and other Early Christian basilican churches are timber-roofed and illuminated by clerestory windows. The nave arcade produces a steady rhythm that focuses all attention on the apse.

8-19 Exterior of Santa Sabina (looking west), Rome, Italy, 422–432.

Although mosaics and frescoes commonly adorned the interiors of Early Christian basilicas, Santa Sabina and other early churches had plain brick exteriors like the Aula Palatina (FIG. 7-75) at Trier.

8-19A West doors, Santa Sabina, Rome, ca. 432.

distant view of Saint Peter's from the southeast, still retains its Early Christian character, as well as its original carved wood doors (FIGS. 8-19A and 8-19B). The Corinthian columns of its nave arcade (FIG. 8-18) produce a steady rhythm that focuses all attention on the chancel arch and the apse, which frame the altar. In the fifth century, the clerestory windows piercing the thin upper wall above the colonnade would have admitted sunlight not only to illuminate the interior for the performance of the Christian liturgy but also, importantly, to make visible the frescoes and mosaics that commonly adorned the nave and apse of Early Christian churches (compare FIG. 8-25). Outside (FIG. 8-19), Santa Sabina has the plain brick walls typical of the earliest basilican churches as well as Constantine's Aula Palatina (FIG. 7-75, *right*) at Trier.

8-19B *Crucifixion,* Santa Sabina, Rome, ca. 432.

Santa Maria Maggiore. Another Roman fifth-century basilican church, although later extensively remodeled, is Santa Maria Maggiore, the first major church in the West dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Construction of the church began in 432, the year after the Council of Ephesus officially designated Mary as *Theotokos* ("bearer of god" in Greek). The council, which had been convened to debate whether Mary had given birth to the man Jesus or to God as a man,

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Mosaics

As an art form, *mosaic* had a rather simple and utilitarian beginning, seemingly invented primarily to provide inexpensive but durable flooring. Originally, mosaicists set small beach pebbles, unaltered from their natural form and color, into a thick coat of cement. Artisans soon discovered, however, that the stones could be arranged in decorative patterns. At first, these *pebble mosaics* were uncomplicated and confined to geometric shapes. Generally, the artists used only black and white stones. Examples of this type, dating to the eighth century BCE, have been found at Gordion in Asia Minor. Eventually, artists arranged the stones to form more complex pictorial designs, and by the fourth century BCE, the technique had developed to a high level of sophistication. Mosaicists depicted elaborate figural scenes using a broad range of colors—red, yellow, and brown in addition to black, white, and gray—and shaded the figures, clothing, and setting to suggest volume. Thin strips of lead provided linear definition (FIG. 5-68).

By the middle of the third century BCE, artists had invented a new kind of mosaic that enabled the best mosaicists to create designs more closely approximating true paintings. The new technique employed *tesserae* (Latin for "cubes" or "dice"). These tiny cut stones gave artists much greater flexibility because their size and shape could be adjusted, eliminating the need for lead strips to indicate contours and interior details. More gradual gradations of color also became possible (FIG. 5-70), and by using tiny tesserae for complex areas, such as faces, and larger cubes for garments and the background, mosaicists finally could aspire to rival the achievements of painters.

In Early Christian mosaics, the tesserae are usually made of glass, which reflects light and makes the surfaces sparkle. Ancient mosaicists occasionally used glass tesserae, but the Romans preferred opaque marble pieces. Mosaics quickly became a popular, if expensive, means of decorating walls and vaults in Early Christian buildings, although less costly mural paintings were more common. The mosaics caught the light flooding through the windows in vibrant reflection, producing sharp contrasts and concentrations of color that could focus attention on a composition's central, most relevant features. Early Christian mosaics were not meant to incorporate the subtle tonal changes that a naturalistic painter's approach would require. Artists "placed," rather than blended, colors. Bright, hard, glittering texture, set within a rigorously simplified pattern, became the rule. For mosaics situated high on a chancel arch (FIG. 8-20), over the nave colonnade (FIGS. 8-21 and 8-26), in an apse or ambulatory vault (FIG. 8-13), or in a dome (FIGS. 8-24A and 8-27), far above the observer's head, the painstaking use of tiny tesserae seen in Roman floor and wall mosaics (FIGS. 5-70 and 7-23) would be pointless. Early Christian mosaics, designed to be seen from a distance, usually consist of larger tesserae. The mosaicists also set the cubes unevenly so that their surfaces could catch and reflect the light. Artists favored simple designs for optimal legibility. For several centuries, mosaic, in the service of Christian theology, was the medium of some of the supreme masterpieces of medieval art.

8-20 *Annunciation* and *Adoration of the Magi,* mosaics in the left spandrel of the chancel arch of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, Italy, 432–440.

Befitting a church dedicated to the Virgin, Mary plays a dominant role in the mosaic program of the apse and the chancel arch. Two of the scenes represent the Annunciation and the adoration of the magi.

8-21 *The Parting of Abraham and Lot,* mosaic in the nave of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome, Italy, 432–440.

In this tessera mosaic depicting the parting of Abraham and Lot as set out in the book of Genesis, the artist included the yet-unborn Isaac because of his importance as a prefiguration of Christ.

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ruled that the divine and human coexisted in Christ and that Mary had indeed given birth to the son of God.

Santa Maria Maggiore is noteworthy above all for the fifth-century cycle of nave mosaics depicting Old and New Testament stories. Mosaic decoration (see "Mosaics," page 256) played an important role in the interiors of Early Christian buildings of all types, but in churches, mosaics did not just provide a beautiful setting for the Mass. They also were vehicles for instructing the congregation about biblical events and Christian dogma, especially in an age of widespread illiteracy.

Befitting a church dedicated to the Virgin, Mary plays a dominant role in the mosaic program. In fact, the Mother of God will rarely again figure so prominently in Western art until the Gothic age 800 years later (see "The Virgin in Gothic France," page 385). According to the dedicatory inscription of Pope Sixtus III (r. 432–440), a mosaic representing Mary flanked by saints originally filled the apse. The Mother of God was also central to the iconographical program of the chancel arch, which illustrated episodes from the New Testament. In the detail illustrated here (FIG. 8-20), the upper register shows Mary as an enthroned regal figure accompanied by angels as she receives from Gabriel and the dove of the Holy Spirit the news that she will give birth to God's son. Below, the infant Jesus is the center of attention, but both he and Mary sit on thrones as the magi present their gifts.

Abraham and Lot. The mosaics above Santa Maria Maggiore's nave colonnade depict Old rather than New Testament themes. One of them—*The Parting of Abraham and Lot* (FIG. 8-21)—dramatically represents the story of Abraham and his nephew Lot as set forth in Genesis, the Bible's opening book. Agreeing to disagree, Lot leads his family and followers to the right, toward the city of Sodom, while Abraham heads for Canaan, moving toward a basilica-like building (symbolizing Christianity in the form of a church) on the left. Lot's is the evil choice, and the instruments of the evil (his two daughters) stand in front of him. The figure of the yet-unborn Isaac, the instrument of good (and, as noted earlier, a prefiguration of Christ), stands before his father, Abraham—a violation of the unity of time and space in order to communicate Christian dogma pictorially.

The cleavage of the two groups is emphatic, and the mosaicist represented each group using a shorthand device employed earlier in ancient art called a *head cluster,* in which the artist represents more heads than bodies to suggest a crowd. The figures engage in a sharp dialogue of glance and gesture. The wide eyes turn in their sockets, and the enlarged hands make broad gestures. This kind of simplified motion, which is characteristic of Late Antique narrative art of Roman and Judeo-Christian subject matter alike, has great power to communicate without ambiguity.

But the Santa Maria Maggiore mosaics also reveal the heritage of classical art. The towns in the background of the *Parting of Abraham and Lot* and *Adoration of the Magi* mosaics would not be out of place in a Roman mural (FIG. 7-19, *left*) or on the Column of Trajan (FIG. 7-45C), and the biblical figures are modeled in light and dark, still loom with massive solidity, and cast shadows on the ground beneath a blue sky. Another century had to pass before Western Christian mosaicists commonly portrayed figures as flat images, rather than as three-dimensional bodies, finally rejecting the norms of classical art in favor of a style better suited to a focus on the spiritual instead of the natural world (see "Picturing the Spiritual World," page 260). Early Christian art, like Late Antique Roman art in general, vacillates between these two stylistic poles.

Ravenna and Thessaloniki

In the decades after 324, when Constantine founded Constantinople, the New Rome in the East, the pace of Christianization of the Roman Empire quickened. In 380, the emperor Theodosius I (r. 379–395) issued an edict finally establishing Christianity as the state religion. In 391, he enacted a ban against worship of the old Roman gods, and in 394, he abolished the Olympic Games, the enduring symbol of the classical world and its values.

Theodosius died in 395, and imperial power passed to his two sons, Arcadius (r. 395–408), who became emperor of the East, and Honorius (r. 395–423), emperor of the West. In 404, when the Visigoths, under their king, Alaric (r. 395–410), threatened to overrun Italy from the northwest, Honorius moved his capital from Milan to Ravenna, an ancient Roman city (perhaps founded by the Etruscans) near Italy's Adriatic coast, some 80 miles south of Venice. In 410, Alaric captured and sacked Rome, and in 476, Ravenna fell to Odoacer (r. 476–493), the first Germanic king of Italy. Odoacer was overthrown in turn by Theodoric (r. 471–526), king of the Ostrogoths, who established his capital at Ravenna in 493. Ravenna fell to the Byzantine emperor Justinian (r. 527–565) in 539, and the subsequent history of the city belongs with that of Byzantium and is treated in detail in the next chapter.

Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. The so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Honorius's half-sister, is a small *cruciform* (cross-shaped) structure (FIG. 8-22) with barrel-vaulted arms and a tower at the *crossing.* Built shortly after 425, almost a quarter century before Galla Placidia's death in 450, it is a little gem of Early Christian art and

8-22 Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (looking northeast), Ravenna, Italy, ca. 425.

This cruciform mausoleum with a domed crossing is an early example of the combination of central and longitudinal plans. The unadorned brick exterior encloses a rich ensemble of mosaics.

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8-23 Interior of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia (looking south), Ravenna, Italy, ca. 425.

Before Late Antiquity, mosaics were usually confined to floors. Inside the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, glass mosaics cover every square inch of the interior above the marble-faced walls.

architecture, but the real name of the undoubtedly wealthy and important person who was buried inside is not known. The mausoleum adjoined the narthex of the now greatly altered palace-church of Santa Croce (Holy Cross), which was also cruciform in plan. The building's cross arms are of unequal length, so the structure has a longitudinal orientation, unlike the centrally planned Santa Costanza (FIGS. 8-11 and 8-12), but because all four arms are very short, the emphasis is on the tall *crossing tower* with its internal dome. This unassuming Ravenna mausoleum thus represents one of the earliest successful fusions of the two basic Late Antique plans—the longitudinal, used for basilican churches, and the central, used primarily for baptisteries and mausolea. It introduced, on a small scale, a building type that was to have a long history in church architecture: the longitudinally planned building with a domed crossing, the form that the remodeled Saint Peter's would assume in the 17th century (FIG. 24-4).

The Mausoleum of Galla Placidia's unadorned brick exterior encloses one of the richest mosaic ensembles (FIG. 8-23) in Early Christian art. Glass mosaics cover every square inch of the interior surfaces above the marble-faced walls. Garlands and decorative medallions resembling snowflakes on a dark blue ground adorn the barrel vaults of the nave and cross arms. The dome of the tower has a large golden cross set against a star-studded sky. Representations of saints and apostles cover the other surfaces. At the end of the nave is a mosaic representing Saint Lawrence next to the gridiron on which he was tortured (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). The martyred saint carries a cross, suggesting that faith in Christ led to his salvation. Old and New Testament stories of salvation abound in Early Christian catacomb paintings, sarcophagus reliefs, and mosaics alike.

Christ in his role as Good Shepherd, another popular subject in Early Christian funerary art, appears in the lunette (FIG. 8-24) above the entrance. No earlier version of the Good Shepherd is as regal as this one. Instead of carrying a lamb on his shoulders (FIGS. 8-6, 8-7, and 8-8A), Jesus sits among his

8-24 *Christ as Good Shepherd*, mosaic from the entrance (north) wall of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, Italy, ca. 425.

Jesus sits among his flock, haloed and robed in gold and purple. The landscape and the figures, with their cast shadows, are the work of a mosaicist still rooted in the naturalistic classical tradition.

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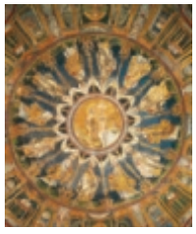
8-25 Interior of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (looking east), Ravenna, Italy, ca. 495–504.

Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, established his capital at Ravenna in 493. His palace-church features an extensive series of mosaics depicting Hebrew prophets and scenes from the life of Christ.

flock, haloed and robed in gold and purple. To his left and right, the sheep are distributed evenly in groups of three. But their arrangement is rather loose and informal, and they occupy a carefully described landscape extending from foreground to background beneath a blue sky. As at Santa Maria Maggiore (FIG. 8-21), all the forms have three-dimensional bulk and are still deeply rooted in the classical tradition.

Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Ravenna is famous for its treasure trove of Early Christian and Byzantine mosaics. About 30 years later than the Galla Placidia mosaics are those of Ravenna's Orthodox Baptistery (FIG. 8-24A). An especially large cycle of mosaics adorns the palace-church (FIG. 8-25) that Theodoric built soon after he settled in Ravenna. A three-aisled basilica originally dedicated to "Our Lord Jesus Christ," the church, probably constructed between 495 and 504, was rededicated in the ninth century as Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, when it acquired the relics of Saint Apollinaris. The rich mosaic decoration of the nave walls fills three zones. Only the upper two remain unchanged from Theodoric's time. Hebrew patriarchs and prophets stand between the clerestory windows. Above them, scenes from Christ's life alternate with decorative panels.



8-24A Orthodox Baptistery, Ravenna, ca. 458.

The *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* mosaic (FIG. 8-26) stands in sharp contrast to the 80-year-earlier mosaics of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. Jesus, beardless, in the imperial dress of gold and purple, and now distinguished by the cross-inscribed *nimbus* (halo)

8-26 *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes*, mosaic from the top register of the nave wall (above the clerestory windows in FIG. 8-25) of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Italy, early sixth century.

In contrast to FIG. 8-24, Jesus here faces directly toward the viewer. Blue sky has given way to the otherworldly splendor of heavenly gold, the standard background color for medieval mosaics.

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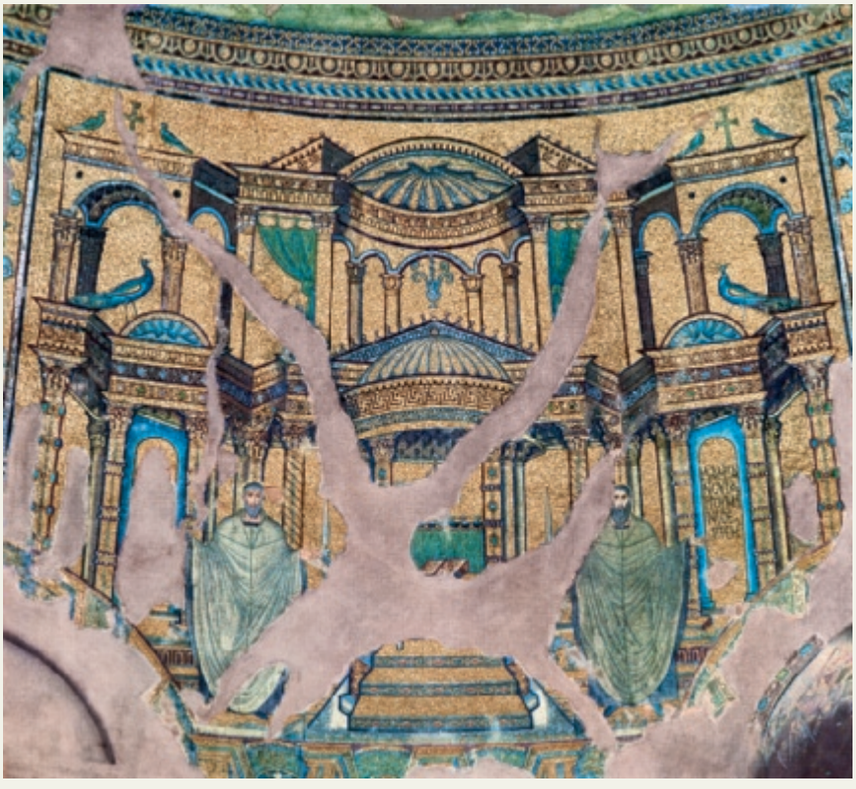
Picturing the Spiritual World

The early-sixth-century mosaics of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna are but one example of a major stylistic shift in the art of Late Antiquity. Why did Early Christian artists begin to depict the sky as golden instead of blue? The answer is clear. These artists were seeking a means to conjure a spiritual world before the eyes of the faithful, not to represent the everyday world outside the sacred space of the church. In *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* (FIG. 8-26), for example, the solution the mosaicist adopted was to reduce the landscape setting, which the artist who decorated the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia so explicitly described (FIG. 8-24), to a few rocks and bushes enclosing the figure group like parentheses. The blue sky of the physical world gave way to the otherworldly splendor of heavenly gold.

The movement away from classical illusionism toward a more abstract style depicting the spiritual rather than the physical world occurred even earlier in the Eastern Roman Empire than in the West. Many of the features of the *Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes* mosaic appear in more advanced form and at least a century earlier in the mosaics of the dome of the Church of Hagios Georgios (Saint George) at Thessaloniki in northern Greece. The church, of the central-plan type, originally served as the mausoleum of the Roman emperor Galerius (r. 293–311), the tetrarchic Caesar of the East under Diocletian (FIG. 7-72). The tomb, which formed part of Galerius's palace complex at Thessaloniki, resembled in general form the mausoleum in Diocletian's palace (FIG. 7-73) at Split. When Christian architects converted the Thessaloniki mausoleum into a church in the late fourth or fifth century, they added an apse and a narthex and covered the huge dome (79′ 3″ in diameter) with two zones of mosaics.

The detail reproduced here (FIG. 8-27) comes from the lower band of mosaics. The upper band is poorly preserved. In the lower zone, eight pairs of over-life-size figures of saints with their arms raised in prayer (compare FIGS. 8-6 and 8-7) stand before two-story architectural fantasies that resemble Roman mural paintings (FIG. 7-19, *right*) and the facades of the rock-cut tombs (FIG. 7-53) of Petra. In this respect, the Thessaloniki mosaics are more closely tied to the classical past than are those of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Yet the Hagios Georgios figures and architecture alike have lost almost all substance, and it is increasingly difficult to imagine rounded torsos and limbs beneath the flat, curtainlike garments the saints wear.

A new aesthetic is on exhibit here, one quite foreign to classical art, with its worldly themes, naturalism, perspective illusionism, and modeling in light and shade. Indeed, the ethereal golden background suggests that these saints exist not on earth but in the palatial kingdom of Heaven far above the heads of the Christian worshipers below. This is precisely the impression the Early Christian mosaicists wished to create.



8-27 Two saints, detail of the mosaic frieze of the lower zone of the dome, Hagios Georgios (Church of Saint George), Thessaloniki, Greece, late fourth or early fifth century.

The dome mosaics of Hagios Georgios depict eight pairs of saints with their arms raised in prayer, standing before architectural fantasies suggesting the palatial kingdom of Heaven with its golden sky.

that signifies his divinity, faces directly toward the viewer. With extended arms, he directs his disciples to distribute to the great crowd the miraculously increased supply of bread and fish he has produced. Peter and Andrew are on Jesus's left; the young man to his right is probably John the Evangelist.

The mosaicist told the story with the least number of figures necessary to make its meaning explicit, aligning the figures laterally, moving them close to the foreground, and placing them in a shallow picture box. The composition, so different from those in the lunettes of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, is similar to that of the Samuel and David mural (FIG. 8-2) in the Dura-Europos synagogue two-and-a-half centuries earlier, illustrating once again that Early Christian artists inherited both classical naturalism and Late Antique abstraction from Roman art. But the Sant'Apollinare Nuovo mosaic, like those in the earlier Hagios Georgios (FIG. 8-27) in Thessaloniki, differs from the Dura murals as well as the Galla Placidia mosaics in having a golden background, which lifts the mosaic out of time and space and emphasizes the spiritual over the physical (see "Picturing the Spiritual World," above). As discussed in the next chapter, this new approach to representation would soon become the hallmark of Byzantine art, although classical naturalism also lived on in Byzantium for a millennium.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Late Antiquity

Soldier Emperors to the Sack of Rome 235–410

- The Second Commandment prohibition against worshiping images once led scholars to think that the Jews of the Roman Empire had no figural art, but the synagogue at Dura-Europos contains an extensive series of mural paintings illustrating episodes from the Hebrew Bible. Dura's baptistery contains the oldest surviving mural program in Christian art.
- Christ was crucified ca. 29, but very little Christian art or architecture survives from the first centuries of Christianity. "Early Christian art" refers to the earliest art of Christian content, not to the art of Christians at the time of Jesus.
- Early Christian art comes primarily from the catacombs of Rome. Painters decorated the walls and ceilings of the catacombs with frescoes, and wealthier Christians placed sarcophagi containing the remains of family members in catacomb galleries and cubicula. Both frescoes and sarcophagus reliefs featured a mix of Old and New Testament themes.
- Constantine's Edict of Milan of 313 granted Christianity legal status equal or superior to the cults of the traditional gods. The emperor was the first great patron of Christian art and built the first churches in Rome, including Old Saint Peter's.
- The models for the new Christian houses of worship were not Roman temples but civic basilicas, which were not associated with the old gods and could accommodate large congregations inside. Early Christian mausolea, such as Constantina's, were central-plan structures, which became standard for churches in Byzantium.
- Late Antique artists excelled in producing illuminated manuscripts and luxurious items for domestic use in silver and ivory, such as tableware, boxes, and diptychs, and decorated them with reliefs depicting both Christian and traditional Roman themes.
- In a Christian ceremony, Constantine dedicated Constantinople as the new capital of the Roman Empire in 330. He was baptized on his deathbed in 337.
- The emperor Theodosius I (r. 379–395) proclaimed Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire in 380 and banned worship of the old Roman gods in 391. But some wealthy families, such as the Nicomachi and the Symmachi, continued to worship the old gods and commissioned artworks embodying the aesthetic ideals of the classical past.
- Honorius (r. 395–423) moved the capital of his Western Roman Empire to Ravenna in 404. Rome fell to the Visigothic king Alaric in 410.

Synagogue, Dura-Europos, ca. 245–256

Santa Maria Antiqua sarcophagus, ca. 270

Catacomb of Saints Peter and Marcellinus, Rome, early fourth century

Santa Costanza, Rome, ca. 337–351

Sack of Rome to Justinian 410–527

- In the fifth and sixth centuries, builders followed the pattern that Constantinian architects formulated for the first churches. Santa Sabina and Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome are characteristic examples.
- Mosaics became a major vehicle for the depiction of Christian themes in churches. Extensive mosaic cycles are preserved in Santa Maria Maggiore and especially at Ravenna in Sant'Apollinare Nuovo and the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia. The latter is an early example of a domed longitudinal building.
- A new aesthetic gradually took hold. Classical naturalism yielded to a desire to depict the spiritual world. As in Hagios Georgios, wafer-thin figures seen against an ethereal golden background replaced the classical norm of weighty figures in a landscape beneath a blue sky.

Hagios Georgios, Thessaloniki, late fourth or early fifth century

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◀**9-1a** San Vitale is a central-plan church with an octagonal plan modeled on churches in Constantinople. Its austere facade gives no hint of its sumptuous marble- and mosaic-covered interior.

▲**9-1b** The apse mosaics celebrate the Byzantine emperor's dual political and religious roles. Justinian, clad in his purple imperial robe with a halo behind his head, is accompanied by Bishop Maximianus.

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9-1 **Interior of San Vitale (looking west from the apse), Ravenna, Italy, 526–547.**

▶**9-1c** The haloed Byzantine empress Theodora holds the golden cup of wine for the Eucharist as her husband carries the golden platter with the bread. But neither she nor Justinian was ever in Ravenna.

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BYZANTIUM 9

FRAMING THE ERA

Church and State United

San Vitale (FIG. 9-1) is the most spectacular building in Ravenna, the Byzantine Empire's outpost in northern Italy. Begun while Ravenna was ruled by the Ostrogoths, the church was completed less than a decade after the Byzantine army captured the city. Dedicated by Bishop Maximianus in 547 in honor of Saint Vitalis, the second-century Christian martyr who died at the hands of the Romans at Ravenna, the church makes an unforgettable impression on all who have entered it and marveled at its intricate design and magnificent mosaics.

The exterior's octagonal regularity is not readily apparent inside the centrally planned church. The design features two concentric octagons. The dome-covered inner octagon rises above the surrounding octagon to provide the interior with clerestory lighting. Eight large rectilinear piers alternate with curved, columned *exedrae,* pushing outward into the surrounding two-story ambulatory. A rich diversity of ever-changing perspectives greets visitors walking through the building. Arches looping over arches, curving and flattened spaces, and wall and vault shapes all seem to change constantly with the viewer's position. Natural light, filtered through alabaster-paned windows, plays over the glittering mosaics and glowing marbles covering the building's complex surfaces, producing a splendid effect.

San Vitale's mosaics, like the building itself, must be regarded as one of the greatest achievements of Byzantine art. The apse and choir decorations form a unified composition, whose theme is the holy ratification of Emperor Justinian's right to rule. In the apse vault, Christ sits on the orb of the world at the time of the Second Coming. On the choir wall to the left of the apse mosaic appears Justinian. The two are joined visually and symbolically by the imperial purple they wear and by their haloes. A dozen attendants accompany Justinian, paralleling Christ's 12 apostles. Thus the mosaic program underscores the dual political and religious roles of the Byzantine emperor. The laws of the Church and the laws of the State, united in the laws of God, manifest themselves in the person of the emperor, whose right to rule is God-given.

Justinian's counterpart on the opposite wall of the apse is his empress, Theodora, with her corresponding retinue. Both processions move into the apse, Justinian proceeding from left to right and Theodora from right to left, in order to take part in the Eucharist. Justinian carries the bowl containing the bread, Theodora the golden cup with the wine. Neither one ever visited Ravenna, however. Their participation in the liturgy at San Vitale is pictorial fiction. The mosaics are proxies for the absent sovereigns. Justinian is present because he was the head of the Byzantine state, and his appearance in the mosaic underscores that his authority extended over his territories in Italy.

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THE CHRISTIAN ROMAN EMPIRE

In 324, when Constantine I (r. 306–337) founded Constantinople (Greek, "Constantine's city") on the site of ancient Byzantium, he legitimately could claim to be ruler of a united Roman Empire. But when Theodosius I (r. 379–395) died, he divided the Empire between his sons. Arcadius, the elder brother, became Emperor of the East, and Honorius, Emperor of the West. Arcadius ruled from Constantinople. After the sack of Rome in 410, Honorius moved the Western capital to Milan and later to Ravenna. Though not formally codified, Theodosius's division of the Empire (which paralleled Diocletian's century-earlier division of administrative responsibility) became permanent. Centralized government soon disintegrated in the Western half and gave way to warring kingdoms. The Eastern half of the Roman Empire, only loosely connected by religion to the West and with only minor territorial holdings there, had a long and complex history of its own. Centered at Constantinople—dubbed the New Rome—the Eastern Roman Empire remained a cultural and political entity for a millennium, until the last of a long line of Eastern Roman emperors, ironically named Constantine XI, died at Constantinople in 1453 in a futile attempt to defend the city against the Ottoman Turks (see "Ottoman Empire," page 309).

Historians refer to that eastern empire as Byzantium (MAP 9-1), employing Constantinople's original name, and use the term *Byzantine* to identify whatever pertains to Byzantium—its territory, its history, and its culture. The Byzantine emperors, however, did not use that term to define themselves. They called their empire Rome and themselves Romans. Though they spoke Greek and not Latin, the Eastern Roman emperors never relinquished their claim as the legitimate successors to the ancient Roman emperors (see "The Emperors of New Rome," page 267). During the long

MAP 9-1 **The Byzantine Empire at the death of Justinian in 565.**

BYZANTIUM

324–726	843–1204	1261–1453
Early Byzantine	**Middle Byzantine**	**Late Byzantine**
■ Constantine founds Constantinople, 324 ■ Theodosius I erects an obelisk in the Constantinopolitan hippodrome, 390 ■ Justinian builds Hagia Sophia with a dome resting on pendentives, 532–537 ■ Maximianus dedicates the mosaic-rich San Vitale at Ravenna, 547 ■ Icon painting flourishes at Mount Sinai until Leo III bans picturing the divine in 726	■ Theodora repeals iconoclasm in 843 ■ Churches feature exterior walls with decorative patterning, Greek-cross plans, and domes on drums resting on pendentives or squinches ■ Ivory triptychs with carved figures become popular for personal prayer	■ Michael VIII recaptures Constantinople after the Crusader sack of 1204 ■ Late Byzantine artists decorate the Church of Christ in Chora with mural paintings ■ Constantinople falls to the Ottoman Turks in 1453

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course of its history, Byzantium was the Christian buffer against the expansion of Islam into central and northern Europe, and throughout the Middle Ages, Europe felt its cultural influence. Byzantium Christianized the Slavic peoples of the Balkans and of Russia, giving them its Orthodox religion and alphabet, its literary culture, and its art and architecture. Byzantium's collapse in 1453 brought the Ottoman Empire into Europe as far as the Danube River, but Constantinople's fall had an impact even farther to the west. The flight of Byzantine scholars introduced the study of classical Greek to Italy after many centuries and helped inspire the new consciousness of antiquity that historians call the Renaissance.

Art historians divide the history of Byzantine art into three periods. The first, Early Byzantine, extends from the founding of Constantinople in 324 to the onset of *iconoclasm* (the destruction of images used in religious worship) in 726 under Emperor Leo III. The Middle Byzantine period begins with the renunciation of iconoclasm in 843 and ends with the Western Crusaders' occupation of Constantinople in 1204. Late Byzantine corresponds to the two centuries after the Byzantines recaptured Constantinople in 1261 until its final loss in 1453 to the Ottoman Turks.

EARLY BYZANTINE ART

The golden age of Early Byzantine art began with the accession of Justinian in 527, but important Byzantine artworks survive from the two centuries before Justinian's reign.

Before Justinian

Noteworthy among the pre-Justinianic examples of Byzantine art are the reliefs (FIG. 9-1A) honoring Theodosius I on the pedestal of the obelisk in the Constantinople *hippodrome,* as well as some superb carved ivories and illuminated manuscripts. They testify to the continuation of imperially commissioned political art and of private luxury art from the Late Antique West to Byzantium.

9-1A Obelisk of Theodosius, Constantinople, 390.

Archangel Michael. In the early sixth century, a master carver, probably at Constantinople, produced one of the largest extant Byzantine ivory panels (FIG. 9-2). It is probably the right half of a hinged diptych and depicts the archangel Michael. (The seven Christian archangels are distinct from and more important than other angels by virtue of having individual names.) The inscription opens with "Receive these gifts." The dedication may be a reference to the cross-surmounted orb of power the archangel once offered to a Byzantine emperor depicted on the missing diptych leaf. (Michael was the patron saint of Byzantine emperors, who often appear juxtaposed with him in Byzantine art.) The prototype for the archangel must have been a classical winged Victory, although Victory was personified as a woman in Greco-Roman art and usually carried a palm branch, as she does on a somewhat later Byzantine ivory (FIG. 9-4). The Christian artist here ingeniously adapted a classical personification and imbued it with new meaning.

The archangel's flowing drapery, which reveals the body's shape; the delicately incised wings; and the facial type and coiffure are further indications that the artist who carved this ivory was still working in the tradition of classical art. Nonetheless, this Byzantine sculptor had little concern for the rules of naturalistic representation. The archangel dwarfs the architectural setting. Michael's feet, for example, rest on three steps at once, and his upper body, wings, and arms are in front of the column shafts, whereas his lower body is behind the column bases at the top of the receding staircase. These spatial ambiguities, of course, do not detract from the figure's striking beauty, but they do signify the emergence in Byzantium of the same aesthetic already noted in the Late Antique mosaics of Thessaloniki (FIG. 8-27). Here, as there, the Byzantine artist rejected the goal of most classical artists: to render the three-dimensional world in convincing and consistent fashion and to people that world with fully modeled figures firmly rooted on the ground. Michael seems more to float in front of the architecture than to stand in it.

1 in.

9-2 Archangel Michael, right leaf of a diptych, early sixth century. Ivory, 1′ 5″ × 5 1/2″. British Museum, London.

The sculptor who carved this unusually large Byzantine ivory panel modeled Michael on a classical winged Victory, but the archangel seems to float in front of the architecture rather than stand in it.

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Vienna Dioskorides. The physical world was, however, the focus of one of the rare surviving early medieval secular books. In the mid-first century, a Greek physician named Dioskorides compiled an encyclopedia of medicinal herbs called *De materia medica.* An early-sixth-century copy of this medical manual, nearly a thousand pages in length, is in the Austrian National Library. The so-called *Vienna Dioskorides* was a gift from the people of Honoratai, near Constantinople, to Anicia Juliana, daughter of the short-lived Emperor of the West, Anicius Olybrius (r. 472). Anicia Juliana was a leading patron of the arts and had built a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary at Honoratai in 512. She also provided the funds to construct Saint Polyeuktos in Constantinople between 524 and 527. The excavated ruins of that church indicate that it was a domed basilica—an important forerunner of the pioneering design of Justinian's Hagia Sophia (FIG. 9-7).

9-2A Blackberry bush, *Vienna Dioskorides,* ca. 512.

The *Vienna Dioskorides* contains 498 illustrations, almost all images of plants (FIG. 9-2A) rendered with a scientific fidelity to nature that stands in stark contrast to contemporaneous Byzantine paintings and mosaics of religious subjects. It is likely that the *Vienna Dioskorides* painters copied the illustrations as well as the text of a classical manuscript. One page, however, cannot be a copy—the dedication page (FIG. 9-3) featuring a portrait of Anicia Juliana in an eight-pointed star and circle frame. This earliest known illustrated dedication page shows Anicia Juliana enthroned between Magnanimity and Prudence, with a kneeling figure labeled Gratitude of the Arts at her feet. The princess holds a book in her left hand, probably this *De materia medica.* The shading and modeling of the figures, the heads seen at oblique angles, the rendering of the throne's footstool in perspective, and the use of personifications place this manuscript firmly in the classical tradition, an artistic mode that remained a key ingredient of Byzantine art throughout its long history.

1 in.

9-3 Anicia Juliana between Magnanimity and Prudence, folio 6 verso of the *Vienna Dioskorides,* from Honoratai, near Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey, ca. 512. Tempera on vellum, 1′ 3″ × 1′ 11″. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

In gratitude for her generosity, the people of Honoratai presented Anicia Juliana, a great art patron, with a book in which she appears enthroned with personifications of magnanimity and prudence.

Justinianic Art and Architecture

Historians and art historians alike regard the reign of Emperor Justinian (r. 527–565) as Byzantium's first golden age, during which the Christian Roman Empire briefly rivaled the old Roman Empire in power and extent (MAP 9-1). Justinian's generals, Belisarius and Narses, drove the Ostrogoths out of Italy, expelled the Vandals from the African provinces, beat back the Bulgars on the northern frontier, and held the Sasanians at bay on the eastern borders. At home, the emperor put down a dangerous rebellion of political and religious factions in the city (the Nika revolt of 532) and supervised the codification of Roman law in a great work known as the *Corpus juris civilis* (*Code of Civil Law*), which became the foundation of the law systems of many modern European nations. Justinian could claim, with considerable justification, to have revived the glory of Old Rome in New Rome.

At the beginning of the fourth century, Constantine recognized Christianity and became its first imperial sponsor. By the end of the century, Theodosius had established Christianity as the Roman Empire's official religion. It was Justinian, however, who proclaimed Christianity the Empire's only lawful religion, specifically the Orthodox Christian doctrine. In Orthodox Christianity, the central article of faith is the equality of the three aspects of the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (as stated in Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Eastern Orthodox creeds today). All other versions of Christianity were heresies, especially the Arian, which asserted that the Father and Son were distinct entities and that the Father created the Son. Therefore, Christ was not equal to God. Also classified as a heresy was the Monophysite view that Christ had only one nature, which was divine, contrary to both the Orthodox and Arian belief that Christ had a dual divine-human nature. Justinian considered it his first duty not only to stamp out the few surviving polytheistic cults but also to crush all those who professed any Christian doctrine other than the Orthodox.

Barberini Ivory. Justinianic art—like Late Antique art in the West and the art of Theodosius (FIG. 9-1A) and his successors in Constantinople—was both religious and secular. A masterwork of political art is the ivory plaque known today as the *Barberini Ivory* (FIG. 9-4) because it was once part of the 17th-century collection (which also included the *Barberini Faun,* FIG. 5-85) of Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679) in Rome. Carved in five parts (one is lost), the panel shows at the center an emperor, usually identified as Justinian, riding triumphantly on a rearing horse, while a startled, half-hidden barbarian recoils in fear behind him. The dynamic twisting postures of both horse and rider and the motif of the spear-thrusting equestrian emperor are familiar motifs in Roman imperial works (see "The Emperors of New Rome," page 267), as are the bountiful Earth

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WRITTEN SOURCES

The Emperors of New Rome

The emperors of Byzantium, the New Rome on the Bosporus, considered themselves the direct successors of the emperors of the Old Rome on the Tiber. Although they proclaimed Orthodox Christianity as the official state religion and suppressed all of Old Rome's polytheistic cults, the political imagery of Byzantine art displays a striking continuity between ancient Rome and medieval Byzantium. Artists continued to portray emperors sitting on thrones holding the orb of the earth in their hands, presiding over public entertainments (FIG. 9-1A), battling foes while riding on mighty horses (FIG. 9-4), and receiving tribute from defeated enemies. In the Early Byzantine period, the State also set up official portraits of the emperors in great numbers throughout the territories that Byzantium controlled. But, as was true of classical art, much of imperial Byzantine statuary is forever lost. Nonetheless, scholars have been able to reconstruct the general appearance of some of the lost portraits of the Byzantine emperors based on miniature versions of them on ivory reliefs such as the *Barberini Ivory* (FIG. 9-4) and descriptions in surviving texts.

One especially impressive portrait in the Roman imperial tradition, melted down long ago, depicted Justinian on horseback atop a grandiose column. Cast in glittering bronze, like the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius (FIG. 7-58) fashioned nearly 400 years earlier, it attested to the continuity between the art of Old Rome and that of New Rome, where pompous imperial images were commonly displayed at the apex of freestanding columns. (Compare FIG. 7-1, where a statue of Saint Peter has replaced a lost statue of Emperor Trajan.) Procopius of Caesarea (ca. 500–ca. 565), the historian of Justinian's reign, described the equestrian portrait:

> Finest bronze, cast into panels and wreaths, encompasses the stones [of the column] on all sides, both binding them securely together and covering them with adornment. . . . This bronze is in color softer than pure gold, while in value it does not fall much short of an equal weight of silver. At the summit of the column stands a huge bronze horse turned towards the east, a most noteworthy sight. . . . Upon this horse is mounted a bronze image of the Emperor like a colossus. . . . He wears a cuirass in heroic fashion and his head is covered with a helmet . . . and a kind of radiance flashes forth from there. . . . He gazes towards the rising sun, steering his course, I suppose, against the Persians. In his left hand he holds a globe, by which the sculptor has signified that the whole earth and sea were subject to him, yet he carries neither sword nor spear nor any other weapon, but a cross surmounts his globe, by virtue of which alone he has won the kingship and victory in war. Stretching forth his right hand towards the regions of the East and spreading out his fingers, he commands the barbarians that dwell there to remain at home and not to advance any further.*

Statues such as this one are the missing links in an imperial tradition that never really died and that lived on also in the Holy Roman Empire (FIG. 11-12) and in Renaissance Italy (FIGS. 21-15 and 21-16).

*Cyril Mango, trans., *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (reprint of 1972 ed., Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1986), 110–111.

9-4 Justinian as world conqueror (*Barberini Ivory*), mid-sixth century. Ivory, 1′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″ × $10\frac{1}{2}$″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Classical style and motifs lived on in Byzantine art in ivories such as this one. Justinian rides a rearing horse accompanied by Victory and Earth personified. Above, Christ blesses the emperor.

(below the horse; compare FIG. 7-30) and palm-bearing Victory (flying in to crown the conqueror). Also borrowed from the art of Old Rome are the barbarians at the bottom of the plaque bearing tribute and seeking clemency. Accompanying them are a lion, elephant, and tiger—exotic animals native to Africa and Asia, sites of Justinianic conquest. At the left, a Roman soldier carries a statuette of another Victory, reinforcing the central panel's message. The source of the emperor's strength, however, comes not from his earthly armies but from God. The uppermost panel depicts two angels holding aloft a youthful image of Christ carrying a cross in his left hand. Christ blesses Justinian with a gesture of his right hand, indicating approval of the emperor's rule.

Hagia Sophia. Like the emperors of Old Rome, Justinian was an ambitious builder. In Constantinople alone, he erected or restored more than 30 churches of the Orthodox faith. Procopius, the official chronicler of the Justinianic era, admitted that the emperor's extravagant building program was an obsession that cost his subjects dearly in taxation. But Justinian's monuments defined the Byzantine style in architecture forever after.

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9-5 Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, aerial view of Hagia Sophia (looking north), Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey, 532–537.

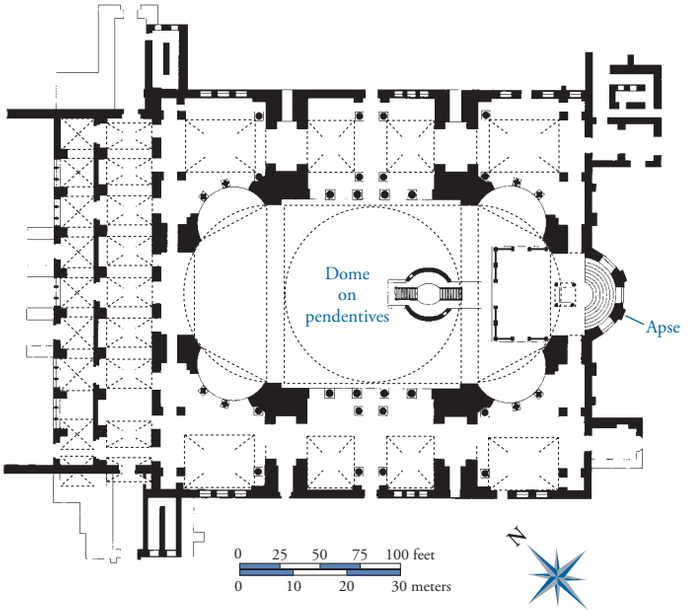
Justinian's reign was the first golden age of Byzantine art and architecture. Hagia Sophia was the most magnificent of the more than 30 churches that Justinian built or restored in Constantinople alone.

The emperor's most important project was the construction of Hagia Sophia (fig. 9-5), the church of Holy Wisdom, in Constantinople. Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, respectively a mathematician and a physicist (neither man an architect in the modern sense of the word), designed and built the church for Justinian between 532 and 537. They began work immediately after fire destroyed an earlier church on the site during the Nika riot in January 532. Justinian intended the new church to rival all other churches ever erected and even to surpass in scale and magnificence the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. The result was Byzantium's grandest building and one of the supreme accomplishments of world architecture.

Hagia Sophia's dimensions are formidable for any structure not made of steel. In plan (fig. 9-6), it is about 270 feet long and 240 feet wide. The dome is 108 feet in diameter, and its crown rises some 180 feet above the pavement (figs. 9-7 and 9-8). (The first dome collapsed in 558. Its replacement required repair in the 9th and 14th centuries. The present dome is steeper and more stable than the original.) In scale, Hagia Sophia rivals the architectural wonders of Rome: the Pantheon (fig. 7-49), the Baths of Caracalla (fig. 7-65) and Diocletian (fig. 7-66), and the Basilica Nova (fig. 7-74). In exterior view (fig. 9-5), the great dome dominates the structure, but the building's external aspects today are much changed from their original appearance. The huge buttresses are later additions to the Justinianic design, and after the Ottoman conquest of 1453, when Hagia Sophia became a *mosque,* the Turks constructed four towering *minarets* (see "The Mosque," page 299) at the corners of the former church. The building became a museum in 1935, but many in Turkey today wish to reconsecrate it as an Islamic shrine and reopen the building as a mosque for Muslim worship.

The characteristic Byzantine plainness and unpretentiousness of the exterior scarcely prepare visitors for the building's interior (fig. 9-8). Paulus Silentiarius, a poet and *silentiary* (an usher responsible for maintaining silence in the palace) at Justinian's court, vividly described the original magnificence of Hagia Sophia's interior:

> Who . . . shall sing the marble meadows gathered upon the mighty walls and spreading pavement. . . . [There is stone] from the green flanks of Carystus [and] the speckled Phrygian stone, sometimes rosy mixed with white, sometimes gleaming with purple and silver flowers. There is a wealth of porphyry stone, too, besprinkled with little bright stars. . . . You may see the bright green stone of Laconia and the glittering marble with wavy veins found in the deep gullies of the Iasian peaks, exhibiting slanting streaks of blood-red and livid white; the pale yellow with swirling red from the Lydian headland; the glittering crocus-like golden stone [of Libya]; . . . glittering [Celtic] black [with] here and there an abundance of milk; the pale onyx with glint of precious metal; and



9-6 Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, plan of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey, 532–537.

In Hagia Sophia, Justinian's architects succeeded in fusing two previously independent architectural traditions: the vertically oriented central-plan building and the longitudinally oriented basilica.

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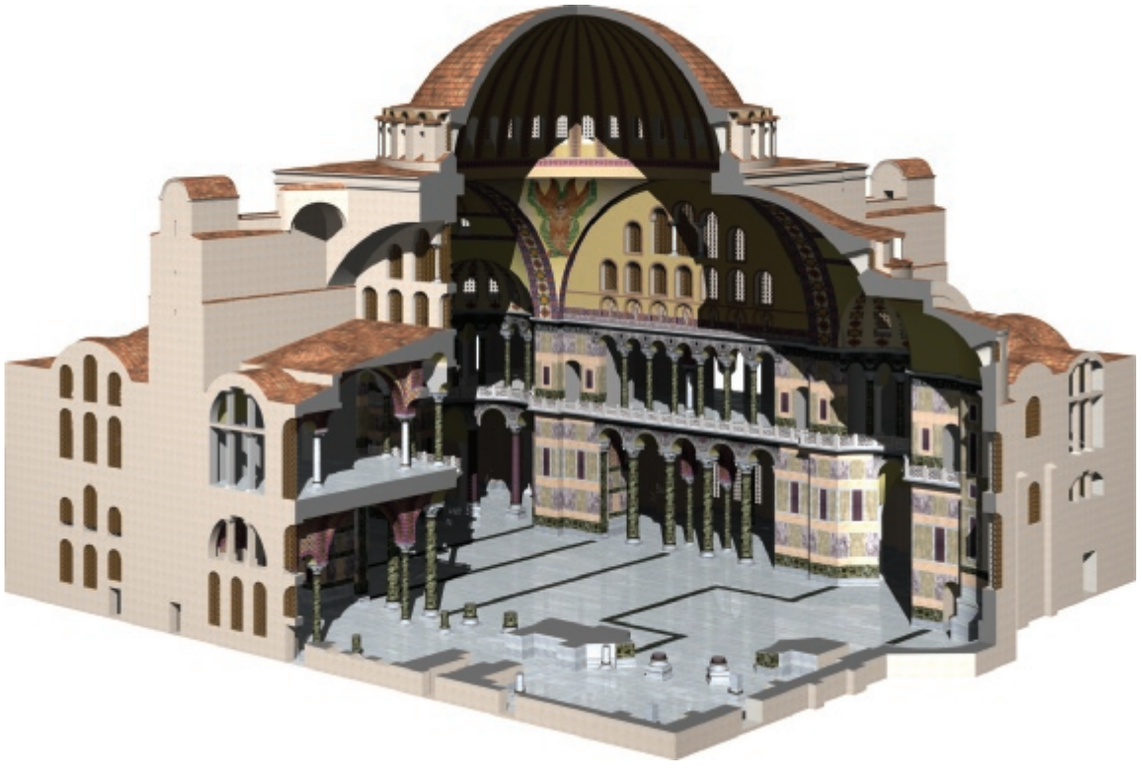

9-7 Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, restored cutaway view of Hagia Sophia (looking northwest), Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey, 532–537 (John Burge).

Hagia Sophia is a domed basilica. Buttressing the great dome are eastern and western half-domes whose thrusts descend, in turn, into smaller half-domes surmounting columned exedrae.

9-8 Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus, interior of Hagia Sophia (looking southwest), Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey, 532–537.

Pendentive construction made possible Hagia Sophia's lofty dome, which seems to ride on a halo of light. A contemporary said that the dome seemed to be suspended by "a golden chain from Heaven."

[Thessalian marble] in parts vivid green not unlike emerald. . . . It has spots resembling snow next to flashes of black so that in one stone various beauties mingle.[1]

The feature that distinguishes Hagia Sophia from equally lavishly revetted Roman buildings such as the Pantheon (FIG. 7-51) is the mystical quality of the light flooding the interior. The soaring canopy-like dome that dominates the inside as well as the outside of the church rides on a halo of light from windows in the dome's base. Visitors to Hagia Sophia from Justinian's time to today have been struck by the light within the church and its effect on the human spirit. The 40 windows at the base of the dome create the illusion that the dome rests on the light pouring through them.

Procopius observed that the dome looked as if it were suspended by "a golden chain from Heaven" and that "the space is not illuminated by the sun from the outside, but that the radiance is generated within, so great an abundance of light bathes this shrine all around."[2] Paul the Silentiary compared the dome to "the firmament which rests on air" and described the vaulting as covered with "gilded tesserae from which a glittering stream of golden rays pours abundantly and strikes men's eyes with irresistible force. It is as if one were gazing at the midday sun in spring."[3] Thus Hagia

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

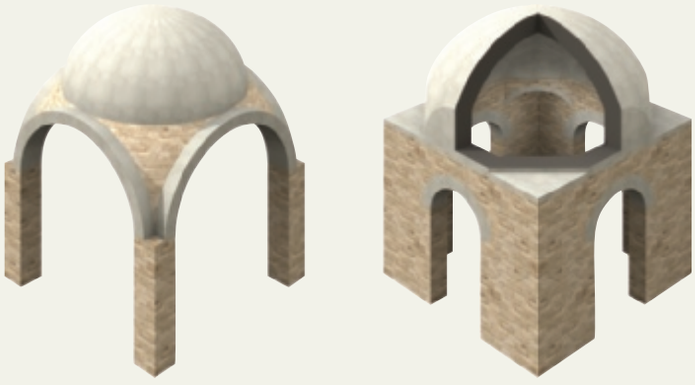
Placing a Dome over a Square

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of Byzantine architecture is the use of a dome, which is circular at its base, over an interior space that is square in plan, as in the Justinianic church of Hagia Sophia (FIGS. 9-7 and 9-8) and countless later structures (for example, FIGS. 9-22, 9-23, and 9-26). Unlike other engineering marvels that the Byzantine Empire inherited from imperial Rome, the placement of a dome over a square was a problem that Byzantine builders had to solve themselves. Two innovative structural devices that became hallmarks of Byzantine engineering made this feat possible: *pendentives* and *squinches.*

In pendentive construction (from the Latin *pendere,* "to hang"), a dome rests on what is, in effect, a second, larger dome (FIG. 9-9, *left*). The builders omit the top portion and four segments around the rim of the larger dome, producing four curved triangles, or pendentives. The pendentives join to form a ring and four arches whose planes bound a square. The pendentives and arches transfer the weight of the dome not to the walls but to the four piers from which the arches spring.

The first use of pendentives on a monumental scale was in Hagia Sophia (FIGS. 9-7 and 9-8) in the mid-sixth century, although Mesopotamian architects had experimented with pendentives earlier. In Roman and Early Christian central-plan buildings, such as the Pantheon (FIGS. 7-50 and 7-51) and Santa Costanza (FIG. 8-11), the domes spring directly from the circular top of a cylinder (FIG. 7-6).

The pendentive system is a dynamic solution to the problem of setting a round dome over a square, making possible a union of centralized and longitudinal (basilican) structures. A similar effect can be achieved using squinches (FIG. 9-9, *right*)—arches, corbels, or lintels—that bridge the corners of the supporting walls and form an octagon inscribed within a square. To achieve even greater height, a builder can rest a dome on a cylindrical drum that in turn rests on either pendentives or squinches, as in the 11th-century Church of the Dormition (FIG. 9-23) at Daphni, but the principle of supporting a dome over a square is the same.



9-9 *Left:* dome on pendentives; *right:* dome on squinches (John Burge).

Pendentives (triangular sections of a sphere) make it possible to place a dome on a ring over a square. Squinches achieve the same goal by bridging the corners of the square to form an octagonal base.

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Sophia has a vastness of space shot through with light, and a central dome that appears to be supported by the light it admits. In the sixth century, the lamps and incense used in the church services filled Hagia Sophia with particles that caught and reflected the sunlight, creating an atmosphere very different from what visitors experience today. Pseudo-Dionysius, perhaps the most influential mystic philosopher of the Justinianic age, wrote in *The Divine Names*: "Light comes from the Good and . . . light is the visual image of God."[4]

Pendentives. To achieve this illusion of a floating "dome of Heaven," Anthemius and Isidorus used *pendentives* (see "Placing a Dome over a Square," above) to transfer the weight from the great dome to the piers beneath rather than to the walls. With pendentives (FIG. 9-9, *left*), not only could the space beneath the dome be unobstructed, but scores of windows could puncture the walls. The pendentives created the impression of a dome suspended above, not held up by, walls. Experts today can explain the technical virtuosity of Justinian's builders, but it remained a mystery to their contemporaries. Procopius communicated the sense of wonderment experienced by those who entered Justinian's great church: "No matter how much they concentrate their attention on this and that, and examine everything with contracted eyebrows, they are unable to understand the craftsmanship and always depart from there amazed by the perplexing spectacle."[5]

By placing a hemispherical dome on a square base instead of on a circular base, as in the Pantheon (FIGS. 7-50 and 7-51), Anthemius and Isidorus succeeded in fusing two previously independent and seemingly mutually exclusive architectural traditions: the vertically oriented central-plan building and the longitudinally oriented basilica. Hagia Sophia is, in essence, a domed basilica (FIG. 9-6)—a uniquely successful conclusion to several centuries of experimentation in church architecture. However, the thrusts of the pendentive construction at Hagia Sophia made external buttresses necessary, as well as huge internal northern and southern wall piers and eastern and western half-domes (FIG. 9-5). The semidomes' thrusts descend, in turn, into still smaller half-domes surmounting columned exedrae (FIGS. 9-7 and 9-8) that give a curving flow to the design.

The diverse vistas and screenlike ornamented surfaces mask the structural lines. The columnar arcades of the nave and second-story galleries have no real structural function. Like the walls they pierce, they are only part of a fragile "fill" between the huge piers. Structurally, although Hagia Sophia may seem Roman in its great scale and majesty, the organization of its masses is not Roman. The very fact that the "walls" in Hagia Sophia are concealed (and barely adequate) piers indicates that the architects sought Roman monumentality as an effect and did not design the building according to Roman principles. Hagia Sophia's eight great supporting piers are ashlar masonry, but the screen walls are brick, as are the vaults of the aisles and galleries and the dome and semicircular half-domes. Using brick in place of concrete was a further departure from Roman practice, and marks Byzantine architecture as a distinctive structural style.

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The ingenious design of Hagia Sophia provided the illumination and the setting for the solemn liturgy of the Orthodox faith. The large windows along the rim of the great dome poured light down upon the interior's jeweled splendor, where priests staged the sacred spectacle. Sung by clerical choirs, the Orthodox equivalent of the Latin Mass celebrated the sacrament of the Eucharist at the altar in the apsidal sanctuary, in spiritual reenactment of Jesus's crucifixion. Processions of chanting priests, accompanying the patriarch (archbishop) of Constantinople, moved slowly to and from the sanctuary and the vast nave. The gorgeous array of their vestments (compare FIG. 9-35A) rivaled the interior's polychrome marbles, complementing the interior's finely wrought, gleaming candlesticks and candelabras; the illuminated books bound in gold or ivory and inlaid with jewels and enamels; and the crosses, sacred vessels, and processional banners. Each, with its great richness of texture and color, glowing in incense-filled shafts of light from the dome, contributed to the majestic ambience of Justinian's great church.

The nave of Hagia Sophia was reserved for the clergy, not the congregation. The laity, segregated by sex, had only partial views of the brilliant ceremony, the men from the shadows of the aisles, the women from the galleries. The emperor was the only layperson privileged to enter the sanctuary. When he participated with the patriarch in the liturgical drama, standing at the pulpit beneath the great dome, his rule was again sanctified and his person exalted. Church and State were symbolically made one (see "Church and State United," page 263). The church building was then the earthly image of the court of Heaven, its light the image of God and God's holy wisdom.

At Hagia Sophia, the intricate logic of Greek theology, the ambitious scale of Rome, the vaulting tradition of Mesopotamia, and the mysticism of the Orthodox Christian faith combined to create a building that is at once a summation of antiquity and a positive assertion of the triumph of Christianity.

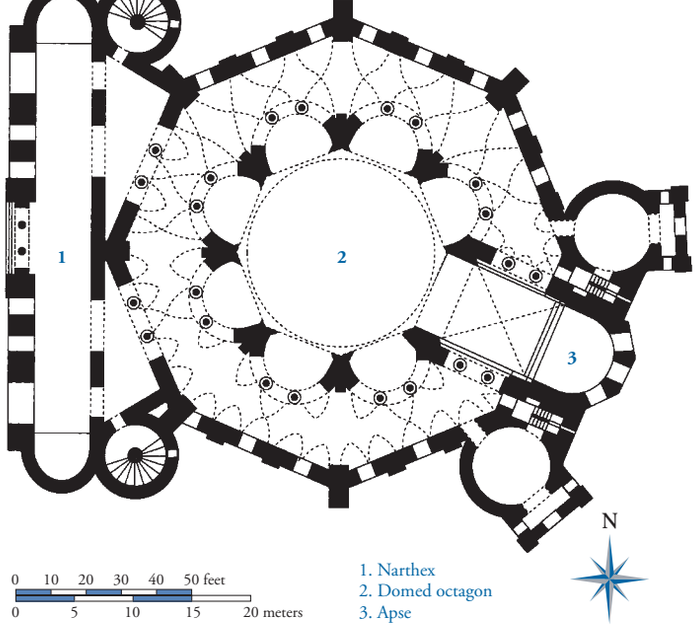
Ravenna. In 493, Theodoric, the Ostrogoths' greatest king, chose Ravenna, an Etruscan, and later a Roman, city near the Adriatic coast of Italy south of Venice, as the capital of his kingdom, which encompassed much of the Balkans and all of Italy. During the short history of Theodoric's unfortunate successors, Ravenna's importance declined. But in 539, Justinian's general Belisarius captured the city, initiating an important new chapter in its history. Ravenna remained the Eastern Empire's foothold in Italy for two centuries, until the Lombards and then the Franks overtook it. During Justinian's reign, Ravenna enjoyed great prosperity at a time when repeated sieges, conquests, and sackings threatened the "eternal city" of Rome with extinction. As the seat of Byzantine dominion in Italy, Ravenna and its culture became an extension of Constantinople. Its art, even more than that of the Byzantine capital (where relatively little outside of architecture has survived), clearly reveals the transition from the Early Christian to the Byzantine style.

San Vitale. Construction of Ravenna's greatest shrine, San Vitale (FIGS. 9-1 and 9-10), began under Bishop Ecclesius (r. 522–532) shortly after Theodoric's death in 526. A wealthy citizen, Julianus Argentarius (Julian the Banker), provided the enormous sum of 26,000 *solidi* (gold coins), weighing in excess of 350 pounds, required to proceed with the work. San Vitale is unlike any of the Early Christian churches (FIG. 8-25) of Ravenna. It is not a basilica. Rather, it is centrally planned, like Justinian's churches in Constantinople, and it seems, in fact, to have been loosely modeled on the earlier Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus there.

As already discussed (see "Church and State United," page 263), San Vitale's design features a dome-covered, clerestory-lit central space defined by piers alternating with curved, columned exedrae, creating an intricate eight-leafed plan (FIG. 9-11). The exedrae closely integrate the inner and outer spaces that otherwise would

9-10 San Vitale (looking west), Ravenna, Italy, 526–547.

Justinian's general Belisarius captured Ravenna from the Ostrogoths. The city became the seat of Byzantine dominion in Italy. San Vitale honored Saint Vitalis, a second-century Ravenna martyr.



9-11 Plan of San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy, 526–547.

Centrally planned like Justinian's churches in Constantinople, San Vitale has a design featuring an off-axis narthex and two concentric octagons. A dome crowns the taller, inner octagon.

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9-12 Apse (looking east) with mosaic of Christ between two angels, Saint Vitalis, and Bishop Ecclesius, San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy, 526–547.

In the apse vault, a youthful Christ, seated on the orb of the world at the time of the Second Coming, extends the gold martyr's wreath to Saint Vitalis. Bishop Ecclesius offers Christ a model of San Vitale.

have existed simply side by side as independent units. A cross-vaulted *choir* preceding the apse interrupts the ambulatory and gives the plan some axial stability. Weakening this effect, however, is the off-axis placement of the narthex, whose odd angle (and that of the atrium that once preceded the narthex) is probably to be explained by the orientation of the preexisting streets in this section of Ravenna.

The mosaic- and marble-clad walls and vaults of San Vitale's interior (FIG. 9-1) are dazzling. In the apse vault (FIG. 9-12) is a vision of the Second Coming. Christ, youthful in the Early Christian tradition, sits atop the world and holds a scroll with seven seals (Rev. 5:1). The four rivers of Paradise flow beneath him, and rainbow-hued clouds float above. Christ extends the golden martyr's wreath to Vitalis, the patron saint of the church, whom an angel introduces. At Christ's left, another angel presents Bishop Ecclesius, who offers a model of San Vitale to the Savior. The arrangement recalls Christ's prophecy of the last days of the world: "And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with great power and glory. And then shall he send his angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of Heaven" (Mark 13:26–27).

Images and symbols covering the entire sanctuary express the single idea of Christ's redemption of humanity and the reenactment of it in the Eucharist.

9-13 Justinian, Bishop Maximianus, and attendants, mosaic on the north wall of the apse, San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy, ca. 547.

San Vitale's mosaics reveal the new Byzantine aesthetic. Justinian is foremost among the weightless and speechless frontal figures hovering before the viewer, their positions in space uncertain.

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For example, the lunette mosaic over the two columns on the northern side of the choir depicts the story of Abraham and the three angels. Sarah, Abraham's wife, was 90 years old and childless when three angels visited Abraham. They announced that Sarah would bear a son, and she later miraculously gave birth to Isaac. Christians believe that the Old Testament angels symbolize the Holy Trinity. Immediately to the right in the lunette is the sacrifice of Isaac, a prefiguration of Christ's crucifixion (see "Old Testament Subjects in Christian Art," page 242).

Justinian and Theodora. The most distinctive elements of the mosaic program of San Vitale are the facing panels in the choir depicting Justinian and Theodora—even though neither the emperor nor empress ever entered San Vitale. The positions of the figures are all-important. They express the formulas of precedence and rank. In the Justinian mosaic (FIG. 9-13), the emperor is at the center, distinguished from the other dignitaries by his purple robe and halo, which connect him with the Savior in the vault above. At Justinian's left (at right in the mosaic) is Bishop Maximianus (r. 546–556), the man responsible for San Vitale's completion. (His magnificent ivory throne [FIG. 9-13A] is on display today in one of Ravenna's museums.) The mosaicist stressed the bishop's importance by labeling his figure with the only identifying inscription in the composition. (Some scholars think that Maximianus added the inscription and that the bishop represented was originally Ecclesius.)

9-13A Throne of Maximianus, ca. 546–556.

The artist divided the figures into three groups: the emperor and his staff; the clergy; and the imperial guard, bearing a shield with the *chi-rho-iota* (☧) monogram of Christ. Each group has a leader whose feet precede (by one foot overlapping) the feet of those who follow. The positions of Justinian and Maximianus are curiously ambiguous. Although the emperor appears to be slightly behind the bishop, the golden *paten* (large shallow bowl or plate for the Eucharist bread) he carries overlaps the bishop's arm. Thus, symbolized by place and gesture, the imperial and churchly powers are in balance. The emperor's paten, the bishop's cross, and the attendant clerics' book and censer produce a slow forward movement that strikingly modifies the scene's still formality. The artist placed nothing in the background, wishing the observer to understand the procession as taking place in this very sanctuary. Thus the emperor appears forever as a participant in the sacred rites and as the proprietor of this royal church and the ruler of the western territories of the Eastern Roman Empire.

The procession at San Vitale recalls but contrasts with that of Augustus and his entourage (FIG. 7-31) on the Ara Pacis, carved more than a half millennium earlier in Rome. There, the fully modeled marble figures have their feet planted firmly on the ground. The Roman officials—and their wives and children—talk among themselves, unaware of the viewer's presence. The emperor—the *princeps*—is first among equals. All is anecdote, all very human and of this world, even if the figures themselves conform to a classical ideal of beauty that cannot be achieved in reality. The frontal figures of the Byzantine mosaic who flank the central, haloed emperor hover, weightless and speechless, their positions in space uncertain. Tall, spare, angular, and elegant, they have lost the rather squat proportions characteristic of much Early Christian figural art. The garments fall straight, stiff, and thin from the narrow shoulders. The organic body has dematerialized, and, except for the heads, some of which seem to be portraits, viewers see a procession of solemn spirits gliding silently in the presence of the sacrament. Indeed, the theological basis for this approach to representation was the idea that the divine was invisible and that the purpose of religious art was to stimulate spiritual seeing (see "Picturing the Spiritual World," page 260). Theodulf of Orleans summed up this idea around 790: "God is beheld not with the eyes of the flesh but only with the eye of the mind."[6] The mosaics of San Vitale reveal this new Byzantine aesthetic, one very different from that of the classical world, but equally compelling. Byzantine art disparages matter and material values. It is an art in which blue sky has given way to heavenly gold, an art without solid bodies or cast shadows and with the perspective of Paradise, which is nowhere and everywhere.

The portraits in the Theodora mosaic (FIG. 9-14) exhibit the same stylistic traits as those in the Justinian mosaic, but the artist

9-14 Theodora and attendants, mosaic on the south wall of the apse, San Vitale, Ravenna, Italy, ca. 547.

Justinian's counterpart on the opposite wall is the powerful Empress Theodora. Neither she nor Justinian ever visited Ravenna. San Vitale's mosaics are proxies for the absent sovereigns.

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9-15 Saint Apollinaris amid sheep, apse mosaic, Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, Italy, ca. 533–549.

Saint Apollinaris stands beneath Christ's cross, his arms raised in prayer. Although the scene is set in a landscape, the Byzantine artist rejected the classical illusionism of earlier mosaics (compare FIG. 8-23).

represented the women within a definite architecture, perhaps the atrium of San Vitale. The empress stands in state beneath an imperial canopy, waiting to follow the emperor's procession. An attendant beckons her to pass through the curtained doorway. That she is outside the sanctuary in a courtyard with a fountain and only about to enter attests that, in the ceremonial protocol, her rank was not quite equal to her consort's. But the very presence of Theodora at San Vitale is significant. She wielded enormous influence in the Byzantine state, as did many other Byzantine empresses (see "Born to the Purple: Empress Zoe," page 282). Of humble origin, Theodora, who was 15 years younger than Justinian, initially attracted his attention because of her beauty, but she soon became his most trusted adviser. John the Lydian, a civil servant at Constantinople at the time, described her as "the most intelligent of all and of all times."[7] For example, during the Nika revolt in Constantinople in 532, when all of her husband's ministers counseled flight from the city, Theodora, by the sheer force of her personality, persuaded Justinian and his generals to hold their ground—and they succeeded in suppressing the uprising. In the mosaic, the artist underscored Theodora's elevated rank by decorating the border of her garment with a representation of the three magi, suggesting that the empress belongs in the company of the three monarchs bearing gifts who approached the newborn Jesus.

Sant'Apollinare in Classe. Until the ninth century, the Church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe housed the body of Saint Apollinaris, who died a martyr in Classe, Ravenna's port. The church itself is Early Christian in type, a basilica with a nave and flanking aisles, like Theodoric's palace-church (FIG. 8-25) dedicated to the same saint in Ravenna. As in the earlier church, the Justinianic building's exterior is plain and unadorned, but inside, sumptuous mosaics fill the apse (FIG. 9-15). The mosaic decorating the semidome above the apse was probably in place by the time of the church's dedication in 549. The mosaics of the framing arch and the figures between the windows are of later date.

Against a golden ground, a large medallion with a jeweled cross dominates the composition. This may represent the cross that Constantine erected on the hill of Calvary to commemorate the martyrdom of Jesus. Visible just above the cross is the hand of God. On either side of the medallion, in the clouds, are the Old Testament prophets Moses and Elijah, who appeared before Jesus during his transfiguration (compare FIG. 9-16). Below these two figures are three sheep, symbols of the disciples John, Peter, and James, who accompanied Jesus to the foot of the mountain he ascended in order to converse with the prophets. Beneath, amid green fields with trees, flowers, and birds, stands the church's patron saint, Apollinaris. The mosaicist portrayed him in the Early Christian manner as an orant with uplifted arms (compare FIGS. 8-6 and 8-7). Accompanying Apollinaris are 12 sheep, perhaps representing the Christian congregation under the saint's protection. The composition is closely tied to the services enacted in the church. The sixth-century congregants saw, in hierarchical order from top to bottom, the hand of God, the symbols of Christ and his disciples, Apollinaris and his flock, and, presiding at the altar, Apollinaris's successor, the living bishop. Those attending the service were the bishop's sheep. Even the illiterate could make these visual associations.

Comparison of the Early Byzantine Sant'Apollinare in Classe mosaic with the Galla Placidia mosaic (FIG. 8-24) from the Early Christian period at Ravenna shows how the style and artists' approach to the subject changed during the course of a century. Both mosaics portray a human figure and some sheep in a

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landscape. But in Classe, in the mid-sixth century, the artist did not try to represent voluminous figures in a naturalistic setting, but instead treated the saint, the animals, and the plants as flat symbols, lined up side by side. The mosaicist carefully avoided overlapping in what must have been an intentional effort to omit all reference to the three-dimensional space of the material world and physical reality. Shapes have lost the volume seen in the earlier mosaic and instead are flat silhouettes with linear details. The effect is that of an extremely rich tapestry without illusionistic devices. This new Byzantine style became the ideal vehicle for conveying the extremely complex symbolism of the fully developed Christian dogma.

Mount Sinai. During Justinian's reign, almost continuous building activity took place, not only in Constantinople and Ravenna but throughout the Byzantine Empire. At about the time that mosaicists in Ravenna were completing their work at San Vitale and Sant'Apollinare in Classe, Justinian's builders were expanding an important early *monastery* (an enclosed compound for monks) at Mount Sinai in Egypt, where Moses received the Ten Commandments from God. Now called Saint Catherine's, the monastery marked the spot at the foot of the mountain where the Bible says that God first spoke to the Hebrew prophet from a burning bush.

Monasticism originated in Egypt in the third century and spread rapidly to Palestine and Syria in the East and as far as Ireland in the West. It began as a migration to the wilderness by those who sought a more spiritual way of life, far from the burdens, distractions, and temptations of town and city. In desert places, these refuge seekers lived austerely as hermits, in contemplative isolation, cultivating the soul's perfection. So many thousands fled the cities that the authorities became alarmed—noting the effect on the tax base, military recruitment, and business in general.

The origins of the monastic movement are associated with Saints Anthony and Pachomius in Egypt in the fourth century (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). By the fifth century, many of the formerly isolated monks had begun to live together within a common enclosure and to formulate regulations governing communal life under the direction of an abbot (see "Medieval Monasteries and Benedictine Rule," page 336). The monks typically lived in a walled monastery, an architectural complex that included the monks' residence (an alignment of single sleeping cells), an *oratory* (monastic church), a *refectory* (dining hall), a kitchen, storage and service quarters, and a guesthouse for pilgrims (FIG. 11-20).

Justinian rebuilt the monastery at Mount Sinai between 548 and 565 and constructed imposing walls around it. The site had been an important pilgrimage destination since the fourth century, and Justinian's fortress protected not only the monks but also the lay pilgrims during their visits. The Mount Sinai church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, whom the Orthodox Church had officially recognized in the mid-fifth century as the Mother of God (*Theotokos,* "she who bore God" in Greek), putting to rest a controversy about the divine nature of Christ.

The mosaic in the church's apse is the *Transfiguration* (FIG. 9-16). Other mosaics in the church depict Moses receiving the Law and standing before the burning bush. Indeed, the various themes are

9-16 ***Transfiguration,*** **mosaic in the apse of the Church of the Virgin, monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, Egypt, ca. 548–565.**

In this apse mosaic, unlike the one in Sant'Apollinare (FIG. 9-15), the artist swept away all traces of landscape for a depthless field of gold. The figures cast no shadows even though bathed in divine light.

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A SECOND OPINION

The *Vienna Genesis*

The *Vienna Genesis* (FIGS. 9-17 and 9-17A) is a manuscript in codex format that was produced in a Constantinopolitan or possibly a Syrian workshop, using only the costliest materials. The preserved 48 folios (out of probably 96 originally) are fine vellum dyed with rich purple, the same dye used to give imperial cloth its distinctive color. The Greek text is in silver ink, long ago turned black. The illustrations are the work of several different painters. All were tasked with providing a picture to fill the lower half of each page, with the upper half reserved for the biblical text. Not surprisingly, the nature of the illustrations varies from painter to painter and the compositions reflect diverse sources. Many take the form of simple rectangular panels representing a single episode. Others, including the two reproduced here, show successive moments of the same story with the key figure or figures repeated in a single setting. On folio 12 the manuscript painter depicted events from the story of Jacob, which the viewer "reads" as the narrative unfolds along a winding path beginning at the upper left, where Jacob leads his two wives and his 11 sons toward a bridge. The sons have more heads than bodies—a common way of suggesting a crowd in Late Antique art (compare FIG. 8-20). At the right, the main figures appear again crossing the bridge as they circle down into the lower zone where Jacob wrestles with the angel and then meets his brother, Esau. The family appears one more time at the lower left.

9-17A Rebecca and Eliezer, *Vienna Genesis,* early sixth century.

Art historians generally consider the paintings in the *Vienna Genesis* early examples of a method of pictorial storytelling called *continuous narration* (compare FIG. 7-43A), although here, as on the Column of Trajan frieze (FIG. 7-45), the figures move from place to place within the same frame. In the strictest definition of continuous narration, a single figure must appear more than once in the same space. What might be the model for this kind of presentation of the biblical story? Various answers have been proposed, but the most intriguing and convincing is that this painter's model was a Genesis manuscript in scroll form, which the artist adapted to the newer codex format. If so, the *Vienna Genesis,* the oldest preserved illustrated Bible book, is evidence for the existence of still earlier illustrated biblical texts in the form of long rotuli with both pictures and text revealed gradually as the reader unwinds the scroll.

1 in.

9-17 The story of Jacob, folio 12 verso of the *Vienna Genesis,* early sixth century. Tempera, gold, and silver on purple vellum, 1′ $\frac{1}{4}$″ × 9 $\frac{1}{4}$″. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

The Old Testament story of Jacob unfolds along a winding path and over bridges, with the chief figures appearing several times in the same illustration. The pictorial source may have been an illustrated scroll.

intertwined. In the apse, Moses reappears below Jesus with his disciples John, Peter, and James, and another Old Testament prophet, Elijah, here beholding the Savior transfigured into heat and light, paralleling the burning bush. The mosaicist depicted Jesus in a deep-blue *mandorla* (almond-shaped aureole of light), stressing the intense whiteness of Jesus's transfigured, spiritualized form, from which rays stream down on the disciples. The stately figures of the prophets and the static frontality of Jesus set off the frantic terror and astonishment of the gesticulating disciples. These distinctions dramatically contrast the eternal composure of heavenly beings with the distraught responses of the earthbound. At Mount Sinai, the mosaicist swept away all traces of landscape and architectural setting for a depthless field of gold, fixing the figures and their labels in isolation from one another. A rainbow band of colors graduating from yellow to blue bounds the golden field at its base. The relationship of the figures to this multicolor ground line is ambiguous. The artist placed some figures behind it, whereas others overlap it. The bodies cast no shadows, even though supernatural light streams over them. This is not the natural world that Jesus and his disciples inhabited. It is a world of mystical vision. The mosaicist subtracted all substance that might suggest the passage of time or motion through physical space, enabling the devout to contemplate the eternal and motionless world of religious truth (see "Picturing the Spiritual World," page 260).

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Manuscript and Icon Painting

As in the Early Christian period, manuscript painting was an important art form during the Early Byzantine era. This period also marked the beginning of another Byzantine pictorial tradition with a long and distinguished history—icon painting.

Early Byzantine Books. The oldest well-preserved painted manuscript containing biblical scenes is the early-sixth-century *Vienna Genesis,* so called because it is today one of the treasures of the Austrian National Library in Vienna and contains the text of only the first book of the Old Testament (see "The *Vienna Genesis,*" page 276).

More popular than illustrated Old Testament books were Gospel books, which contained the texts of the four *Gospels* (see "Medieval Books," page 324). Two important Early Byzantine examples are the *Rossano Gospels* (FIG. 9-17B), contemporaneous with the *Vienna Genesis* and also featuring purple-dyed pages, and the somewhat later *Rabbula Gospels* (FIGS. 9-18 and 9-18A). The latter, written in Syriac by the monk Rabbula at the monastery of Saint John the Evangelist at Zagba in Syria, dates to 586 and boasts full-page paintings of the life of Jesus, especially scenes of his passion.

9-17B Christ before Pilate, *Rossano Gospels,* early sixth century.

9-18A *Crucifixion* and *Resurrection, Rabbula Gospels,* 586.

The page depicting Christ's ascension (FIG. 9-18) shows Christ, bearded and surrounded by a mandorla, as in the Mount Sinai representation of the Transfiguration (FIG. 9-16), but here angels bear the mandorla aloft. Below, Mary, other angels, and various apostles look on. The artist set the figures into a mosaic-like frame (compare FIGS. 9-13 and 9-14), and many art historians think that the model for the manuscript page was a mural painting or mosaic in a Byzantine church somewhere in the Eastern Empire.

The account of Christ ascending to Heaven is not part of the accompanying text of the *Rabbula Gospels* but comes from the book of Acts. In the latter, the Virgin is not present at the miraculous event. In the *Rabbula Gospels* representation, however, the Theotokos occupies a prominent position, central and directly beneath Christ. It is an early example of the important role the Mother of God played in medieval art, both in the East and in the West. Frontal, with a nimbus, and posed as an orant, Mary stands apart from the commotion all about her and looks out at the viewer. Other details also depart from the Gospel texts. Christ, for example, does not rise in a cloud. Rather, as in the vision of Ezekiel in the book of Revelation, he ascends in a mandorla above a fiery winged chariot. The chariot carries the symbols of the four evangelists—the man, lion, ox, and eagle (see "The Four Evangelists," page 331). This page therefore does not illustrate the Gospels. Rather, its purpose is to present one of the central tenets of Christian faith. Similar compositions appear on pilgrims' flasks from Palestine that were souvenir items reproducing important monuments visited. They reinforce the theory that the Byzantine painter based the *Ascension of Christ* in the *Rabbula Gospels* on a lost painting or mosaic in a major church.

1 in.

9-18 ***Ascension of Christ,*** **folio 13 verso of the *Rabbula Gospels,* from Zagba, Syria, 586. Tempera on parchment, 1′ 1″ × 10½″. Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence.**

The Gospels do not mention the Virgin as witness to Christ's ascension. Her prominent position in the *Rabbula Gospels* is an early example of the important role that Mary played in medieval art.

Icons. Gospel books such as the *Rossano* and *Rabbula Gospels* played an important role in monastic religious life. So, too, did *icons,* which also figured prominently in private devotion (see "Icons and Iconoclasm," page 278). Unfortunately, few early icons survive. Two of the finest examples come from Saint Catherine's monastery at Mount Sinai. One represents Christ blessing the viewer (FIG. 19-18B), and the other the enthroned Theotokos (FIG. 9-19). The medium used for both icons is encaustic on wood, continuing a tradition of panel painting in Egypt that, like so much else in the Byzantine world, dates to the Roman Empire (FIGS. 7-60A, 7-61, 7-61A, and 7-62).

The smaller of the two illustrated icons (FIG. 9-19) is more ambitious in the number of figures depicted. In a composition reminiscent of the portrait of Anicia Juliana (FIG. 9-3) in the *Vienna Dioskorides,* the Sinai icon painter represented the enthroned Theotokos and Child with Saints Theodore and George. The two guardian saints intercede with the Virgin on the viewer's behalf. Behind them, two angels gaze upward to a shaft of light where the hand of God appears. The foreground figures are strictly frontal and have a solemn demeanor. Background details are few. The shallow forward plane of the picture dominates. Traces of the Greco-Roman illusionism noted in the Anicia Juliana portrait remain in the Virgin's rather personalized features, in her sideways glance, and in the posing of the angels' heads. But the painter rendered the saints' bodies in the new Byzantine manner.

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Icons and Iconoclasm

Icons ("images" in Greek) are small portable paintings depicting Christ (FIG. **9-18B**), the Virgin, or saints (or a combination of all three, as in FIG. **9-19**). Icons survive from as early as the fourth century. From the sixth century on, they became enormously popular in Byzantine worship, both public and private. Eastern Christians considered icons a personal, intimate, and indispensable medium for spiritual transaction with holy figures. Some icons (for example, FIG. 9-31) came to be regarded as wonder-working, and believers ascribed miracles and healing powers to them.

9-18B Christ blessing, Mount Sinai, sixth century.

Icons were by no means universally accepted, however. From the beginning, many Christians were deeply suspicious of the practice of imaging the divine, whether on portable panels, on the walls of churches, or especially as statues that reminded them of ancient idols (FIGS. 8-8A and 8-8B). The opponents of Christian figural art had in mind the Old Testament prohibition of images that the Lord dictated to Moses in the Second Commandment: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them" (Exod. 20:4, 5). For example, early in the fourth century, Constantia, sister of Emperor Constantine, requested an image of Christ from Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 263–339), the first great historian of the Christian Church. He rebuked her, referring to the Second Commandment:

> Can it be that you have forgotten that passage in which God lays down the law that no likeness should be made of what is in heaven or in the earth beneath? . . . Are not such things banished and excluded from churches all over the world, and is it not common knowledge that such practices are not permitted to us . . . lest we appear, like idol worshipers, to carry our God around in an image?*

Opposition to icons became especially strong in the eighth century, when the faithful often burned incense and knelt before the icons in prayer to seek protection or a cure for illness. Although their purpose was only to evoke the presence of the holy figures addressed in prayer, for many, the icons became identified with the personages represented. Icon veneration became confused with idol worship, and this brought about an imperial ban on the making not only of icons but of all sacred images, as well as edicts ordering the destruction of existing images (*iconoclasm*). The *iconoclasts* ("breakers of images") and the *iconophiles* ("lovers of images") became bitter and irreconcilable enemies. The anguish of the latter is evident in the following graphic description of the deeds of the iconoclasts, written in about 754:

> In every village and town one could witness the weeping and lamentation of the pious, whereas, on the part of the impious, [one saw] sacred things trodden upon, [liturgical] vessels turned to other use, churches scraped down and smeared with ashes because they contained holy images. And wherever there were venerable images of Christ or the Mother of God or the saints, these were consigned to the flames or were gouged out or smeared over.†

9-19 Virgin (Theotokos) and Child between Saints Theodore and George, icon, sixth or early seventh century. Encaustic on wood, 2′ 3″ × 1′ 7 3/8″. Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai, Egypt.

Byzantine icons are the heirs to the Roman tradition of portrait painting on small wood panels, but their Christian subjects and their use as devotional objects broke sharply from classical models.

The consequences of iconoclasm for the study of Early Byzantine art are difficult to overstate. For more than a century, not only did the portrayal of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints cease, but the iconoclasts also destroyed countless works from the first several centuries of Christendom. For this reason, writing a history of Byzantine art before the ninth century presents a great challenge to art historians.

*Cyril Mango, trans., *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (reprint of 1972 ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 17–18.
†Ibid., 152.

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Iconoclasm. The preservation of the Early Byzantine icons at the Mount Sinai monastery is especially fortuitous because in the seventh century, a series of calamities erupted in Egypt and Syria that indirectly caused an imperial ban on images. The Sasanians (FIGS. 2-28A and 2-29), chronically at war with Rome, swept into the Eastern provinces, and between 611 and 617 they captured the great cities of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. The Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r. 610–641) had hardly defeated them in 627 when a new and overwhelming power appeared unexpectedly on the stage of history. The Arabs, under the banner of the new Islamic religion, conquered not only Byzantium's eastern provinces but also Persia itself, replacing the Sasanians in the age-old balance of power with the Christian West (see "The Rise and Spread of Islam," page 293). In a few years, the Arabs were launching attacks on Constantinople, and Byzantium was fighting for its life.

These were catastrophic years for the Eastern Roman Empire. They terminated once and for all the long story of imperial Rome, closed the Early Byzantine period, and inaugurated the medieval era of Byzantine history. The Byzantine Empire lost almost two-thirds of its territory and much of its population, wealth, and material resources. The shock of these events may have persuaded Emperor Leo III (r. 717–741) that God was punishing Byzantium for its idolatrous worship of icons by setting upon it the merciless armies of the infidel—an enemy that, moreover, shunned the representation not only of God but of all living things in holy places. Some scholars believe that another motivation for Leo's 726 ban on picturing the divine was to assert the authority of the State over the Church, especially the monasticism movement, which was growing rapidly. In any case, for more than a century, Byzantine artists produced little new religious figurative art. In place of images of holy figures, the iconoclasts used symbolic forms already familiar in Early Christian art—for example, the cross (FIG. 9-15).

MIDDLE BYZANTINE ART

In the late eighth and ninth centuries, a powerful reaction against iconoclasm set in. The case in favor of icons had been made forcefully earlier in the eighth century by Saint John of Damascus (ca. 675–ca. 749), who argued that the invisible God the Father had made an image of himself in the son Jesus and in humankind in general and that although icons were likenesses of holy figures, they were not identical to their prototypes. To oppose making images of holy figures was contrary to the actions of God. Two female regents in particular led the movement to restore image making in the Byzantine Empire: Empresses Irene in 780 and Theodora in 843, after the death of her husband, Theophilos (r. 829–842). Unlike Irene's short-lived repeal of the prohibition against icons, Theodora's opposition proved to be definitive and permanent and led to the condemnation of iconoclasm as a heresy.

Shortly thereafter, a new line of emperors, the Macedonian dynasty, resuscitated the Early Byzantine tradition of lavish imperial patronage of religious art and architecture and the making of images of Christ, the Virgin, and saints. Basil I (r. 867–886), head of the new dynasty, regarded himself as the restorer of the Roman Empire. He denounced as usurpers the Carolingian monarchs of the West who, since 800, had claimed the title "Roman Empire" for their realm (see "Carolingian Empire," page 328). Basil bluntly reminded their emissary that the only true emperor of Rome reigned in Constantinople. They were not Roman emperors but merely "kings of the Germans." Iconoclasm had forced Byzantine artists westward, where doubtless they found employment at the courts of these Germanic kings (see "Theophanu, a Byzantine Princess at the Ottonian Court," page 342). These Byzantine "refugees" strongly influenced the character of Western European art.

Architecture and Mosaics

The triumph of the iconophiles over the iconoclasts meant that Byzantine mural painters, mosaicists, book illuminators, ivory carvers, and metalworkers once again received plentiful commissions. Basil I and his successors also undertook the laborious and costly task of refurbishing the churches the iconoclasts had defaced and neglected.

Theotokos, Hagia Sophia. In 867, the Macedonian dynasty dedicated a new mosaic (FIG. 9-20) depicting the enthroned Virgin with the Christ Child in her lap in the apse of the Justinianic church of Hagia Sophia. In the vast space beneath the dome of the

9-20 **Virgin (Theotokos) and Child enthroned, mosaic in the apse of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey, dedicated 867.**

After the repeal of iconoclasm, Basil I dedicated a huge new mosaic in the apse of Hagia Sophia depicting the Virgin and Child enthroned. An inscription says that it replaced one that the iconoclasts destroyed.

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great church, the figures look undersized, but the seated Theotokos is more than 16 feet tall. An accompanying inscription, now fragmentary, announced that "pious emperors" (the Macedonians) had commissioned the mosaic to replace one that the "impostors" (the iconoclasts) had destroyed. Some art historians think that this declaration may be purely rhetorical, however. There may not have been any comparable image of the Virgin and Child in the sixth-century apse.

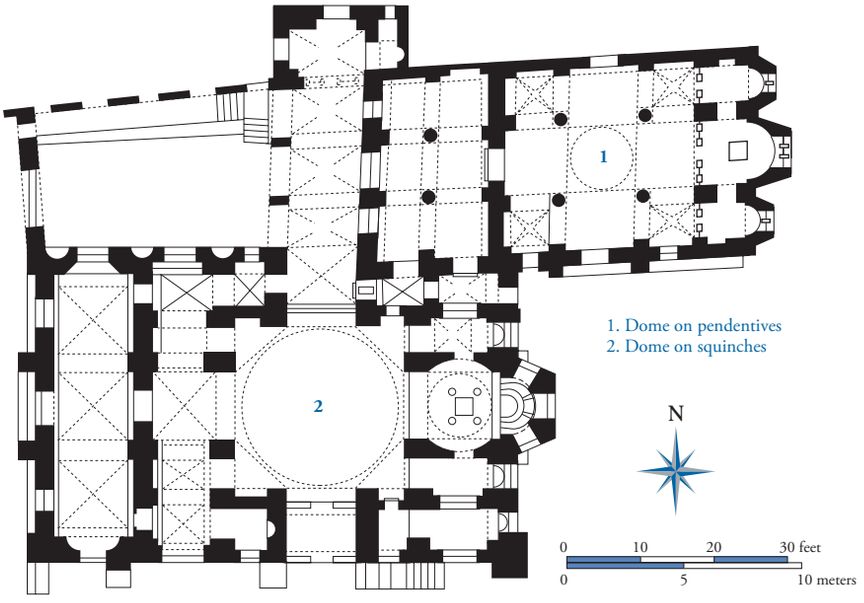
Nonetheless, the ninth-century mosaic echoes the style and composition of surviving Early Byzantine artworks—for example, the Mount Sinai icon (FIG. 9-19) of the Theotokos, Christ, and saints. In the Hagia Sophia mosaic, however, the angular placement of the throne and footstool alleviate the strict frontality of Mother and (much older) Child. The Constantinopolitan artist rendered the furnishings in a perspective that, although imperfect, recalls once more the Greco-Roman roots of Byzantine art. The treatment of the folds of Christ's robes is, by contrast, even flatter and more schematic than in earlier mosaics. These seemingly contradictory stylistic features are not uncommon in Byzantine paintings and mosaics. What is most significant, however, about the image of the Theotokos and Christ Child in the Hagia Sophia apse is its very existence, marking the end of iconoclasm in the Byzantine Empire.

Hosios Loukas. Although the new emperors did not wait long to redecorate the churches of their predecessors, they undertook little new church construction in the decades after the renunciation of iconoclasm in 843. But in the 10th century and through the 12th, a number of monastic churches arose that are the flowers of Middle Byzantine architecture. They feature a brilliant series of variations on the domed central plan. From the exterior, the typical later Byzantine church building is a domed cube, with the dome rising above the square on a kind of cylinder or *drum*. The churches are small, vertical, and high shouldered, and, unlike earlier Byzantine buildings, have exterior wall surfaces decorated with vivid patterns, probably reflecting Islamic architecture.

The monastery of Hosios Loukas (Saint Luke; a local saint who died in 953, not the evangelist) in Greece, near ancient Delphi, boasts two churches. The main church, or *katholikon* (FIGS. 9-21 and 9-22, *bottom*), dates to the early 11th century. The other is the Church of the Theotokos (FIG. 9-22, *top*), built during the second half of the 10th century. The katholikon exemplifies church design during this second golden age of Byzantine art and architecture. Light stones framed by dark red bricks—the so-called *cloisonné* technique, a term borrowed from enamel work (see "Cloisonné," page 321)—make up the walls. The interplay of arcuated windows, projecting apses, and varying rooflines further enhances this surface dynamism. The plans of both Hosios Loukas churches show the form of a domed cross in square with four equal-length, vaulted cross arms (the *Greek cross*). The dome of the smaller Church of the Theotokos rests on pendentives. In the larger and later katholikon, the architect placed the dome over an octagon inscribed within a square, forming the octagon using squinches (FIG. 9-9, *right*), which play the same role as pendentives in making

9-21 Katholikon (looking northeast), monastery of Hosios Loukas, Distomo, Greece, first quarter of 11th century.

Middle Byzantine churches typically are small and high shouldered, with a central dome on a drum, and exterior wall surfaces with decorative patterns, probably reflecting Islamic architecture.



9-22 Plan of the Church of the Theotokos (*top*) and the katholikon (*bottom*), monastery of Hosios Loukas, Distomo, Greece, second half of 10th and first quarter of 11th century, respectively.

The plans of the pair of Middle Byzantine churches at the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Greece feature a domed square at the center of a cross with four equal-length vaulted arms (the Greek cross).

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9-23 Interior of the Church of the Dormition (looking upward, into the dome), Daphni, Greece, ca. 1090–1100.

The Daphni dome rests on an octagon formed by squinches. At the center is a mosaic of Christ as Last Judge, which resembles a gigantic icon hovering dramatically in space above the awestruck worshiper below.

9-24 *Crucifixion,* mosaic in the north arm of the east wall of the Church of the Dormition, Daphni, Greece, ca. 1090–1100.

The Daphni *Crucifixion* is a subtle blend of Hellenistic style and the more abstract Byzantine manner. The Virgin Mary and Saint John point to Christ on the cross as if to a devotional object.

the transition from a square base to a round dome but create a different visual effect on the interior. This arrangement departs from the older designs, such as Santa Costanza's circular plan (FIG. 8-12), San Vitale's octagonal plan (FIG. 9-11), and Hagia Sophia's dome on pendentives rising from a square (FIG. 9-7). The katholikon's complex core lies within two rectangles, the outermost one forming the exterior walls. Thus, in plan from the center out, a circle-octagon-square-oblong series exhibits an intricate interrelationship that is at once complex and unified.

Daphni. Similar in general design to the katholikon of Hosios Loukas, but constructed at the end of the 11th century, is the monastic Church of the Dormition (from the Latin for "sleep," referring to Christ's receiving the soul of the Virgin Mary at the moment of her death; compare FIG. 13-48) at Daphni, west of Athens. As at Hosios Loukas, the Daphni church's interior (FIG. 9-23) creates a mystery out of space, surface, light, and dark. High and narrow, the design forces the viewer's gaze to rise and revolve. The eye is drawn upward toward the dome, but much can distract it in the interplay of flat walls and concave recesses, wide and narrow openings, groin and barrel vaults, and illuminated and dark spaces. Middle Byzantine architects aimed for the creation of complex interior spaces with dramatically shifting perspectives.

At Daphni, the main elements of the late-11th-century pictorial program are intact, although the mosaics underwent restoration in the 19th century. Gazing down from on high in the dome is the fearsome image of Christ as *Pantokrator*—literally "ruler of all" in Greek, but usually applied to Christ in his role as Last Judge of humankind. The dome mosaic is the climax of an elaborate hierarchical mosaic program including several New Testament episodes below. The Daphni Pantokrator can be likened to a gigantic icon hovering dramatically in space. The image serves to connect the awestruck worshiper in the church below with Heaven through Christ. The Pantokrator theme was a common one in churches throughout the Byzantine Empire. A mosaic of the Pantokrator also adorned the dome of the Hosios Loukas katholikon. Today a painting replaces it.

Below the Daphni dome, on the wall beneath the barrel vault of one arm of the Greek cross, is a mosaic (FIG. 9-24) depicting Christ's death on the cross in a pictorial style characteristic of the posticonoclastic Middle Byzantine period. As in the Pantokrator mosaic in the dome, the Daphni *Crucifixion* is a subtle blend of the painterly naturalistic style of Late Antiquity and the later, more abstract and formalistic Byzantine style. The Byzantine artist

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ART AND SOCIETY

Born to the Purple: Empress Zoe

Although rarely rulers in their own right, Byzantine empresses often wielded great power and influence. Theodora (ca. 500–548) was Justinian's most trusted adviser. In 780, Irene (ca. 755–802) became regent for her 10-year-old son, Constantine VI (r. 780–797), and briefly repealed the imperial ban against icons.

In 843, another empress, Theodora (ca. 815–867), convened a religious council, which permanently put an end to iconoclasm. Theodora attained sainthood as a result.

The most influential Byzantine empress of the 11th century was Zoe Porphyrogenita (Greek, "born to the purple"), the elder daughter of Constantine VIII (r. 1025–1028). Born around 978, Zoe was not permitted to marry until just before her father's death, and she remained childless throughout her life. In 1028, Zoe married Romanos III Argyros (r. 1028–1034), whom Constantine favored as his successor, but she soon fell in love with another member of the court, with whom she may have plotted the drowning of Romanos in his bath. In any case, Zoe married Michael IV (r. 1034–1041) the same day, even though by law, widows were supposed to wait a full year before remarrying. Toward the end of Michael's reign, the couple adopted a son, Michael V (r. 1042), who succeeded his father and banished his adoptive mother to a convent. With the support of her subjects, Zoe returned to Constantinople, deposed the emperor, and ruled briefly in 1042 in her own name before marrying Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–1054), who outlived her by four years. Thus four successive emperors of Byzantium owed their coronations to their marriage to, or adoption by, Zoe.

A mosaic portrait of Zoe and her last husband flanking the enthroned Christ (FIG. 9-25) adorns the east wall of the south gallery of Hagia Sophia. The emperor holds a purse, signifying the generous donation Constantine made to the church. Zoe holds a scroll, also a reference to her gifts to the church. Inscriptions next to the portraits describe Constantine as "pious emperor and king of the Romans" and Zoe as "pious empress." Careful examination during conservation has revealed that the mosaic dates to the reign of Romanos and originally bore his portrait. Zoe twice asked the imperial artists to update the mosaic with new portraits and labels upon each of her subsequent marriages.

9-25 Christ between Constantine IX Monomachos and Empress Zoe, mosaic on the east wall of the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey, ca. 1028–1035.

Zoe, who was the wife of three emperors, here appears with the enthroned Christ and her third husband. Constantine IX's portrait replaced successive portraits of Zoe's previous two husbands.

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fully assimilated classicism's simplicity, dignity, and grace into a perfect synthesis with Byzantine piety and pathos. The figures have regained the classical organic structure to a surprising degree, particularly compared to figures from the Justinianic period (compare FIGS. 9-13 and 9-14). The style is a masterful adaptation of classical statuesque qualities to the linear Byzantine manner.

In quiet sorrow and resignation, the Virgin and Saint John flank the crucified Christ. A skull at the foot of the cross indicates Golgotha, the Place of the Skull. The artist needed nothing else to set the scene. Symmetry and closed space combine to convey the motionless and unchanging aspect of the deepest mystery of the Christian religion, as recalled in the ceremony of the Eucharist. The picture is not a narrative of the historical event of Jesus's execution, the approach taken by the carver of the Early Christian ivory panel (FIG. 8-16) examined in the previous chapter. Nor is Christ a triumphant, beardless youth, oblivious to pain and defiant of the laws of gravity. Rather, he has a tilted head and sagging body, and although the Savior is not overtly in pain, blood and water spurt from the wound that Longinus inflicted on him, as recounted in Saint John's Gospel. The Virgin and John point to the figure on the cross as if to a devotional object. They act as intercessors between the viewer below and Christ, who, in the dome, appears as Last Judge of all humans. The mosaic decoration of the church is the perfect complement to Christian liturgy.

Empress Zoe. As did their Early Byzantine counterparts, Middle Byzantine mosaicists produced portraits of their imperial patrons for church interiors. Several such images grace the interior walls of Hagia Sophia (FIG. 9-8) in Constantinople. Perhaps the finest of these (FIG. 9-25) is on the east wall of the south gallery. It depicts Constantine IX and Zoe flanking the enthroned Christ. As in the much earlier imperial portraits (FIGS. 9-13 and 9-14) in San Vitale at Ravenna, the emperor and empress are haloed, but no longer is there a separation between the human and the divine, as in the sixth-century apse. Other Middle Byzantine mosaics depict the imperial couple flanking the Virgin.

Russia and the West. The Middle Byzantine revival of church building and of figural mosaics extended beyond the Greek-speaking East in the 10th to 12th centuries. The marriage of Anna, the sister of

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9-25A Saint Sophia, Kiev, begun 1037.

Basil II (r. 976–1025), to the Russian prince Vladimir (r. 980–1015) in 989 marked the introduction of Orthodox Christianity to Russia. Construction of the vast five-apse, 13-dome Cathedral of Saint Sophia (FIG. 9-25A) in Kiev followed within a half century. A resurgence of religious architecture and of the mosaicist's art also occurred in areas of the former Western Roman Empire where the ties with Constantinople were strongest. In the Early Byzantine period, Venice, about 80 miles north of Ravenna on the eastern coast of Italy, was a dependency of that Byzantine stronghold. In 751, Ravenna fell to the Lombards, who wrested control of most of northern Italy from Constantinople. Venice, however, became an independent power. Its *doges* (dukes) enriched themselves and the city through seaborne commerce, serving as the crucial link between Byzantium and the West.

San Marco, Venice. Venice had obtained the relics of Saint Mark from Alexandria in Egypt in 829, and shortly thereafter, the doges constructed the first Venetian shrine dedicated to the evangelist—a palace chapel and martyrium. Fire destroyed the ninth-century chapel in 976. The Venetians then built a second shrine on the site, but a grandiose new San Marco (FIG. 9-26) begun in 1063 by Doge Domenico Contarini (r. 1043–1071) replaced it. The model for Contarini's church was the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, built in Justinian's time. That shrine no longer exists, but its key elements were a cruciform plan with a central dome over the crossing and four other domes over the four equal arms of the Greek cross, as at San Marco. Because of its importance to the city, the doges filled the church's interior with lavish furnishings, such as the 10th-century *Pala d'Oro* (FIG. 9-26A) imported from Constantinople, and deposited there many of the treasures, including costly gold, silver, and enamel icons (FIG. 9-26B) brought back as booty from the Fourth Crusade's sack of the Byzantine capital in 1204.

9-26A *Pala d'Oro,* San Marco, Venice, ca. 1105.

9-26B Archangel Michael icon, Venice, ca. 1100.

9-26 **Interior of San Marco (looking east), Venice, Italy, begun 1063.**

Modeled on a church in Constantinople, San Marco has a central dome over the crossing, four other domes over the arms of the Greek cross, and 40,000 square feet of Byzantine-style mosaics.

The interior (FIG. 9-26) of San Marco is, like its plan, Byzantine in effect. Light enters through a row of windows at the bases of all five domes, vividly illuminating a rich cycle of mosaics. Both Byzantine and local artists worked on San Marco's mosaics over the course of several centuries. Most of the mosaics date to the 12th and 13th centuries. Cleaning and restoration on a grand scale have returned the mosaics to their original splendor, enabling visitors to experience the full radiance of 40,000 square feet of mosaics covering all the walls, arches, vaults, and domes like a gold-brocaded figured fabric.

In the vast central dome, 80 feet above the floor and 42 feet in diameter, Christ ascends to Heaven in the presence of the Virgin Mary and the 12 apostles. In the great arch framing the church crossing are mosaics depicting Christ's crucifixion and resurrection and the liberation from death (Anastasis) of Adam and Eve, John the Baptist, and other biblical figures. The mosaics have explanatory labels in both Latin and Greek, reflecting Venice's position as the key link between Eastern and Western Christendom in the later Middle Ages. The insubstantial figures on the walls, vaults, and domes appear weightless, and they project no farther from their flat field than do the elegant Latin and Greek letters above them. Nothing here reflects on the world of matter, of solids, of light and shade, of perspective space. Rather, the mosaics reveal the mysteries of Christian faith.

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Norman Sicily. Matching Venetian success in the western Mediterranean were the Normans, the northern French descendants of the Vikings who, having driven the Arabs from Sicily, set up a powerful kingdom there. Although they were the enemies of Byzantium, the Normans, like the Venetians, integrated aspects of Byzantine culture into their own and even employed Byzantine artisans. They also incorporated in their monuments elements of the Islamic art of the Arabs they had defeated. The Normans' Palatine (Palace) Chapel (FIG. 9-26C) at Palermo with its prismatic (*muqarnas*) ceiling, a characteristic Muslim form (FIGS. 10-22 and 10-30), is one example of the rich interplay of Western Christian, Byzantine, and Islamic cultures in Norman Sicily.

9-26C Cappella Palatina, Palermo, begun 1142.

9-27 Pantokrator, Theotokos and Child, angels, and saints, mosaic in the apse of the cathedral of Monreale, Italy, ca. 1180–1190.

In centrally planned Byzantine churches, the image of the Pantokrator usually appears in the main dome, but Monreale's cathedral is a longitudinal basilica. The semidome of the apse is its only vault.

Monreale. The mosaics of the great basilican church of Monreale, not far from Palermo, are striking evidence of Byzantine influence. They rival those of San Marco in both quality and extent. One scholar has estimated that the Monreale mosaics required more than 100 million glass and stone tesserae. The Norman king William II (r. 1087–1100) paid for the mosaics, and the artists portrayed him twice in the church, continuing the theme of royal presence and patronage of the much earlier Ravenna portraits of Justinian and Theodora (FIGS. 9-13 and 9-14) at San Vitale and the Middle Byzantine portraits of Constantine IX and Zoe (FIG. 9-25) in Hagia Sophia. In one panel, William stands next to the enthroned Christ, who places his hand on William's crown. In the second, the king kneels before the Virgin and presents her with a model of the Monreale church.

The apse mosaics (FIG. 9-27) are especially impressive. The image of Christ as Pantokrator is in the vault. In Byzantium, the Pantokrator's image usually appears in the main dome (FIG. 9-23). But the Monreale church is a basilica, longitudinally planned in the Western tradition. The semidome of the apse, the only vault in the building and its architectural focus, was the logical choice for the most important element of the pictorial program. Below the Pantokrator in rank and dignity is the enthroned Theotokos, flanked by archangels and the 12 apostles, symmetrically arranged in balanced groups. Lower on the wall (and less elevated in the church hierarchy) are popes, bishops, and other saints. The artists observed the stern formalities of Byzantine style here, far from Constantinople. The Monreale mosaics, like those at San Marco (FIG. 9-26) in Venice and in the Palatine Chapel (FIG. 9-26C) in Palermo, testify to the stature of Byzantium and of Byzantine art in medieval Italy.

Ivory Carving and Painting

Middle Byzantine artists also produced costly carved ivories in large numbers. The three-part *triptych* replaced the earlier diptych as the standard format for ivory panels.

Harbaville Triptych. One example of this type is the *Harbaville Triptych* (FIG. 9-28), a portable shrine with hinged wings used for private devotion. Ivory triptychs were very popular—among those who could afford such luxurious items—and they often replaced icons for use in personal prayer. Carved on the wings of the *Harbaville Triptych,* both inside and out, are four pairs of full-length figures and two pairs of medallions depicting saints. A cross dominates the central panel on the back of the triptych (not illustrated). On the inside is a scene of *Deësis,* in which John the Baptist and the Theotokos appear as intercessors, praying on behalf of the viewer to the enthroned Savior. Below them are five apostles.

In contrast to the formality and solemnity usually associated with Byzantine art, visible in the mosaics of Ravenna and Monreale, a softer, more fluid style is displayed here. The figures may lack true classical contrapposto, but the looser stances (most stand on bases, as if freestanding statues) and three-quarter views of many of the heads relieve the hard austerity of the customary frontal pose. This more natural, classical spirit was a second, equally important stylistic current of the Middle Byzantine period, as it was in earlier centuries. The classical style also surfaced in mural painting and book illumination.

Nerezi. When the emperors lifted the ban against religious images and again encouraged religious painting at Constantinople, the impact was felt far and wide. The style varied from region

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1 in.

9-28 Christ enthroned with saints (*Harbaville Triptych*), ca. 950. Ivory, central panel $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

This small three-part shrine (triptych) with hinged wings was used for private devotion. The ivory carver depicted the figures with classical stances, in contrast to the frontal poses of most Byzantine figures.

to region, but a renewed enthusiasm for picturing the key New Testament figures and events was universal. In 1164, at Nerezi in Macedonia, a member of the Comnenian imperial family sponsored the construction of the church of Saint Pantaleimon. Byzantine painters, possibly brought from Constantinople, embellished the church with murals of great emotional power. One of these, *Lamentation* (FIG. 9-29), is an image of passionate grief over the dead Christ. The artist captured Christ's followers in attitudes,

9-29 *Lamentation*, wall painting, Saint Pantaleimon, Nerezi, Macedonia, 1164.

Working in an alternate Byzantine mode, this Middle Byzantine painter staged the emotional lamentation over the dead Christ in a hilly landscape below a blue sky, and peopled it with fully modeled figures.

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9-30 David composing the psalms, folio 1 verso of the *Paris Psalter,* ca. 950–970. Tempera on vellum, 1′ $2\frac{1}{8}$″ × $10\frac{1}{4}$″. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

During the Macedonian Renaissance, Byzantine artists revived the classical style. This painter portrayed David as if he were a Greek hero, accompanied by Melody, Echo, and Bethlehem personified.

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expressions, and gestures of quite human bereavement. Joseph of Arimathea and the disciple Nicodemus kneel at his feet. Mary presses her cheek against her dead son's face. Saint John clings to Christ's left hand. In the Gospels, neither Mary nor John was present at the entombment of Christ. Their inclusion here, as elsewhere in Middle Byzantine art, intensified for the viewer the emotional impact of Christ's death.

The setting for this lamentation is a hilly landscape below a blue sky—a striking contrast to the abstract golden world of the mosaics favored for church walls throughout the Byzantine Empire. In order to make utterly convincing an emotionally charged realization of the theme, this artist instead staged the mourning scene in a more natural setting and peopled it with fully modeled actors. This alternate representational mode is no less Byzantine than the frontal, flatter figures more commonly associated with Byzantine art. In time, artists in Italy (FIG. 14-10) would emulate this more naturalistic style, giving birth to Renaissance art.

Paris Psalter. Another example of this classical-revival style is a page from a book of the Psalms of David. The so-called *Paris Psalter* (FIG. 9-30) in France's National Library reasserts the artistic values of the Greco-Roman past with astonishing authority. Art historians believe that the manuscript dates from the mid-10th century—the so-called Macedonian Renaissance, a time of enthusiastic and careful study of the language and literature of ancient Greece. It is not surprising that artists would once again draw inspiration from the Hellenistic naturalism of the pre-Christian Mediterranean world.

David, the psalmist, surrounded by sheep, goats, and his faithful dog, plays his harp in a rocky landscape with a town in the background. Similar settings appeared frequently in Pompeian murals. Befitting an ancient depiction of Orpheus, the Greek hero who could charm even inanimate objects with his music, allegorical figures accompany the Old Testament harpist. Melody looks over his shoulder, and Echo peers from behind a column. A reclining male figure points to a Greek inscription identifying him as representing the mountain of Bethlehem. These allegorical figures do not appear in the Bible. They are the stock population of Greco-Roman painting (compare Bethlehem to the personified Campus Martius in FIG. 7-56). Apparently, the artist had seen a work from Late Antiquity or perhaps earlier and partly translated it into a Byzantine pictorial idiom. In works such as this, Byzantine artists kept the classical style alive in the Middle Ages.

Vladimir Virgin. Nothing in Middle Byzantine art better demonstrates the rejection of the iconoclastic viewpoint than the painted icon's return to prominence. After the restoration of images, icons multiplied by the thousands to meet public and private demand. In the 11th century, the clergy began to display icons in hierarchical order (Christ, the Theotokos, John the Baptist, and then other saints, as on the *Harbaville Triptych*) in tiers on the *templon,* the low columnar screen separating the sanctuary from the main body of a Byzantine church.

The *Vladimir Virgin* (FIG. 9-31) is the most renowned Middle Byzantine icon produced in Russia. Unfortunately, the revered

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9-31 Virgin of Compassion icon (*Vladimir Virgin*), late 11th or early 12th century, with later repainting. Tempera on wood, 2′ 6½″ × 1′ 9″. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.

In this icon, the artist depicted Mary as the Virgin of Compassion, who presses her cheek against her son's as she contemplates his future. The reverse side shows the instruments of Christ's passion.

image has been repainted many times, and only traces of the original surface remain. Descended from such works as the Mount Sinai icon (FIG. 9-19), the *Vladimir Virgin* clearly reveals the stylized abstraction resulting from centuries of working and reworking the conventional image. Probably the work of a painter from Constantinople, the *Vladimir Virgin* displays all the characteristic traits of the Early Byzantine icon of the Virgin and Child: the Virgin's long, straight nose and small mouth; the golden rays in the infant's drapery; the decorative sweep of the unbroken contour that encloses the two figures; and the flat silhouette against the golden ground. But this is a much more tender and personalized image of the Virgin than that in the Mount Sinai icon. Here, Mary is the Virgin of Compassion, who presses her cheek against her son's in an intimate portrayal of mother and child. A deep pathos infuses the image as Mary contemplates the future sacrifice of her son. (The back of the icon bears images of the instruments of Christ's passion.)

The icon of Vladimir, like most icons, has seen hard service. Placed before or above altars in churches or private chapels, the icon became blackened by the incense and smoke from candles burning before or below it. It was taken to Kiev (Ukraine) in 1131, then to Vladimir (Russia) in 1155 (hence its name), and finally, as a wonder-working image, to Moscow in 1395, to protect that city from Timur (Tamerlane) and his Mongol armies. The Russians believed that the sacred picture saved the city of Kazan from later Tartar invasions and all of Russia from the Poles in the 17th century. The *Vladimir Virgin* is a historical symbol of Byzantium's religious and cultural mission to the Slavic world.

LATE BYZANTINE ART

The Comnenians succeeded the Macedonians in the late 11th century, and during the new dynasty's rule, three events of fateful significance changed Byzantium's fortunes for the worse. The Seljuk Turks conquered most of Anatolia. The Byzantine Orthodox Church broke finally with the Church of Rome. And the Crusades brought the Latins (a generic term for the peoples of the West) into Byzantine lands on their way to fight for the Christian cross against the Saracens (Muslims) in the Holy Land (see "The Crusades," page 360).

Crusaders had passed through Constantinople many times en route to "smite the infidel" and had marveled at its wealth and magnificence. Envy, greed, religious fanaticism (the Latins called the Greeks "heretics"), and even ethnic enmity motivated the Crusaders when, during the Fourth Crusade in 1203 and 1204, the Venetians persuaded them to divert their expedition against the Muslims in Palestine and to attack Constantinople instead. They took the city, sacked it, and, as noted, brought back many of Constantinople's portable treasures to adorn San Marco in Venice. The historian Nicetas Choniates (1155–1216) expressed the feelings of the Byzantines of his era toward the Crusaders: "The accursed Latins would plunder our wealth and wipe out our race. . . . Between us there can be only an unbridgeable gulf of hatred. . . . They bear the Cross of Christ on their shoulders, but even the Saracens are kinder."[8]

The Latins set up kingdoms within Byzantium, notably in Constantinople itself. What remained of Byzantium split into three small states. The Palaeologans ruled one of these, the kingdom of Nicaea. In 1261, Michael VIII Palaeologus (r. 1259–1282) succeeded in

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9-31A Saint Catherine, Thessaloniki, ca. 1280.

recapturing Constantinople. One of the gems of Late Byzantine architecture—the church dedicated to Saint Catherine (FIG. 9-31A) in Thessaloniki—dates to his reign. But Michael's empire was no more than a fragment, and even that disintegrated during the next two centuries. Isolated from the Christian West by Muslim conquests in the Balkans and besieged by Muslim Turks to the east, Byzantium sought help from the West. It was not forthcoming. In 1453, the Ottoman Turks, by then a formidable power, took Constantinople and brought to an end the long history of Byzantium. But despite the state's grim political condition under the Palaeologan dynasty, the arts flourished well into the 15th century.

Painting

During the 14th and 15th centuries, artists throughout the Byzantine world produced masterpieces of mural and icon painting rivaling those of the earlier periods. Four characteristic examples from the old capital of Constantinople and as far away as Russia illustrate the range and quality of painting during the Late Byzantine period.

Christ in Chora. Perhaps the best Late Byzantine fresco is the *Anastasis* (FIG. 9-32) in the apse of the *parekklesion* (side chapel, in this instance a funerary chapel) of the Church of Christ in Chora in Constantinople. The high quality of the painting is not surprising, because the church enjoyed the patronage of Theodore Metochites (1260–1332), grand deputy to Andronikos II Palaeologus (r. 1282–1328). One of many subsidiary subjects that made up the complex mosaic program of San Marco (FIG. 9-26) in Venice, the Anastasis episode is here central to a cycle of pictures portraying the themes of human mortality and redemption by Christ and of the intercession of the Virgin, both appropriate for a funerary chapel. Christ, trampling Satan and all the locks and keys of his prison house of Hell, raises Adam and Eve from their tombs. Looking on are John the Baptist, King David, and King Solomon on the left, and various martyr saints on the right. Christ, central and in a luminous mandorla, reaches out equally to a white-haired, bearded, prophet-like Adam and a matronly Eve, neither of whom resembles the youthful sinners of traditional representations of the first man and

9-32 *Anastasis,* **fresco in the apse of the parekklesion of the Church of Christ in Chora (now the Kariye Museum), Constantinople (Istanbul), Turkey, ca. 1310–1320.**

In this Late Byzantine funerary chapel, Christ, a white apparition surrounded by a luminous mandorla, raises Adam and Eve from their tombs as John the Baptist and Kings David and Solomon look on.

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9-33 Christ as Savior of Souls, icon from Saint Clement, Ohrid, Macedonia, early 14th century. Tempera, linen, and silver on wood, 3′ $\frac{1}{4}$″ × 2′ 2$\frac{1}{2}$″. Icon Gallery of Saint Clement, Ohrid.

Notable for the lavish use of finely etched silver foil, this icon typifies Byzantine stylistic complexity. Christ's fully modeled head and neck contrast with the schematic linear folds of his garment.

Ohrid Icons. Icon painting may most intensely reveal Byzantine spirituality. In the Late Byzantine period, the Middle Byzantine templon developed into an *iconostasis* ("icon stand"), a high screen with doors. As its name implies, the iconostasis supported tiers of painted devotional images, which began to be produced again in large numbers, both in Constantinople and throughout the diminished Byzantine Empire.

One example (FIG. 9-33), notable for the lavish use of finely etched silver foil to frame the painted figure of Christ as Savior of Souls, dates to the beginning of the 14th century. It comes from the church of Saint Clement at Ohrid in Macedonia, which boasts many Late Byzantine icons imported from the capital. The painter of the Ohrid Christ, in a manner consistent with Byzantine art's conservative nature, adhered to an iconographical and stylistic tradition dating to the earliest icons from the monastery at Mount Sinai. As elsewhere (FIGS. 9-18B, 9-23, and 9-25), the Savior holds a bejeweled Bible in his left hand while he blesses the faithful with his right hand. The mixture of styles is typical of Byzantine painting. Note especially the juxtaposition of Christ's fully modeled head and neck, which reveal the Byzantine artist's Greco-Roman heritage, with the schematic linear folds of Christ's garment, which do not envelop the figure but rather seem to be placed in front of it.

Late Byzantine icons often have paintings on two sides because they were carried in processions. When the clergy brought the icons into the church, they did not mount them on the iconostasis but exhibited them on stands so that they could be viewed from both sides. The Ohrid icon of Christ has the Crucifixion on its reverse. Another double icon from Ohrid, also imported from Constantinople, represents the Virgin on the front as Christ's counterpart as Savior of Souls. On the reverse is the *Annunciation*, in which, with a commanding gesture of heavenly authority, the angel Gabriel

woman. The action is dramatic, the gestures and movements forceful, especially those of the central figures. The background is deep blue instead of gold, but the figures cast no shadows. Nonetheless, the jagged abstractions of drapery found in many earlier Byzantine frescoes and mosaics are gone in a return to the fluid delineation of drapery characteristic of the long tradition of classical illusionism.

Throughout the centuries, Byzantine artists looked back to Greco-Roman illusionism. But unlike classical artists, Byzantine painters and mosaicists did not believe that the systematic observation of material nature should be the source of their representations of the eternal. They drew their images from a persistent and conventionalized vision of a spiritual world unsusceptible to change. That consistent vision is what unites works as distant in time as the sixth-century apse mosaic (FIG. 9-16) at Mount Sinai and the 14th-century fresco in the Church of Christ in Chora.

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9-34 ***Annunciation,*** **reverse of a two-sided icon from the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos, Ohrid, Macedonia, early 14th century. Tempera and linen on wood, 3′ $\frac{5}{8}$″ × 2′ 2$\frac{3}{4}$″. Icon Gallery of Saint Clement, Ohrid.**

Late Byzantine icons often have two painted sides because they were carried in processions. On this icon, the Virgin Mary appears on the front, and this *Annunciation* is on the back.

announces to Mary that she is to be the Mother of God (FIG. 9-34). She responds with a simple gesture conveying both astonishment and reluctance. The gestures and attitudes of the figures are again conventional, as are the highly simplified architectural props. The painter rendered the latter in inconsistent perspective derived from classical prototypes, but set the sturdy three-dimensional forms against an otherworldly golden sky, suggesting the sacred space in which the narrative unfolds. This icon therefore also exemplifies the diversity of stylistic sources that characterizes Byzantine art from its beginnings until the fall of Constantinople.

Andrei Rublyev. Icon painting flourished also in Russia. Russian icons usually have strong patterns, firm lines, and intense contrasting colors, which serve to heighten the legibility of the icons in the wavering candlelight and clouds of incense that worshipers encountered in church interiors. For many art historians, Russian painting reached a climax in the work of ANDREI RUBLYEV (ca. 1370–1430). His nearly 5-foot-tall panel (FIG. 9-35) depicting the three Old Testament angels who appeared to Abraham is a work of great spiritual power. Painted during the tenure of Photius (FIG. 9-35A) as metropolitan (Orthodox archbishop) of Russia, it is an unsurpassed example of subtle line in union with what once were intensely vivid

9-35 **ANDREI RUBLYEV,** ***Three Angels*** **(Old Testament Trinity), ca. 1410. Tempera on wood, 4′ 8″ × 3′ 9″. Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow.**

This exceptionally large icon featuring subtle line and vivid colors is one of the masterworks of Russian painting. It depicts the three angels who appeared to Abraham, prefiguring the Trinity.

colors, now faded. The angels sit about a table, each framed with a halo and sweeping wings, three nearly identical figures distinguished primarily by the color of their garments. The light linear play of the draperies sets off the tranquil demeanor of the figures. Juxtapositions of complementary hues add intensity to the coloration. The blue and green folds of the central figure's cloak, for example, stand out starkly against the deep-red robe and the gilded orange of the wings. In the figure on the left, the highlights of the orange cloak are an opalescent blue-green. The unmodulated saturation, brilliance, and purity of the color harmonies are the hallmark of Rublyev's style.

9-35A Large sakkos of Photius, ca. 1417.

The Third Rome. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Russia became Byzantium's self-appointed heir, defending Christendom against the infidel. The court of the tsar (derived from Caesar) declared, "Because the Old Rome has fallen, and because the Second Rome, which is Constantinople, is now in the hands of the godless Turks, thy kingdom, O pious Tsar, is the Third Rome. . . . Two Romes have fallen, but the Third stands, and there shall be no more."[9] Rome, Byzantium, Russia—Old Rome, New Rome, and Third Rome—were a continuum, spanning two-and-a-half millennia during which artists and architects produced many of the most significant paintings, sculptures, and buildings in the long history of art through the ages.

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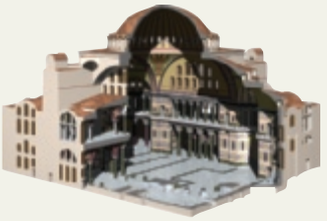
THE BIG PICTURE

Byzantium

Early Byzantine Art 324–726

- Constantine I (r. 324–337) founded Constantinople on the site of the ancient Greek city of Byzantium in 324 and dedicated this "New Rome" to the Christian God in 330.
- Theodosius I (r. 379–395) erected an obelisk with imperial ceremonial scenes in the Constantinople hippodrome.
- The first golden age of Byzantine art was the result of the lavish patronage of Justinian (r. 527–565), who built or restored more than 30 churches in Constantinople, including Hagia Sophia, which rivaled the architectural wonders of Old Rome. A brilliant fusion of central and longitudinal plans, the church boasts a 180-foot-high dome resting on pendentives, but contemporaries viewed the dome as floating miraculously above the congregation.
- The seat of Byzantine power in Italy was Ravenna, which also prospered under Justinian. San Vitale, Ravenna's greatest church, is a domed octagonal building modeled on central-plan churches in Constantinople. Its mosaics celebrate the emperor's dual political and religious roles. The weightless, hovering, frontal figures against a golden background reveal the new Byzantine aesthetic.
- Justinian also rebuilt the monastery at Mount Sinai in Egypt. The preserved Sinai icons—portable devotional paintings depicting Christ, the Virgin, and saints—are the finest preserved from the Early Byzantine period.
- The art of manuscript illumination also flourished during the sixth century. Among the best examples are the *Vienna Genesis* and the *Rabbula Gospels.*
- In 726, Leo III (r. 717–741) enacted a ban against picturing the divine, initiating the era of iconoclasm (726–843) and the destruction of countless Early Byzantine artworks.



Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, 532–537

Vienna Genesis, early 6th century

Middle Byzantine Art 843–1204

- Empress Theodora repealed iconoclasm in 843. Basil I (r. 867–886) and his Macedonian dynasty successors installed new figural mosaics in Hagia Sophia, marking the triumph of the iconophiles over the iconoclasts.
- Ivory carving and manuscript painting were major art forms during the Middle Byzantine period, as during the preceding era. Hinged ivory shrines, such as the *Harbaville Triptych,* were popular for use in private prayer.
- The *Paris Psalter,* the finest preserved example of Macedonian Renaissance manuscript painting, is noteworthy for the conscious revival of classical naturalism.
- Middle Byzantine churches, such as the Church of the Theotokos and the katholikon at Hosios Loukas and the Church of the Dormition at Daphni, have highly decorative exterior walls and feature domes that rest on drums above the center of a Greek cross. The crowning element of interior mosaic programs was often a fearsome image of Christ as Pantokrator in the dome.

Harbaville Triptych, ca. 950

Katholikon, Hosios Loukas, ca. 1000–1025

Late Byzantine Art 1261–1453

- In 1204, Latin Crusaders sacked Constantinople, bringing to an end the Middle Byzantine era. In 1261, Michael VIII Palaeologus (r. 1259–1282) succeeded in recapturing the city. Constantinople remained in Byzantine hands until it fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1453.
- The Church of Christ in Chora contains important mural paintings of the Late Byzantine period. An extensive picture cycle portrays Christ as redeemer. In the apse, he raises Adam and Eve from their tombs.
- Late Byzantine icons were displayed in tiers on an iconostasis or on individual stands so that worshipers could see the paintings on both sides. Christ or the Virgin usually appeared on the front. The reverse depicted a narrative scene from the life of Christ.

Church of Christ in Chora, Constantinople, ca. 1310–1320

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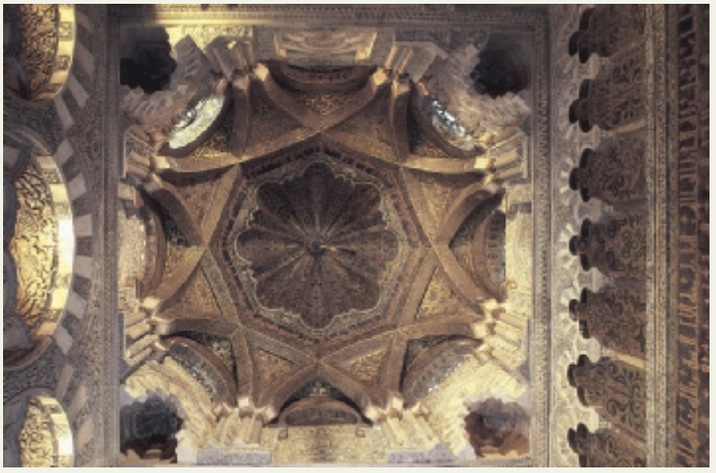
▼**10-1a** Islamic architecture draws on diverse sources. The horseshoe arches of the Córdoba mosque's prayer hall may derive from Visigothic architecture. The Arabs overthrew that Christian kingdom in 711.

▲**10-1b** In the 10th century, al-Hakam II added a maqsura to the Córdoba mosque. The hall highlights Muslim architects' bold experimentation with curvilinear shapes and different kinds of arches.

10-1 Aerial view of the Great Mosque (looking north), Córdoba, Spain, 8th to 10th centuries; rededicated as the Cathedral of Saint Mary, 1236.



▶**10-1c** Byzantine artists installed the mosaics in the mihrab dome in the Córdoba mosque, but the decorative patterns formed by the crisscrossing ribs and the multi-lobed arches are distinctly Islamic.

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THE ISLAMIC WORLD 10

FRAMING THE ERA

The Rise and Spread of Islam

At the time of Muhammad's birth around 570, the Arabian peninsula was peripheral to the Byzantine and Sasanian empires. The Arabs, nomadic herders and caravan merchants who worshiped many gods, resisted the Prophet's teachings of Islam, an Arabic word meaning "submission to the one God [*Allah* in Arabic]." Within a decade of Muhammad's death in 632, however, Muslims ("those who submit") ruled Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and northern Egypt. From there, the new religion spread rapidly both eastward and westward (MAP 10-1).

With the rise of Islam also came the birth of a compelling new worldwide tradition of art and architecture. In the Middle East and North Africa, Islamic art largely replaced Late Antique art, the last phase of Greco-Roman art. In India, the establishment of Muslim rule at Delhi in the early 13th century brought Islamic art and architecture to South Asia. In fact, perhaps the most famous building in Asia, the Taj Mahal (FIG. 33-6) at Agra, is an Islamic mausoleum. At the opposite end of the then-known world, in Spain, the Arabs had overthrown the Christian kingdom of the Visigoths in 711. There, at Córdoba, Abd al-Rahman I (r. 756–788) founded a Spanish Muslim dynasty, which became the center of a brilliant court culture that profoundly influenced medieval Europe.

The jewel of the capital at Córdoba was its Great Mosque (FIG. 10-1), begun in 784 and enlarged several times during the 9th and 10th centuries until it eventually became one of the largest mosques in the western Islamic world (see "The Mosque," page 299). In 1236, Christians converted the shrine into a church after they captured the city from the Muslims. (The tallest part of the complex, at the center of the aerial view, is Córdoba's cathedral.)

A visual feast greets all visitors to the Córdoba mosque. The Muslim designers employed by al-Hakam II (r. 961–976) used overlapping horseshoe-shaped arches—which became synonymous with Islamic architecture in Europe—to adorn the eastern and western gates to the complex. Double rows of arches surmount the more than 500 columns and piers in the mosque's huge prayer hall. Even more elaborate multilobed arches on slender columns form dazzling frames for other areas of the mosque, especially in the *maqsura,* the hall reserved for the ruler, which at Córdoba connects the mosque to the palace. Crisscrossing ribs form intricate decorative patterns in the complex's largest dome. Walls covered with costly marbles and mosaics rival those of the most magnificent mosques of the Islamic heartland in ancient Mesopotamia.

The Great Mosque at Córdoba typifies Islamic architecture both in its conformity to the basic principles of mosque design and in its incorporation of distinctive regional forms.

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EARLY ISLAMIC ART

The religion of Islam arose in Arabia early in the seventh century, after the Prophet Muhammad began to receive God's revelations (see "Muhammad and Islam," page 295). At that time, the Arabs were not major players on the world stage. Yet within little more than a century, the eastern Mediterranean, which Byzantium once ringed and ruled, had become an Islamic lake, and the armies of Muhammad's successors had subdued the Middle East, long the seat of Persian dominance and influence (MAP 10-1). The swiftness of the Islamic advance is among the wonders of world history. By 640, Muslims ruled Syria, Palestine, and Iraq. In 642, the Byzantine army abandoned Alexandria, marking the Muslim conquest of Lower (northern) Egypt. In 651, Islamic forces ended more than 400 years of Sasanian rule in Iran. All of North Africa was under Muslim control by 710. A victory at Jerez de la Frontera in southern Spain in 711 seemed to open all of western Europe to the Muslims. By 732, they had advanced north to Poitiers in France. There, however, an army of Franks under Charles Martel (r. 714–741), the grandfather of Charlemagne, opposed them successfully, halting Islamic expansion at the Pyrenees. In Spain, by contrast, the Muslim rulers of Córdoba (FIG. 10-1) flourished until 1031, and not until 1492 did Islamic influence and power end in Iberia. That year, the army of King Ferdinand II of Aragon (r. 1479–1516) and Queen Isabella, the sponsors of Christopher Columbus's voyage to the New World, overthrew the Islamic rulers of Granada. In the East, the Muslims reached the Indus River by 751. Only in Anatolia did stubborn Byzantine resistance slow their advance. Relentless Muslim pressure against the shrinking Byzantine Empire eventually brought about its collapse in 1453, when the Ottoman Turks entered Constantinople.

Military might alone, however, cannot account for the irresistible and far-ranging sweep of Islam from Arabia to India to North Africa and Spain. That Islam endured in the lands that Muhammad's successors conquered can be explained only by the nature of the Islamic faith and its appeal to millions of converts. Islam remains today one of the world's great religions, with adherents on all continents. Its sophisticated culture has had a major influence around the globe. Arab scholars laid the foundations of arithmetic and algebra and made significant contributions to astronomy, medicine, and the natural sciences. During the 12th and 13th centuries, Christian scholars in the West eagerly studied Arabic translations of Aristotle and other ancient Greek writers. Arabic love lyrics and poetic descriptions of nature inspired the early French troubadours.

MAP 10-1 **The Islamic world around 1500.**

THE ISLAMIC WORLD

622–756

- Muhammad abandons Mecca for Medina in 622
- The Umayyads, the first Islamic dynasty, build the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the Great Mosque in Damascus

756–1453

- The Abbasids produce the earliest Korans with Kufic calligraphy
- The Spanish Umayyad dynasty builds the Great Mosque in its capital at Córdoba
- The Nasrids construct magnificent palaces in the Alhambra
- The Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk dynasties in Egypt are lavish art patrons

1453–1924

- The Ottomans capture Byzantine Constantinople in 1453 and develop the domed central-plan mosque
- Timurid book illumination flowers under Husayn Bayqara
- Under Shah Tahmasp, Safavid artisans perfect the manufacture of cuerda seca and mosaic tiles

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Muhammad and Islam

Muhammad, revered by Muslims as the Final Prophet in the line including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, was a native of Mecca on the west coast of Arabia. Born around 570 into a family of merchants in the great Arabian caravan trade, Muhammad was critical of the polytheistic religion of his fellow Arabs. In 610, he began to receive the revelations of God through the archangel Gabriel. Opposition to Muhammad's message among the Arabs was strong and led to persecution. In 622, the Prophet and his followers abandoned Mecca for a desert oasis eventually called Medina ("City of the Prophet"). Islam dates its beginnings from this flight, known as the *Hijra* (Arabic, "emigration").*

Barely eight years later, in 630, Muhammad returned to Mecca with 10,000 soldiers. He took control of the city, converted the population to Islam, and destroyed all the idols. But he preserved as the Islamic world's symbolic center the small cubical building that had housed the idols, the *Kaaba* (from the Arabic for "cube"). The Arabs associated the Kaaba with the era of Abraham and Ishmael, the common ancestors of Jews and Arabs. Muhammad died in Medina in 632.

The essential tenet of Islam is acceptance of and submission to God's will. Muslims must live according to the rules laid down in the collected revelations communicated through Muhammad during his lifetime. The Koran, Islam's sacred book, codified by the Muslim ruler Uthman (r. 644–656), records Muhammad's revelations. The word *Koran* means "recitations"—a reference to Gabriel's instructions to Muhammad in 610 to "recite in the name of God." The Koran is composed of 114 *surahs* ("chapters") divided into verses.

The profession of faith in the one God—Allah—is the first of the Five Pillars of Islam binding all Muslims. In addition, the faithful must worship five times daily facing Mecca, give alms to the poor, fast during the month of Ramadan, and, once in a lifetime—if possible—make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The revelations in the Koran are not the only guide for Muslims. Muhammad's words and exemplary ways and customs—the *Hadith,* recorded in the *Sunnah* (the Prophet's "clear path")—offer models to all Muslims on ethical problems of everyday life. The reward for the faithful is Paradise.

Islam has much in common with Judaism and Christianity. Muslims think of their religion as a continuation, a completion, and in some sense a reformation of those other great monotheisms. For example, Islam incorporates many Hebrew biblical teachings, with their sober ethical standards and rejection of idol worship. But, unlike Jesus, Muhammad did not claim to be divine. Rather, he was God's messenger, the Final Prophet, who purified and perfected the common faith of Jews, Christians, and Muslims in one God. Islam also differs from Judaism and Christianity in its simpler organization. Muslims worship God directly, without a hierarchy of rabbis, priests, or saints acting as intermediaries.

In Islam, as Muhammad defined it, the union of religious and secular authority was even more complete than in Byzantium. Muhammad established a new social order, replacing the Arabs' old decentralized tribal one, and took complete charge of his community's temporal as well as spiritual affairs. After Muhammad's death, the *caliphs* (from the Arabic for "successor") continued this practice of uniting religious and political leadership in one ruler—and erected some of the most impressive buildings in the history of architecture, beginning with the late seventh-century Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (FIG. 10-2).

*Muslims date events beginning with the Hijra in the same way that Christians reckon events from Christ's birth and the Romans before them began their calendar with Rome's founding by Romulus in 753 BCE. The Muslim year is, however, a 354-day year of 12 lunar months, and thus dates cannot be converted by simply adding 622 to Common Era dates.

10-2 Dome of the Rock (looking southwest), Jerusalem, 687–692.

Abd al-Malik erected the Dome of the Rock to mark the triumph of Islam in Jerusalem on a site sacred to Muslims, Christians, and Jews. The shrine takes the form of an octagon with a towering dome.

Architecture

During the early centuries of Islamic history, the Muslim world's political and cultural center was the Fertile Crescent of ancient Mesopotamia (MAP 2-1), but with the rapid expansion of Muslim power, new dynasties were established far beyond the original sphere of influence of the caliphs of Damascus, the capital of modern Syria, and Baghdad, the capital of Iraq (see "Major Muslim Dynasties," page 297). Like other potentates before and after, the Muslim caliphs were builders on a grand scale. The first Islamic buildings, both religious and secular, are in the Middle East, but important early examples of Islamic architecture still stand also in North Africa, Spain, and Central Asia.

Jerusalem. The Muslims captured Jerusalem from the Byzantines in 638, and the first great Islamic building was erected there between 687 and 692 by the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik (r. 685–705). The Dome of the Rock (FIG. 10-2) rises from a huge

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A SECOND OPINION

The Rock of the Dome of the Rock

Curiously, none of the inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock (FIGS. 10-2, 10-3, and 10-4) refer to the rock within the shrine, even though the rock is key to the meaning of the building. The structure was designed around it: the "footprint" of the central cylinder is a circle that exactly circumscribes the rock (which covers an underground cavern), and the entire shrine is a monumental frame for this presumably holy place. But what did the early Muslims regard as holy about that rock?

Several events and functions have been associated with the rock over time. Eventually, the site was thought to be the location of Adam's grave and the spot where Abraham prepared to sacrifice Isaac. The rock also later came to be identified with the place where Muhammad began his miraculous journey to Heaven (the *Miraj*) and then, on the same night, returned to his home in Mecca. Among the oldest ideas advanced is that what many believe are the traces of feet on the rock are God's footprints at the time of the creation of the world and that God will return to the same spot at the Last Judgment. Another early explanation is that the altar of the Temple of Solomon rested on the rock. The only certainty is that the Dome of the Rock is not a mosque, as is popularly thought.

One clue to the meaning of the shrine comes from the original mosaics. Against a lush vegetal background, Abd al-Malik's mosaicists depicted crowns, jewels, chalices, and other royal motifs—probably a reference to the triumph of Islam over the Byzantine and Persian empires. Inscriptions, mostly from the Koran, underscore Islam as the superior new monotheism, superseding both Judaism and Christianity in Jerusalem. Therefore, the essential meaning of the Dome of the Rock, whatever the significance of the rock itself, is that it is an architectural tribute to the triumph of Islam, marking the coming of the new religion to the city that had been, and still is, sacred to both Jews and Christians.

10-3 Interior of the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, 687–692.

The Dome of the Rock is a domed central-plan rotunda in the Late Antique tradition. At the center, below the dome, is the rocky outcropping later associated with Adam, Abraham, and Muhammad.

10-4 View into the dome of the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, 687–692.

The mosaics ringing the base of the dome inside the Dome of the Rock are largely intact and suggest the original appearance of the exterior walls, today covered with 16th-century ceramic tiles.

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platform known as the Noble Enclosure, where in ancient times the Hebrews built the Temple of Solomon. The original temple was destroyed in 516 BCE. The Roman emperor Titus destroyed the rebuilt temple in 70 CE (FIG. 7-41). In its form, construction, and decoration, the Dome of the Rock is firmly in the Late Antique tradition of the Mediterranean world. It is a domed central-plan structure descended from the Pantheon (FIG. 7-49) in Rome and Hagia Sophia (FIG. 9-5) in Constantinople, but it more closely resembles the octagonal San Vitale (FIG. 9-10) in Ravenna. According to the historian Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Muqaddasi (946–1000), who was born in Jerusalem, the inspiration for the Dome of the Rock was a neighboring Christian monument, the Anastasis Rotunda (FIG. 8-8C) of Constantine's Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Al-Muqaddasi also reported that Abd al-Malik judged the church to be so magnificent that it "dazzled Muslim minds," and therefore the caliph decided to construct an even greater shrine. The Christian domed rotunda bore a family resemblance to the roughly contemporaneous Constantinian mausoleum later rededicated as Santa Costanza (FIGS. 8-11 and 8-12) in Rome. Crowning the Islamic shrine is a 75-foot-tall double-shelled wood dome, which so dominates the elevation as to reduce the octagon to functioning visually merely as its base. This soaring, majestic unit creates a decidedly more commanding effect than that of similar Late Antique and Byzantine domical structures (compare FIG. 10-2 to FIGS. 9-5 and 9-10). The silhouettes of those domes are comparatively insignificant when seen from the outside.

The Dome of the Rock's exterior has been much restored. Tiling from the 16th century and later has replaced the original mosaics (see "Islamic Tilework," page 311). Yet the vivid, colorful patterning wrapping the walls like a textile is typical of Islamic ornamentation. It contrasts markedly with Byzantine brickwork and Greco-Roman sculptured decoration. The rich mosaic ornamentation ringing the base of the dome (FIG. 10-4) is largely intact and suggests the original appearance of the exterior walls. But, whereas the formal roots of the design and decoration of the Dome of the Rock are easily established, the meaning and purpose of the shrine are much more difficult to determine (see "The Rock of the Dome of the Rock," page 296).

ART AND SOCIETY

Major Muslim Dynasties

Dynasty	Territory	Dates
Umayyad	Syria, Spain	661–750, 756–1031
Abbasid	Iraq	750–1258
Samanid	Uzbekistan	819–1005
Fatimid	Egypt	909–1171
Seljuk	Turkey, Iran	1060–1307
Ayyubid	Egypt	1171–1250
Nasrid	Spain	1232–1492
Mamluk	Egypt	1250–1517
Ilkhanid	Iran	1256–1353
Ottoman	Turkey, Greece, N. Africa	1281–1924
Timurid	Iran	1370–1501
Safavid	Iran	1501–1732

Damascus. The Umayyads transferred their capital from Mecca to Damascus in 661. There, Abd al-Malik's son, the caliph al-Walid (r. 705–715), purchased a Byzantine church dedicated to John the Baptist (formerly a Roman temple of Jupiter) and built an imposing new mosque for the expanding Muslim population (see "The Mosque," page 299). The Umayyads demolished the church, but they used the Roman precinct walls as a foundation for their construction. Like the Dome of the Rock, Damascus's Great Mosque (FIG. 10-5) owes much to Roman and Early Christian architecture. The Islamic builders incorporated stone blocks, columns, and capitals salvaged from the earlier structures on the land acquired by al-Walid. Pier arcades reminiscent of Roman aqueducts (FIG. 7-33) frame the courtyard. The *minarets,* two at the southern corners and one at the northern side of the enclosure—the earliest in the Islamic world—are modifications of the preexisting Roman square towers. The grand prayer hall, taller than the rest of the complex, is on the south side of the courtyard (facing Mecca). Its position recalls that of a Roman temple opening onto a forum (compare FIG. 7-12). The hall's facade, with its pediment and arches, also recalls Roman and

10-5 Aerial view of the Great Mosque (looking southeast), Damascus, Syria, 706–715.

The Umayyads constructed Damascus's Great Mosque after they transferred their capital from Mecca in 661. The mosque owes a debt to Late Antique architecture in its plan and decoration.

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10-6 Detail of mosaics in the courtyard arcade of the Great Mosque, Damascus, Syria, 706–715.

The mosaics of the Great Mosque at Damascus are probably the work of Byzantine artists and include buildings and landscapes common in Late Antique art—but no zoomorphic forms.

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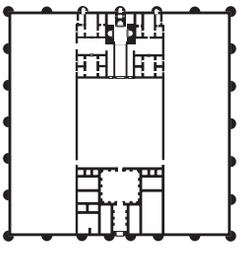
Byzantine models. This basic plan was maintained throughout the long history of mosque architecture. The Damascus mosque synthesizes elements received from other cultures into a novel architectural unity, which includes the distinctive Islamic elements of *mihrab,* mihrab dome, *minbar,* and minaret.

An extensive cycle of glass mosaics once covered the walls and arcades (FIG. 10-6) of the Great Mosque. Throughout the complex, the mosaicists depicted palatial villas, trees, and gardens beside rivers. Like the architectural design of the mosque, the mosaics owe much to Roman, Early Christian, and Byzantine art. Indeed, the golden background suggests that they were the work of Byzantine mosaicists. The borders, consisting of stylized vegetal designs, also have parallels in Roman, Early Christian, and Byzantine ornamentation. But no zoomorphic forms, human or animal, appear in either the pictorial or the ornamental spaces. This is true also of the mosaics in the earlier Dome of the Rock (FIG. 10-4). Although there is no prohibition against figural art in the Koran, Islamic tradition, based on the Hadith, shuns the representation of fauna of any kind in sacred places. Accompanying (but now lost) inscriptions explained the world shown in the Damascus mosaics, suspended miragelike in a featureless field of gold, as an image of Paradise. The imagery is consistent with many passages from the Koran describing the gorgeous places of Paradise awaiting the faithful—gardens, groves of trees, flowing streams, and "lofty chambers." The notion of Paradise may also be an element of the iconography of the mosaics inside the Dome of the Rock.

Mshatta and Baghdad. The Umayyad caliphs maintained power for nearly a century, during which they constructed numerous palatial residences throughout their domains. Perhaps the most impressive was the palace (FIGS. 10-6A and 10-6B) at Mshatta in Jordan, datable just before 750 when, after years of civil war, the Abbasids, who claimed descent from Abbas, an uncle of Muhammad, overthrew the Umayyad caliphs. The new rulers moved the capital from Damascus to a site in Iraq near the old Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon (FIG. 2-29). There the caliph al-Mansur (r. 754–775) established a new capital, Baghdad, which he called Madina al-Salam, the City of Peace. Laid out in 762 at a time that astrologers determined was favorable, Baghdad had a circular plan, about a mile-and-a-half in diameter, and came to be known as the Round City. The shape, which had precedents in ancient Assyria, Parthia, and Persia, signified that the new capital was the center of the universe. The city had a moat and four gates oriented to the four compass points. At the center was the caliph's palace.



10-6A Plan, Umayyad palace, Mshatta, ca. 740–750.

No traces of al-Mansur's City of Peace remain today, but for almost 300 years, Baghdad was the hub of Arab power and of a brilliant Islamic culture. The Abbasid caliphs amassed great wealth and established diplomatic relations throughout the world, even with Charlemagne in Germany. They spent lavishly on art, literature, and science and were responsible for the translation of numerous Greek texts that otherwise would have been lost. In fact, many of these ancient works first became known in medieval Europe through their Arabic versions.

Kairouan. Several decades after the founding of Baghdad, the Abbasids constructed at Kairouan in Tunisia one of the best preserved early mosques (FIGS. 10-7 and 10-8). Its design—of the *hypostyle hall* type—most closely reflects the mosque's supposed precursor, Muhammad's house in Medina (see "The Mosque," page 299). Still in use today, the Kairouan mosque retains its carved wood minbar of 862, the oldest known. The huge precinct is some 450 by 260 feet. Built of stone, its walls have sturdy buttresses, square in profile. Lateral entrances on the east and west lead to an arcaded forecourt (FIG. 10-8, no. 7) resembling a Roman forum (FIG. 7-44), oriented north–south on axis with the mosque's impressive minaret (no. 8) and the two domes of the hypostyle prayer hall (no. 4). The first dome (no. 6)

10-6B Frieze, Umayyad palace, Mshatta, ca. 740–750.

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The Mosque

Islamic religious architecture is closely related to Muslim prayer, an obligation laid down in the Koran for all Muslims. In Islam, worshiping can be a private act and requires neither prescribed ceremony nor a special locale. Only the *qibla*—the direction (toward Mecca) that Muslims face while praying—is important. But worship also became a communal act when the first Muslim community established a simple ritual for it. To celebrate the Muslim sabbath, which occurs on Friday, the community convened each Friday at noon, probably in the Prophet's house in Medina. The main feature of Muhammad's house was a large, square court with rows of palm trunks supporting thatched roofs along the north and south sides. The southern side, which faced Mecca, was wider and had a double row of trunks. After the prayer, the *imam,* or leader of collective worship, stood on a stepped pulpit, or *minbar,* set up in front of the southern (qibla) wall, and preached the sermon.

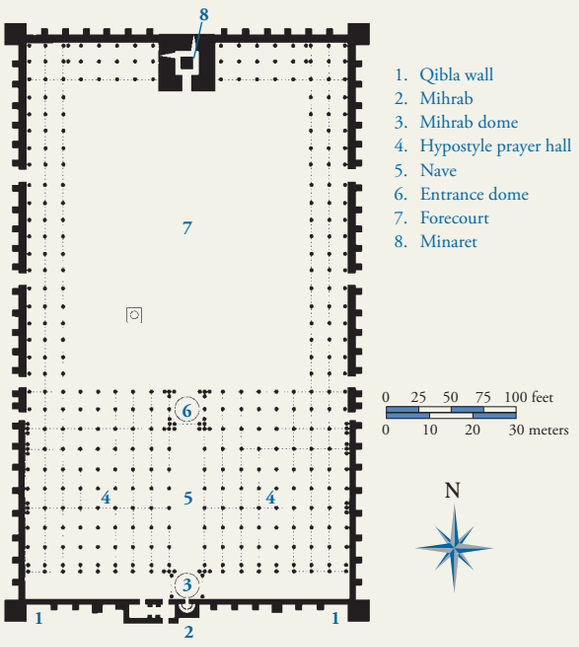
These features became standard in the Islamic house of worship, the *mosque* (from Arabic *masjid,* "a place of prostration"), where the faithful gather for the five daily prayers. The *congregational mosque* (also called the *Friday mosque* or *great mosque*) was ideally large enough to accommodate a community's entire population for the Friday noon prayer. An important feature both of ordinary mosques and of congregational mosques is the *mihrab* (FIG. 10-8, no. 2), a semicircular niche usually set into the qibla wall. Often a dome over the bay in front of the mihrab marked its position (FIGS. 10-5 and 10-8, no. 3). The niche was a familiar Greco-Roman architectural feature, generally enclosing a statue. Scholars still debate the mihrab's origin, purpose, and meaning in Islamic architecture. The niche originally may have honored the place where the Prophet stood in his house at Medina when he led communal worship.

In some mosques, a *maqsura* precedes the mihrab. The maqsura, the area generally reserved for the ruler or his representative, can be quite elaborate in form (FIG. 10-13). Many mosques also have one or more *minarets* (FIGS. 10-5, 10-7, 10-9, 10-26, and 10-29), towers used to call the faithful to worship. When the Muslims converted buildings of other faiths into mosques, they clearly signaled the change on the exterior by the construction of minarets (FIG. 9-5). *Hypostyle halls,* communal worship halls with roofs held up by a multitude of columns (FIGS. 10-8, no. 4, and 10-11), are characteristic features of early mosques. Later variations include mosques with four *iwans* (vaulted rectangular recesses), one on each side of the courtyard (FIGS. 10-15 and 10-16), and *central-plan* mosques with a single large dome-covered interior space (FIG. 10-27), as in Byzantine churches, some of which later became mosques (FIG. 9-8).

Today, despite many variations in design and detail (see, for example, the adobe-and-wood mosque in Mali [FIG. 19-10] and the Great Mosque in Xi'an [FIG. 34-5A], which is laid out like a Buddhist temple) and the employment of building techniques and materials unknown in Muhammad's day, the mosque's essential features remain unchanged. The orientation of all mosques everywhere, whatever their plan, is Mecca, and Muslims worship facing the qibla wall.

10-7 Aerial view of the Great Mosque (looking north), Kairouan, Tunisia, ca. 836–875.

The Great Mosque at Kairouan consists of a columnar prayer hall (with two domes) facing south toward Mecca, an arcaded forecourt resembling a Roman forum, and a minaret to call Muslims to worship.



10-8 Plan of the Great Mosque, Kairouan, Tunisia, ca. 836–875.

Kairouan's Great Mosque is an early example of the type of mosque with a forecourt and a hypostyle prayer hall. The plan most closely resembles the layout of Muhammad's house in Medina.

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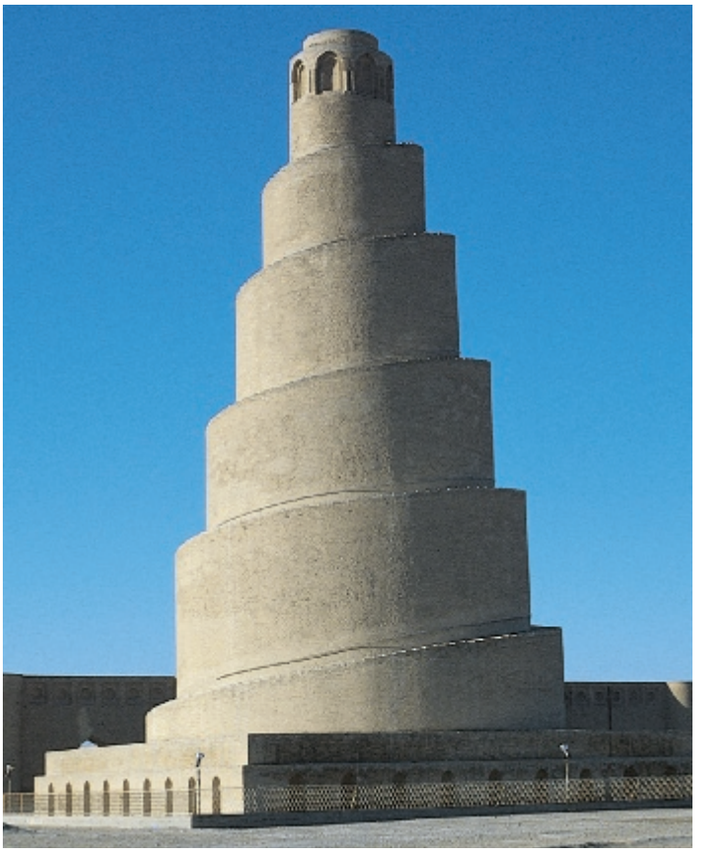
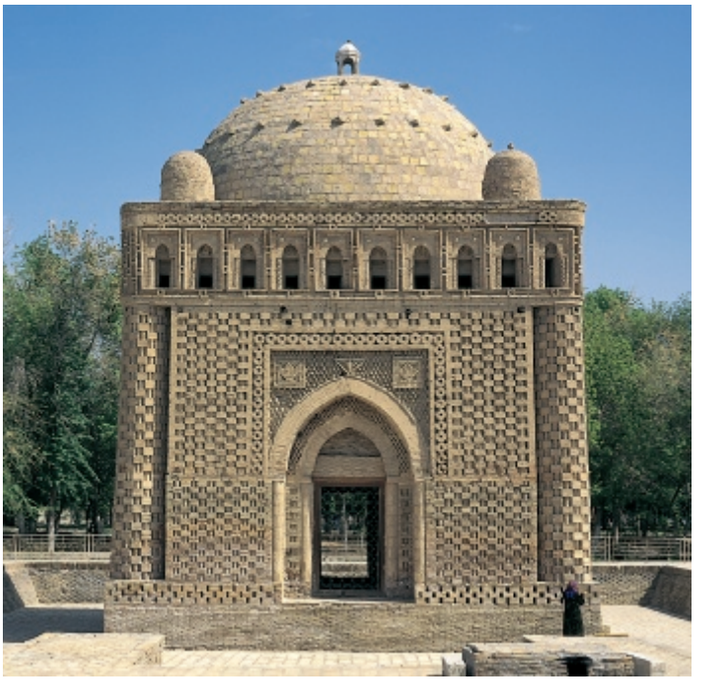


10-9 Malwiya Minaret (looking southwest), Great Mosque, Samarra, Iraq, 848–852.

The unique spiral Malwiya Minaret of the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil's 45,000-square-yard Great Mosque at Samarra is more than 165 feet tall. It served to announce the presence of Islam in the Tigris Valley.



10-10 Mausoleum of the Samanids (looking west), Bukhara, Uzbekistan, early 10th century.

Grandiose tombs were almost unknown in the early Islamic period. The Samanid mausoleum at Bukhara is one of the oldest. Its dome-on-cube form had a long afterlife in Islamic funerary architecture.

is over the entrance bay, the second (no. 3) over the bay that fronts the mihrab (no. 2) set into the *qibla* wall (no. 1). A raised nave (no. 5) connects the domed spaces and prolongs the north–south axis of the minaret and courtyard. Eight columned aisles flank the nave on either side, providing space for a large congregation.

Samarra. The three-story minaret of the Kairouan mosque is square in plan and believed to be a near-copy of a Roman lighthouse. Minarets take a variety of forms, however. Perhaps the most striking and novel is the spiral minaret (FIG. 10-9) of the Great Mosque at Samarra, Iraq, on the east bank of the Tigris River north of Baghdad. Samarra was the capital of the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861), who built the 45,000-square-yard mosque between 848 and 852. At the time of its construction, the Samarra mosque was the largest in the world. It boasts a perimeter wall with 44 semicircular towers and resembles a fortified city. The mosque's minaret, known as the *Malwiya* ("snail shell" in Arabic), is more than 165 feet tall. Although it now stands alone to the north of the sacred precinct, originally a bridge linked the minaret to the mosque. Its unique stepped spiral ramp increases in slope from bottom to top in order to keep each stage the same height. Once thought to be an ancient Mesopotamian ziggurat, the Samarra minaret inspired some European depictions of the biblical Tower of Babel (Babylon's ziggurat; see "Babylon, City of Wonders," page 50). Because the Malwiya is too tall to have been used to call Muslims to prayer, the Abbasids probably intended the tower, which is visible from a considerable distance in the flat plain around Samarra, to announce the presence of Islam in the Tigris Valley (compare the early-13th-century Qutb Minar [FIG. 33-2, *left*] at Delhi). Unfortunately, Samarra's spiral minaret has suffered damage at the hands of various parties during the war in Iraq that began in 2003 and the conflict that continues today in the region.

Bukhara. While recognizing the ultimate authority of the Baghdad caliphs, the dynasties that oversaw the eastern realms of the Abbasid Empire enjoyed considerable independence. One of them, the Samanids (r. 819–1005), presided over the frontier beyond the Oxus River (Transoxiana) on the border with India. In the early 10th century, the Samanids erected an impressive domed brick mausoleum (FIG. 10-10) at Bukhara in modern Uzbekistan. Monumental tombs were virtually unknown in the early Islamic period. Muhammad had been opposed to elaborate burials and instructed his followers to bury him in a simple unmarked grave. In time, however, the Prophet's resting place in Medina acquired a wood screen and a dome. By the ninth century, Abbasid caliphs were laid to rest in dynastic mausolea.

The Samanid mausoleum at Bukhara is one of the earliest preserved tombs in the Islamic world. Constructed of baked bricks, it takes the form of a dome-capped cube with slightly sloping sides. With exceptional skill, the builders painstakingly shaped and placed the bricks to create a vivid and varied surface pattern. Some of the bricks form *engaged columns* (half-round, attached columns) at the corners. A brick *blind arcade* (a series of arches in relief, with blocked openings) runs around the upper part of the wall on all four sides. Inside, the walls are as elaborate as the exterior. The brick dome rests on arcuated brick squinches (FIG. 9-9, *right*) framed by engaged colonnettes. The dome-on-cube form would have a long and distinguished future in Islamic funerary architecture (FIGS. 10-25 and 33-6).

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10-11 Prayer hall of the Mezquita (Great Mosque), Córdoba, Spain, 8th to 10th centuries.

Córdoba was the capital of the Spanish Umayyad dynasty. In the Great Mosque's hypostyle prayer hall, 36 piers and 514 columns support a unique series of double–tiered horseshoe-shaped arches.

Córdoba. At the opposite end of the Muslim world, Abd al-Rahman I (r. 756–788), the only Umayyad notable to escape the Abbasid massacre of his clan in Syria, fled in 750 to Spain, where the Arabs had overthrown the Christian Visigoths in 711. The Arab military governors accepted the fugitive as their overlord, and he founded the Spanish Umayyad dynasty, which lasted nearly three centuries. The capital of the Spanish Umayyads was Córdoba, which became the center of a brilliant culture rivaling that of the Abbasids at Baghdad and exerting major influence on the civilization of the Christian West (see "The Rise and Spread of Islam," page 293).

The most important building project the Umayyad dynasty undertook at Córdoba was the erection of a great mosque (FIG. 10-1) on the site of a Visigothic church, thereby marking the triumph of Islam in Spain, as before in Jerusalem (see "The Rock of the Dome of the Rock," page 296). Begun in 784 by Abd al-Rahman I and enlarged several times during the next two centuries, Córdoba's *Mezquita* (Spanish, "mosque") eventually became one of the largest mosques in the Islamic West. Today, the hypostyle prayer hall (FIG. 10-11) has 36 piers and 514 columns topped by a unique system of double-tiered arches that carried a timber roof (later replaced by vaults). The two-story system was the builders' response to the need to raise the roof to an acceptable height using short columns that had been employed earlier in other structures, both Visigothic and Roman. The lower arches are horseshoe-shaped, a form perhaps adapted from earlier Mesopotamian architecture or of Visigothic origin (FIG. 11-10). In the West, the horseshoe arch quickly became closely associated with Muslim architecture. Visually, these arches seem to billow out like wind-blown sails, and they contribute greatly to the light and airy effect of the Córdoba mosque's interior.

In 961, al-Hakam II (r. 961–976) became caliph. A learned man who amassed a library of 400,000 volumes, he immediately undertook major renovations to the mosque. His builders expanded the prayer hall, added a series of domes, and constructed imposing gates on the complex's eastern (FIG. 10-12) and western facades. The gates are noteworthy for their colorful masonry and intricate surface patterns, especially in the uppermost zone, with its series of overlapping horseshoe-shaped arches springing from delicate colonnettes.

10-12 Detail of the facade of the east gate of the Mezquita (Great Mosque), Córdoba, Spain, 961–965.

The caliph al-Hakam II expanded and renovated Córdoba's Mezquita, adding new gates that feature intricate surface patterns of overlapping horseshoe-shaped arches and multilobed arches.

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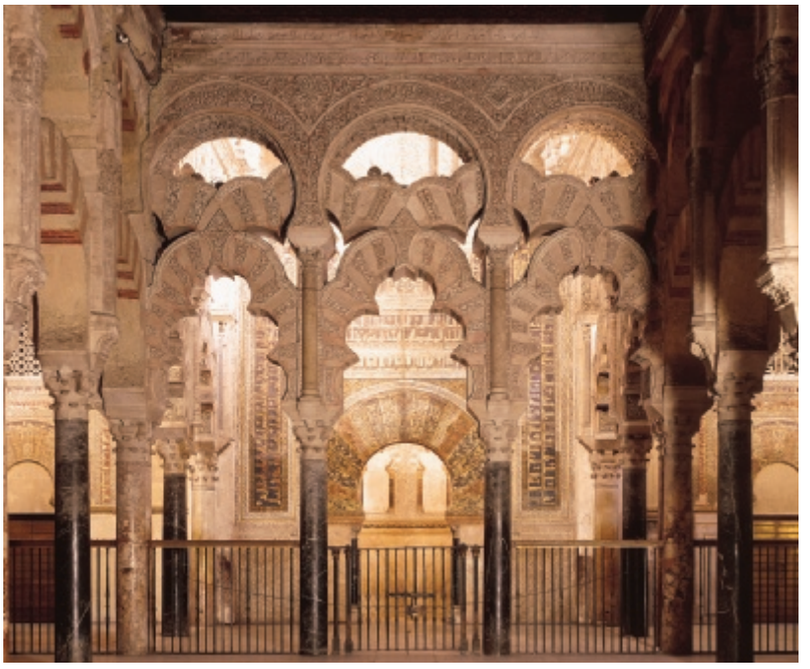

10-13 Maqsura of the Mezquita (Great Mosque), Córdoba, Spain, 961–965.

Reserved for the caliph, the maqsura of the Córdoba Mezquita connected the mosque to his palace. It is a prime example of Islamic experimentation with highly decorative multilobed arches.

Also dating to the caliphate of al-Hakam II is the mosque's extraordinary maqsura (FIG. 10-13), the area reserved for the caliph and connected to his palace by a corridor in the qibla wall. The Córdoba maqsura is a prime example of Islamic experimentation with highly decorative multilobed arches (which are subsidiary motifs in the contemporaneous gates; compare FIG. 10-12). The Muslim builders created rich and varied abstract patterns and further enhanced the magnificent effect of the complex arches by covering the walls with marbles and mosaics. Al-Hakam II wished to emulate the great mosaic-filled monuments that his Umayyad predecessors had erected in Jerusalem (FIG. 10-4) and Damascus (FIG. 10-6), and he brought the mosaicists and even the tesserae to Córdoba from Constantinople.

The same desire for decorative effect also inspired the design of the dome (FIG. 10-14) covering the area in front of the mihrab, one of the four domes built during the 10th century to emphasize the axis leading to the mihrab. The dome rests on an octagonal base of arcuated squinches. Crisscrossing ribs form an intricate pattern centered on two squares set at 45-degree angles to each other. The mosaics are the work of the same Byzantine artists responsible for the maqsura's decoration.

Isfahan. Muslim rulers built mosques of the hypostyle-hall type throughout their realms during the early centuries of the new religion, but other mosque plans gradually gained favor in certain regions (see "The Mosque," page 299). At Isfahan, the third-largest city in Iran today, the Abbasids constructed the first mosque, of hypostyle design, in that formerly Sasanian city during the eighth century. In the 11th century, the Seljuks, a Turkic people who had converted to Islam, built an extensive, though short-lived, empire (r. 1060–1307) that stretched eastward from Anatolia and included Iran. At that time, the Seljuk *sultan* (ruler) Malik Shah I (r. 1072–1092) made Isfahan his capital and transformed the Abbasid hypostyle mosque in stages. The Seljuk Friday Mosque (FIG. 10-15) underwent further modification over subsequent centuries, but still retains its basic 11th-century plan (FIG. 10-16), consisting of a large courtyard bordered by an arcade on each side, originally of one story. (The two-story arcade dates to the mid-15th century.) Four vaulted iwans open onto the courtyard, one at the center of each side. The

10-14 Dome in front of the mihrab of the Mezquita (Great Mosque), Córdoba, Spain, 961–965.

The dome in front of the Córdoba mihrab rests on an octagonal base of arcuated squinches. Crisscrossing ribs form an intricate decorative pattern. Byzantine artists fashioned the mosaic ornamentation.

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10-15 Aerial view of the Friday Mosque (looking southwest toward the qibla iwan), Isfahan, Iran, 11th to 17th centuries.

The typical Iranian mosque plan with four vaulted iwans and a courtyard was perhaps first used in this mosque, which Sultan Malik Shah I built in the late 11th century at the Seljuk capital of Isfahan.

10-16 Plan of the Friday Mosque, Isfahan, Iran, 11th to 17th centuries.

In Isfahan's Friday Mosque, as in other four-iwan mosques, the qibla iwan is the largest. Its size and the dome-covered maqsura in front of it indicate the proper direction to face for Muslim prayer.

10-17 Interior of the prayer hall of the Friday Mosque, Isfahan, Iran, 11th to 12th centuries.

The vast prayer hall of Isfahan's Friday Mosque is of the hypostyle type and consists of simple columns without capitals. The unfluted shafts support about 200 brick vaults and domes on pointed arches.

10-16A Mihrab, Friday Mosque, Isfahan, 1310.

southwestern iwan (FIG. 10-16, no. 3) leads into a dome-covered room (no. 4) in front of the mihrab that functioned as a maqsura reserved for the sultan and his attendants. A second, stucco mihrab (FIG. 10-16A), the work of the renowned calligrapher HAYDAR (d. 1325), was added to the winter prayer hall in 1310 under the Ilkhanid dynasty (r. 1256–1353). The hypostyle prayer hall (FIG. 10-17) is vast and features simple unfluted column shafts without capitals supporting about 200 small brick vaults and domes on *pointed arches*. It is uncertain whether Isfahan's Friday Mosque is the earliest example of a four-iwan mosque, but that plan became standard in Iranian religious architecture. In this type of mosque, the qibla iwan is always the largest. Its size (and the dome that often accompanied it) immediately indicated to worshipers the proper direction for prayer.

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Luxury Arts

The furnishings of Islamic mosques and palaces reflect a love of sumptuous materials and rich decorative patterns. Muslim artisans masterfully worked ivory (FIG. 10-18), metal, wood, and glass into a great variety of objects for sacred spaces or the home. They used colored glass with striking effect in mosque lamps (FIG. 10-32) and produced ceramics (FIG. 10-21) of high quality in large numbers. Muslim metalworkers created elaborate ewers (FIG. 10-19), basins (FIG. 10-35), jewel cases, writing boxes, and other portable items (FIG. 10-36) made of bronze or brass, engraved, and inlaid with silver. Weavers used silk (FIGS. 10-17A) and wool (FIG. 10-31) to fashion textiles featuring both abstract and pictorial motifs. Because wood is scarce in most of the Islamic world, the kinds of furniture used in the West—beds, tables, and chairs—are rare in Muslim buildings. The function of a room (eating or sleeping, for example) in an Islamic building is not defined by heavy furnishings and can be changed simply by rearranging the carpets and cushions.

10-17A Silk textile, from Zandana, eighth century.

Ivory. The centers of production for these luxurious art forms were usually the courts of the Muslim caliphs and sultans. One was Córdoba. Abd al-Rahman III (r. 912–961), a descendant of the founder of the Umayyad dynasty in Spain, became *emir* (ruler) when he was 22. In 929, he declared himself caliph, a title previously restricted to the Muslim rulers who controlled the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. During his nearly 50-year reign, he constructed a lavish new palace for himself and his successors at Medina al-Zahra, about five miles from Córdoba. The palace complex housed royal workshops for the production of luxury items for the caliph's family and for use as diplomatic gifts, including richly carved ivory boxes. Befitting their prospective owners, Spanish Umayyad ivory *pyxides* (singular, *pyxis*; a cylindrical box with a hemispherical lid) usually featured motifs symbolic of royal power and privilege, including hunting scenes and musical entertainments.

The pyxis shown here (FIG. 10-18) belonged to al-Mughira, the younger son of Abd al-Rahman III. The inscription carved at the

1 in.

10-18 **Pyxis of al-Mughira, from Medina al-Zahra, near Córdoba, Spain, 968. Ivory, $5\frac{7}{8}$″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.**

The royal workshops of Abd al-Rahman III produced luxurious objects such as this ivory pyxis decorated with hunting motifs and vine scrolls. It belonged to al-Mughira, the caliph's younger son.

1 in.

10-19 **Sulayman, ewer in the form of a bird, 796. Brass with silver and copper inlay, 1′ 3″ high. Hermitage, Saint Petersburg.**

Signed and dated by its maker, this bird ewer resembles a freestanding statuette. The engraved decoration of the body combines natural feathers with abstract motifs and Arabic calligraphy.

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10-20 Koran page with beginning of surah 18, 9th or early 10th century. Ink and gold on vellum, $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 10\frac{1}{4}''$. Chester Beatty Library and Oriental Art Gallery, Dublin.

The script used in the oldest-known Korans is the stately rectilinear Kufic. This page has five text lines and a palm-tree finial, but characteristically does not include depictions of animals or humans.

base of the lid is a prayer for the 18-year-old prince's well-being: "God's blessing, favors, and happiness to al-Mughira, son of the commander of the faithful [the standard epithet for caliphs], may God have mercy upon him, in the year 357 [968 CE]." The anonymous ivory carver decorated the pyxis with a rich array of animals amid lush vine scrolls surrounding four eight-lobed figural medallions. On one side, illustrated here, lions attack bulls, a motif with a long history originating in the ancient Middle East. The other motifs include riders, hunters, and musicians, royal themes appropriate for a caliph's son.

Metalwork. One striking example of early Islamic metalwork is the cast brass ewer (FIG. 10-19) in the form of a bird signed by SULAYMAN and dated 796. Some 15 inches tall, the ewer is nothing less than a freestanding statuette, although the holes between the eyes and beak function as a spout and betray its utilitarian purpose. The decoration on the body, which bears traces of silver and copper inlay, takes a variety of forms. In places, the incised lines seem to suggest natural feathers, but the rosettes on the neck, the large medallions on the breast, and the inscribed collar have no basis in anatomy. Similar motifs appear in Islamic textiles, pottery, and architectural tiles. The ready adaptability of motifs to various scales and techniques illustrates both the flexibility of Islamic design and its relative independence from its carrier.

Korans. In the Islamic world, the art of *calligraphy,* ornamental writing, held a place of honor. Muslim scribes wanted to reproduce the Koran's sacred words in a script as beautiful as human hands could contrive. Passages from the Koran adorned not only the fragile pages of books but also the walls of buildings—for example, in the mosaic band above the outer ring of columns inside the Dome of the Rock (FIGS. 10-3 and 10-4). The practice of calligraphy was itself a holy task and required long training. The scribe had to possess exceptional spiritual refinement. An ancient Arabic proverb proclaims, "Purity of writing is purity of soul." Only in China does calligraphy hold as elevated a position among the arts (see "Calligraphy and Inscriptions on Chinese Paintings," page 1061).

Arabic script predates Islam. It is written from right to left with certain characters connected by a baseline. Although the codification of the chief Islamic book, the sacred Koran, occurred in the mid-seventh century, the earliest preserved Korans date to the ninth century. Koran pages were either bound into books or stored as loose sheets in boxes. Most of the early examples feature texts written in the script form called *Kufic,* after the city of Kufa, one of the renowned centers of Arabic calligraphy. Kufic script—used also for the inscription on al-Mughira's 10th-century pyxis (FIG. 10-18)—is quite angular, with the uprights forming almost right angles with the baseline. As with Hebrew and other Semitic languages, the usual practice was to write in consonants only. But to facilitate recitation of the Koran, scribes often indicated vowels by red or yellow symbols above or below the line.

All of these features are present in a 9th- or early-10th-century Koran page (FIG. 10-20) now in Dublin and in the blue-dyed page (FIG. 10-20A) of a contemporaneous Koran now at Harvard University. The Dublin page carries the heading and opening lines of surah 18 of the Koran. The five text lines are in black ink with red vowels, below a decorative band incorporating the chapter title in gold and ending in a palm-tree *finial* (a crowning ornament). This approach to page design has parallels at the extreme northwestern corner of the then-known world—in the early medieval manuscripts of Britain and Ireland, where text and ornamentation were similarly united (FIG. 11-1). But the stylized human and animal forms that populate those Christian books never appear in Korans.

10-20A *Blue Koran,* from Kairouan, 9th to mid-10th century.

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1 in.

10-21 Dish with Arabic proverb, from Nishapur, Iran, 10th century. Painted and glazed earthenware, 1′ 2½″ diameter. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

An Arabic proverb in Kufic calligraphy is the sole decoration of this dish made for a cultured owner. It states that magnanimity, although bitter at first taste, is ultimately sweeter than honey.

Ceramics. Around the same time, potters in Nishapur in Iran and in Samarqand in Uzbekistan developed a simple but elegant type of glazed dish with calligraphic decoration. One of the best-preserved examples of *Samarqand ware* is a large dish (FIG. 10-21) from the Nishapur region in Khurasan province of northeastern Iran. To produce dishes such as this, the ceramists formed the shape from the local dark pink clay and then immersed the dish in a tub of white slip. When the slip dried, a painter-calligrapher wrote a Kufic text in black or brown paint around the flat rim of the dish, usually, as here, extending the angular letters both horizontally and vertically to create a circular border and to fill the full width of the rim. A transparent glaze, applied last, sealed the decoration and, after firing, gave the dish an attractive sheen.

The text on this dish is an Arabic proverb, which reads: "Knowledge is bitter-tasting at first, but in the end it is sweeter than honey. Good health [to the owner of this dish]." Because the Arabic words are so similar, recently some scholars have translated "knowledge" as "magnanimity." In either case, this and similar proverbs with practical advice for secular life would have appealed to cultured individuals such as successful merchants. The proverb's reference to food is, of course, highly appropriate for the decoration of tableware.

LATER ISLAMIC ART

In 1192, a Muslim army under the command of Muhammad of Ghor won a decisive battle at Tarain, which led to the formation in 1206 of an Islamic sultanate at Delhi and eventually to the greatest Muslim empire in Asia, the Mughal Empire. But no sooner did the Muslims establish a permanent presence in South Asia than the Mongols, who had invaded northern China in 1210, overthrew the Abbasid caliphs in Central Asia and Persia. Isfahan fell to the Mongols in 1236, Baghdad in 1258, and Damascus in 1260. Islamic art continued to flourish, however, and important new regional artistic centers emerged. The rest of this chapter treats the art and architecture of the Nasrids (1232–1492) in Spain, the Ayyubids (1171–1250) and Mamluks (1250–1517) in Egypt, the Timurids (1370–1501) and Safavids (1501–1732) in Iran, and the Ottomans (1281–1924) in Turkey. The Islamic art of South Asia is discussed in Chapter 33.

Architecture

In the early years of the 11th century, the Umayyad caliphs' power in Spain unraveled, and their palaces fell prey to Berber soldiers from North Africa. The Berbers ruled southern Spain for several generations, but could not resist the pressure of Christian forces from the north. Córdoba fell to the Christians in 1236, the same year that the Mongols captured Isfahan. From then until the final Christian triumph in 1492, the Nasrids, an Arab dynasty that had established its capital at Granada in 1232, ruled the remaining Muslim territories in Spain.

Alhambra. On a rocky spur at Granada, the Nasrids constructed a huge palace-fortress called the Alhambra ("the Red" in Arabic), named for the rose color of the stone used for its walls and 23 towers. By the end of the 14th century, the complex had a population of 40,000 and included at least a half dozen royal residences. Only two

10-22 Muqarnas dome, Hall of the Abencerrajes, Palace of the Lions, Alhambra, Granada, Spain, 1354–1391.

The structure of this dome on an octagonal drum is difficult to discern because of the intricately carved stucco muqarnas. The prismatic forms reflect sunlight, creating the effect of a starry sky.

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A Venetian Visitor to the Alhambra

In 1526, Andrea Navagiero (1483–1529), the Venetian ambassador to Spain, visited the Alhambra and wrote a vivid account of the Nasrid palace. He was especially impressed by the lavish use of marble for paving stones, the stucco ornamentation of vaults and ceilings, the use of windows to illuminate rooms, and the courtyard fountain in the Palace of the Lions.

> The Alhambra is enclosed by strong walls and is like a Castle, separate from the rest of the City, dominating nearly everything. . . . [M]ost of the area is occupied by a handsome Palace . . . very sumptuously made with fine marbles . . . on the floors rather than the walls . . . and very lovely halls with elegant windows and rather excellent Moorish workmanship adorning not only the walls but also the ceilings [FIG. 10-22]. These are part plaster with plenty of gilding and part ivory also with gilding. . . . [T]here is a most handsome fountain which, being made of various lions that spew water by mouth, gives the name to the Patio of the Lions [FIG. 10-23]. These Lions bear the basin of the fountain and they are made in such a way that, when they don't spew water, if a man speaks any word into the mouth of one of them, speaking in a low voice, if one then puts ear to the mouth of any of the other Lions, it appears to answer so that one hears whatever it was that was said. Among other things there are some handsome underground baths in this Palace, paved with the finest marble and with places to bathe oneself: and everything of marble and with light entering through the roof: with lots of glass, like eyes, all over.*

*D. Fairchild Ruggles, ed., *Islamic Art & Visual Culture: An Anthology of Sources* (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 118.

10-23 Court of the Lions (looking east), Palace of the Lions, Alhambra, Granada, Spain, 1354–1391.

The Nasrid Palace of the Lions takes its name from the fountain in this courtyard, a rare Islamic example of stone sculpture. Interwoven abstract ornamentation and Arabic calligraphy cover the stucco walls.

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of these fared well over the centuries. Paradoxically, they owe their preservation to the Christian victors, who maintained a few of the buildings as trophies commemorating the expulsion of the Nasrids. The two palaces provide a vivid picture of court life in Islamic Spain before the Christian reconquest.

Visitors to the Alhambra today, as in the past, never fail to be impressed by the elaborate stucco walls and ceilings in the Nasrid palaces (see "A Venetian Visitor to the Alhambra," above). A spectacular example is the dome (FIG. 10-22) of the Hall of the Abencerrajes (a leading Spanish family) in the so-called Palace of the Lions. The dome rests on an octagonal drum supported by squinches and pierced by eight pairs of windows, but its structure is difficult to discern because of the intricate carved stucco decoration. Some 5,000 *muqarnas*—tier after tier of stalactite-like prismatic forms that seem aimed at denying the structure's solidity—cover the ceiling. The muqarnas catch and reflect sunlight as well as form beautiful abstract patterns. The lofty vault in this hall and others in the palace symbolize the dome of Heaven. The flickering light and shadows create the effect of a starry sky as the sun's rays glide from window to window during the day. To underscore the symbolism, the palace walls bear inscriptions with verses by the court poet Ibn Zamrak (1333–1393), who compared the Alhambra's lacelike muqarnas ceilings to "the heavenly spheres whose orbits revolve."

The Palace of the Lions takes its name from its courtyard (FIG. 10-23), which contains a fountain with 12 marble lions carrying a water basin on their backs. Colonnaded courtyards with fountains and statues have a long history in the Mediterranean world, especially in the houses and villas of the Roman Empire (FIG. 7-16A).

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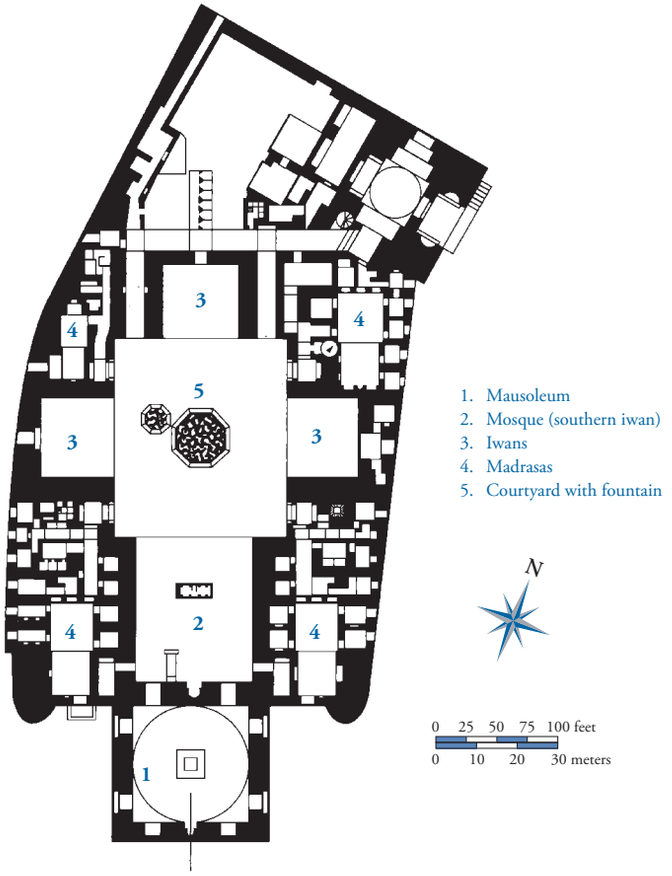

10-24 Plan of the madrasa-mosque-mausoleum complex of Sultan Hasan, Cairo, Egypt, begun 1356.

Sultan Hasan's Cairo complex included his tomb, four madrasas, and a mosque. The plan with four iwans opening onto a central courtyard derives from Iranian models (FIG. 10-16).

10-25 Madrasa-mosque-mausoleum complex of Sultan Hasan (looking northwest with the mausoleum in the foreground), Cairo, Egypt, begun 1356.

Hasan's mausoleum is a gigantic version of the earlier Samanid mausoleum (FIG. 10-10). Because of its location south of the complex's mosque, praying Muslims face the Mamluk sultan's tomb.

The Alhambra's lion fountain is an unusual instance of freestanding stone sculpture in the Islamic world, unthinkable in a sacred setting. But the design of the courtyard is distinctly Islamic and features many multilobed pointed arches and lavish stuccoed walls carved with interwoven abstract motifs and Arabic calligraphy. The palace was the residence of Muhammad V (r. 1354–1391), and its courtyards, lush gardens, baths, and luxurious carpets and other furnishings served to conjure the image of Paradise.

Cairo. After the Mongol conquests, the center of Islamic power moved from Baghdad to Egypt. The lords of Egypt at the time were former Turkish slaves—*mamluks* in Arabic—who converted to Islam. The capital of the Mamluk sultans was Cairo, which became the largest Muslim city of the late Middle Ages. The Mamluks were prolific builders, and Sultan Hasan, although not an important figure in Islamic history, was the most ambitious of all. He ruled briefly as a child and was deposed, but regained the sultanate from 1354 until his assassination in 1361.

Hasan's major building project in Cairo was a huge madrasa complex (FIGS. 10-24 and 10-25) on a plot of land about 8,000 square yards in area. A *madrasa* ("place of study" in Arabic) is a theological college devoted to the teaching of Islamic law. Hasan's complex was so large that it housed not only four madrasas for the study of the four major schools of Islamic law but also a mosque, mausoleum, orphanage, and hospital, as well as shops and baths. Like all Islamic building complexes incorporating religious, educational, and charitable functions, this one depended on an endowment funded by rental properties. The income from these paid the salaries of attendants and faculty, provided furnishings and supplies such as oil for the lamps or free food for the poor, and supported scholarships for needy students.

The grandiose structure has a large central courtyard (FIG. 10-24, no. 5) with a fountain in the center and four vaulted iwans opening onto it, as in Iranian mosques (FIG. 10-16). In each corner of the main courtyard, between the iwans (FIG. 10-24, no. 3), is a madrasa (no. 4) with its own courtyard and four or five stories of rooms for the students. The largest iwan (no. 2) in the complex, on the southern side, served as a mosque. Contemporaries believed that the soaring vault over this iwan was taller than the arch of the Sasanian palace (FIG. 2-29) at Ctesiphon, which was then one of the most admired engineering feats in the world. Behind the qibla wall stands the sultan's mausoleum (FIGS. 10-24, no. 1, and 10-25), a gigantic version of the Samanid tomb (FIG. 10-10) at Bukhara but with two flanking minarets. The builders intentionally placed the dome-covered cube south of the mosque so that the prayers of the faithful facing Mecca would be directed toward Hasan's tomb. (The tomb houses only the bodies of the sultan's two sons, however. They could not recover their father's remains after his assassination.)

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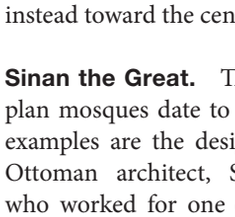
A muqarnas cornice crowns the exterior walls of Hasan's complex, and marble plaques of several colors cover the mihrab in the mosque and the walls of the mausoleum. The complex as a whole is relatively austere, however. Its massiveness and geometric clarity present a striking contrast to the filigreed elegance of the contemporaneous Alhambra (FIGS. 10-22 and 10-23) and testify to the diversity of regional styles within the Islamic world, especially after the end of the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties.

Ottoman Empire. After the downfall of the Seljuks (FIGS. 10-15, 10-16, 10-16A, and 10-17), several local dynasties established themselves in Anatolia, among them the Ottomans, founded by Osman I (r. 1281–1326). Under Osman's successors, the Ottoman state expanded throughout vast areas of Asia, Europe, and North Africa. By the middle of the 15th century, the Ottoman Empire had become one of the great world powers.

The Ottoman emperors were lavish patrons of architecture, and the builders in their employ developed a new type of mosque, the core of which was a dome-covered square prayer hall. The combination of dome and square had an appealing geometric clarity and became the nucleus of all Ottoman architecture. At first used singly, the domed units came to be used in multiples, the distinctive feature of later Ottoman architecture.

After the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1453, they firmly established their architectural code. Hagia Sophia (FIG. 9-5) especially impressed the new lords of Constantinople. In some respects, Justinian's great church conformed to their own ideals, and they converted the Byzantine church into a mosque with minarets. But the longitudinal orientation of Hagia Sophia's interior (FIGS. 9-7 and 9-8) never satisfied Ottoman builders, and Anatolian development moved instead toward the central-plan mosque.

Sinan the Great. The first Ottoman central-plan mosques date to the 1520s, but the finest examples are the designs of the most famous Ottoman architect, SINAN (ca. 1491–1588), who worked for one of the greatest Ottoman sultans, Suleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566; FIG. 10-25A). Sinan perfected the Ottoman architectural style. By his time, Ottoman builders almost universally employed the basic domed unit, which could be multiplied, enlarged, or contracted as needed. Thus the typical 16th-century Ottoman mosque was a creative assemblage of domical units and artfully juxtaposed geometric spaces. Architects usually designed domes with an extravagant margin of structural safety that has since served them well in earthquake-prone Istanbul and other Turkish cities. (Vivid demonstration of the sound construction of the Ottoman mosques came in August 1999, when a powerful earthquake centered 65 miles east of Istanbul toppled hundreds of modern buildings and killed thousands of people, but caused no damage to the centuries-old mosques.) Working within this architectural tradition, Sinan searched for solutions to the problems of unifying the additive elements and of creating a cavernous centralized space with harmonious proportions.



10-25A Tughra of Suleyman the Magnificent, ca. 1555–1560.

Sinan's vision found ultimate expression in the Mosque of Selim II (FIG. 10-26) at Edirne, which had been the capital of the Ottoman Empire from 1363 to 1453 and where Selim II (r. 1566–1574) maintained a palace. There, Sinan designed a mosque with a massive dome set off by four slender pencil-shaped minarets (each more than 200 feet high, among the tallest ever constructed). The dome's height surpasses that of Hagia Sophia's dome (see "Sinan the Great and the Mosque of Selim II," page 310). But it is the organization of the Edirne mosque's interior space that reveals Sinan's genius. The mihrab is recessed into an apselike alcove deep enough

10-26 SINAN, Mosque of Selim II (looking east), Edirne, Turkey, 1568–1575.

The Ottomans developed a new type of mosque with a dome-covered square prayer hall. The dome of Sinan's Mosque of Selim II is taller than Hagia Sophia's (FIG. 9-5) and is an engineering triumph.

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WRITTEN SOURCES

Sinan the Great and the Mosque of Selim II

Sinan, called Sinan the Great, was truly the greatest Ottoman architect. Born a Christian, he converted to Islam, served in the Ottoman government, and trained in engineering and the art of building while in the Ottoman army. Officials quickly recognized Sinan's talent and entrusted him with increasing responsibility until, in 1538, he became chief court architect for Suleyman the Magnificent (FIG. 10-25A), a generous patron of art and architecture. He retained that position for a half century. Tradition associates Sinan with hundreds of building projects, both sacred and secular, although he could not have been involved with all of them.

The capstone of Sinan's distinguished career was the Edirne mosque (FIGS. 10-26 and 10-27) of Suleyman's son, Selim II, which Sinan designed when he was almost 80 years old. In it, he sought to surpass the greatest achievements of Byzantine architects, just as Sultan Hasan's builders in Cairo (FIG. 10-25) attempted to rival and exceed the Sasanian architects of antiquity. Sa'i Mustafa Çelebi, Sinan's biographer, recorded the architect's accomplishment in his own words:

> Sultan Selim Khan ordered the erection of a mosque in Edirne. . . . His humble servant [I, Sinan] prepared for him a drawing depicting, on a dominating site in the city, four minarets on the four corners of a dome. . . . Those who consider themselves architects among Christians say that in the realm of Islam no dome can equal that of the Hagia Sophia; they claim that no Muslim architect would be able to build such a large dome. In this mosque, with the help of God and the support of Sultan Selim Khan, I erected a dome six cubits higher and four cubits wider than the dome of the Hagia Sophia.*

The Edirne dome is, in fact, higher than Hagia Sophia's (FIGS. 9-5 and 9-8) when measured from its base, but its crown is not as far above the pavement as that of the dome of Justinian's church. Nonetheless, Sinan's feat won universal acclaim as an engineering triumph. The Ottomans considered the Mosque of Selim II proof that they finally had outshone the Christian emperors of Byzantium in the realm of architecture.

*Aptullah Kuran, *Sinan: The Grand Old Master of Ottoman Architecture* (Washington, D.C.: Institute of Turkish Studies, 1987), 168–169.

10-27 SINAN, view into the dome of the Mosque of Selim II, Edirne, Turkey, 1568–1575.

The interior of Sinan's Edirne mosque is a fusion of an octagon and a dome-covered square with four half-domes at the corners. The plan features geometric clarity and precise numerical ratios.

to permit window illumination from three sides, making the brilliantly colored tile panels of its lower walls sparkle as if with their own glowing light (FIG. 10-27). (In all, there are almost 300 windows in the Edirne mosque, which flood the interior with sunlight.) The plan of the main hall is an ingenious fusion of an octagon with the dome-covered square. The octagon, formed by the eight massive dome supports, is pierced by the four half-dome-covered corners of the square. The result is a fluid interpenetration of several geometric volumes that represents the culminating solution to Sinan's lifelong search for a vast yet unified interior space. Sinan's forms are clear and legible, like mathematical equations. Height, width, and masses relate to one another in a simple but effective ratio of 1:2, and precise numerical ratios similarly characterize the complex as a whole. The forecourt of the building, for example, covers an area equal to that of the mosque proper. Most architectural historians regard the Mosque of Selim II as the climax of Ottoman architecture. Sinan proudly proclaimed it his masterpiece.

Isfahan. At the time that the Ottomans were establishing their empire in Turkey, Iran underwent a period of political upheaval until the arrival of the forces of Timur in the late 14th century. Isfahan, the former Seljuk capital, was, in fact, under siege in 1354 when the Madrasa Imami was constructed. Its mihrab is an early masterpiece of Iranian ceramic tilework (see "Islamic Tilework,"

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Islamic Tilework

From the seventh century—when the Dome of the Rock (FIG. 10-2), the earliest major Islamic building, was constructed—to the present day, Muslim builders have used mosaics or ceramic tiles to decorate the walls and vaults of mosques, madrasas, palaces, and tombs.

The golden age of Islamic tilework was the 16th and 17th centuries. At that time, Muslim artists used two basic techniques to enliven the interiors of buildings with brightly colored tiled walls and to sheathe their exteriors with gleaming tiles that reflected the sun's rays.

In ***mosaic tilework*** (for example, FIGS. 10-28 and 10-29), potters fire large ceramic panels of single colors in the kiln and then cut them into smaller pieces and set the pieces in plaster in a manner similar to the laying of mosaic tesserae of stone or glass (see "Mosaics," page 256).

Cuerda seca tilework ("dry cord" tilework) was introduced in Umayyad Spain during the 10th century—hence its Spanish name even in Middle Eastern and Central Asian contexts.

Cuerda seca tiles (for example, FIG. 10-30) are polychrome and can bear complex geometric and vegetal patterns as well as Arabic script more easily than can mosaic tiles. They are also more economical to use because vast surfaces can be covered with large tiles much more quickly than they can with thousands of smaller mosaic tiles. But when builders use cuerda seca tiles to sheathe curved surfaces (vaults, domes, minarets), the ceramists must fire the tiles in the exact shape required—a daunting challenge, especially when the tiles must conform to complex muqarnas shapes.

Polychrome tiles have other drawbacks. Because the ceramists fire all the glazes at the same temperature, cuerda seca tiles are not as brilliant in color as mosaic tiles and do not reflect light the way the more irregular surfaces of tile mosaics do. The preparation of the multicolored cuerda seca tiles also requires greater care. To prevent the colors from running together during firing, the potters outline the motifs with cords containing manganese, which leaves a matte black line between the colors after firing.

10-28 Mihrab, from the Madrasa Imami, Isfahan, Iran, ca. 1354. Glazed mosaic tilework, 11′ 3″ × 7′ 6″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

This Iranian mihrab is a masterpiece of mosaic tilework. Every piece had to be cut to fit its specific place in the design. It exemplifies the perfect aesthetic union of Islamic calligraphy and ornamentation.

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above). As already noted, verses from the Koran appeared in the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock (FIGS. 10-3 and 10-4) in Jerusalem and in mosaics and other media on the walls of countless later Islamic structures. Indeed, some of the masterworks of Arabic calligraphy are not in manuscripts but on walls. The Madrasa Imami mihrab (FIG. 10-28), like the earlier mihrab (FIG. 10-16A) in the winter prayer hall of Isfahan's Friday Mosque, exemplifies the perfect aesthetic union between the Islamic calligrapher's art and abstract ornamentation. The pointed arch framing the mihrab niche bears an inscription from the Koran in Kufic, the stately rectilinear script employed for the earliest Korans (FIGS. 10-20 and 10-20A). Many supple cursive styles also make up the repertoire of Islamic calligraphy. One of these styles, known as *Muhaqqaq,* fills the mihrab's outer rectangular frame. The mosaic tile decoration on

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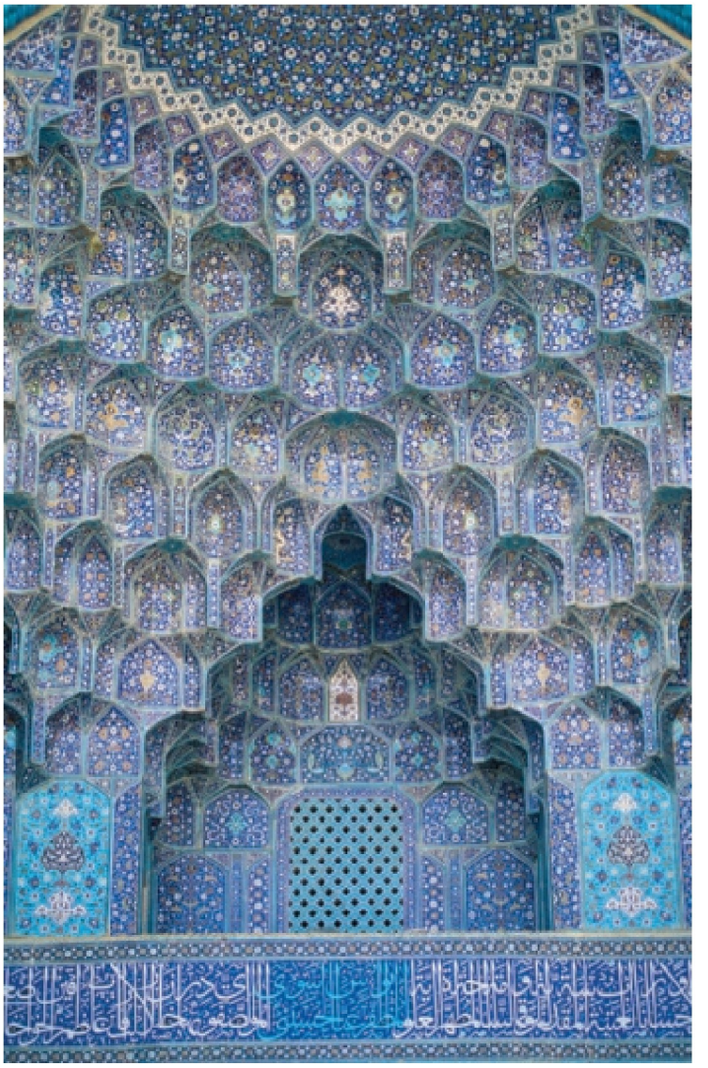
10-29 Mosaic tilework of the minarets of the qibla iwan of the Friday Mosque, Isfahan, Iran, 16th century.

The mosaic tilework of these twin minarets dates to the Safavid dynasty. Highly skilled artisans prepared small tiles of several colors and then placed them in geometric patterns on the curved surfaces.



10-30 Muqarnas tilework of the entrance portal of the Imam Mosque (formerly the Shah Mosque), Isfahan, Iran, 1611–1638.

The ceramists who produced the cuerda seca tiles of the muqarnas-filled portal to the Imam Mosque had to manufacture a wide variety of shapes with curved surfaces to cover the hall's arches and vaults.

the curving surface of the niche and the area above the pointed arch consists of tighter and looser networks of geometric and abstract floral motifs. The mosaic technique is masterful. Every piece had to be cut to fit its specific place in the mihrab—even the tile inscriptions. The ceramist smoothly integrated the subtly varied decorative patterns with the framed inscription in the center of the niche—proclaiming that the mosque is the domicile of the pious believer. The mihrab's outermost inscription—detailing the Five Pillars of Islamic faith (see "Muhammad and Islam," page 295)—serves as a fringelike extension, as well as a boundary, for the entire design. The unification of calligraphic and geometric elements is so complete that only the practiced eye can distinguish them. The artist transformed the architectural surface into a textile surface—the three-dimensional wall into a two-dimensional hanging—weaving the calligraphy into it as another cluster of motifs within the total pattern.

Imam Mosque. The art of ceramic tilework reached its peak in the 16th and 17th centuries in Iran and Turkey, when, for example, the Ottomans replaced the exterior mosaics of the Dome of the Rock (FIG. 10-2) in Jerusalem with glazed tiles. In Iran, the Safavids (r. 1501–1732) ruled the ancient Persian domains formerly under the control of the Abbasids, Seljuks, and Timurids (FIG. 10-33). The Safavids installed the ceramic tile revetment on the walls, vaults, and minarets (FIG. 10-29) of the Seljuks' Friday Mosque (FIG. 10-15) at Isfahan and built the Imam Mosque (formerly the Shah, or Royal, Mosque) in the early 17th century, which boasts some of the finest examples of Iranian *cuerda seca* tilework. The use of glazed tiles has a long history in the Middle East. Even in ancient Mesopotamia, builders sometimes covered walls and gates with colorful baked bricks, as in Babylon's Ishtar Gate (FIG. 2-24), datable around 575 BCE.

In the Imam Mosque in Isfahan, Safavid tiles cover almost every surface. For the entrance portal (FIG. 10-30), the ceramists had to manufacture a wide variety of shapes with curved surfaces to sheathe the complex forms of the muqarnas-filled pointed half dome. The result was a technological triumph as well as a dazzling display of abstract decoration.

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Luxury Arts

The tile-covered mosques of Isfahan, Sultan Hasan's madrasa complex in Cairo, and the architecture of Sinan the Great in Edirne are enduring testaments to the brilliant artistic culture of the Safavid, Mamluk, and Ottoman rulers of the Muslim world. Still, these are but some of the most conspicuous public manifestations of the greatness of later Islamic art and architecture (see Chapter 33 for the achievements of the Muslim rulers of India). In the smaller-scale, and often private, realm of the luxury arts, Muslim artists also excelled. From the vast array of manuscript paintings, ceramics, textiles, and metalwork, the six masterpieces illustrated here suggest both the range and the quality of the inappropriately dubbed Islamic "minor arts" of the 13th to 16th centuries.

Ardabil Carpets. The first of these artworks (FIG. 10-31) is by far the largest, one of a pair of carpets from Ardabil in Iran. The carpets come from the funerary mosque of Shaykh Safi al-Din (1252–1334), the founder of the Safavid line. The carpets date, however, to 1540—two centuries after the construction of the mosque, during the reign of Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576; FIG. 33-5). Tahmasp elevated carpet weaving to a national industry and set up royal factories at Isfahan, Kashan, Kirman, and Tabriz. The name MAQSUD OF KASHAN appears as part of the design of the carpet illustrated here. Maqsud must have been the artist who supplied the master pattern to two teams of royal weavers (one for each of the two carpets). The carpet, almost 35 by 18 feet, consists of roughly 25 million knots, some 340 to the square inch. (Its twin has even more knots.)

The design consists of a central sunburst medallion, representing the inside of a dome, surrounded by 16 pendants. Mosque lamps (appropriate motifs for the Ardabil funerary mosque) hang from two pendants on the long axis of the carpet. The lamps are of different sizes. This may be an optical device to make the two appear equal in size when viewed from the end of the carpet at the room's threshold (the bottom end in FIG. 10-31). Covering the rich blue background are leaves and flowers attached to delicate stems that spread over the whole field. The entire composition presents the illusion of a heavenly dome with lamps reflected in a pool of water full of floating lotus blossoms. No human or animal figures appear, as befits a carpet intended for a mosque, although they can be found on other Islamic textiles used in secular contexts, both earlier (FIG. 10-17A) and later.

10-31 MAQSUD OF KASHAN, carpet from the funerary mosque of Shaykh Safi al-Din, Ardabil, Iran, 1540. Wool and silk, 34′ 6″ × 17′ 7″. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Maqsud of Kashan's enormous Ardabil carpet required roughly 25 million knots. It presents the illusion of a heavenly dome with mosque lamps reflected in a pool of water filled with floating lotus blossoms.

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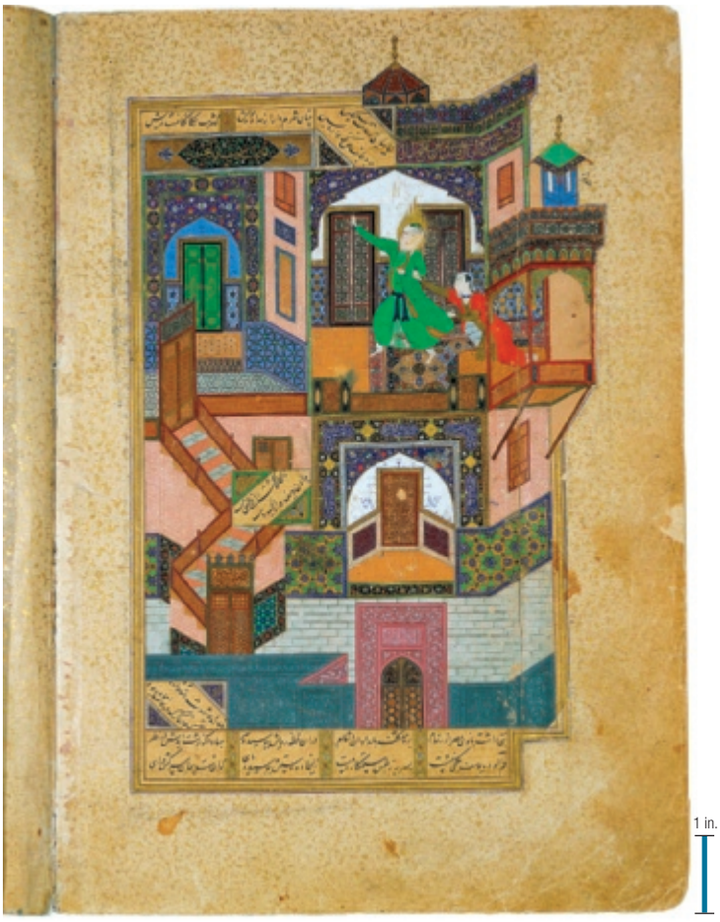
1 in.

10-32 Mosque lamp of Sayf al-Din Tuquztimur, from Egypt, 1340. Glass with enamel decoration, 1′ 1″ high. British Museum, London.

The enamel decoration of this glass mosque lamp includes a quotation from the Koran comparing God's light with the light in a lamp. The burning wick dramatically illuminated the sacred verse.



1 in.

10-33 Bihzad, *Seduction of Yusuf,* folio 52 verso of the *Bustan* of Sultan Husayn Bayqara, from Herat, Afghanistan, 1488. Ink and colors on paper, $11\frac{7}{8}'' \times 8\frac{5}{8}''$. National Library, Cairo.

The most famous Timurid manuscript painter was Bihzad. This page displays vivid color, intricate decorative detailing, and a brilliant balance between two-dimensional patterning and perspective.

Mosque Lamps. The kind of mosque lamps depicted on the Ardabil carpets were usually made of glass and lavishly decorated. Islamic artists perfected this art form, and fortunately, despite their exceptionally fragile nature, many examples survive, in large part because those who handled them did so with reverence and care. One of the finest is the mosque lamp (FIG. 10-32) made for Sayf al-Din Tuquztimur (d. 1345), an official in the court of the Mamluk sultan al-Nasir Muhammad (r. 1293–1341). The glass lamps hung on chains from mosque ceilings. The shape of Tuquztimur's lamp is typical of the period, consisting of a conical neck, a wide body with six vertical handles, and a tall foot. Inside, a small glass container held the oil and wick. The *enamel* decoration (colors fused to the surfaces) includes Tuquztimur's emblem—an eagle over a cup (Tuquztimur served as the sultan's cup-bearer)—and cursive Arabic calligraphy giving the official's name and titles as well as a quotation of the Koranic verse (24:35) that compares God's light with the light in a lamp. The lamplight dramatically illuminated that verse (and Tuquztimur's name).

Timurid *Bustan*. In the late 14th century, a new Islamic empire arose in Central Asia under the leadership of Timur (r. 1370–1405), known in the Western world as Tamerlane. Timur, a successor of the Mongol conqueror Genghis Khan, quickly extended his dominions to include Iran and parts of Anatolia. The Timurids, who ruled until 1501, were great patrons of art and architecture in Herat, Bukhara, Samarqand, and other cities. Herat in particular became a leading center for the production of luxurious books under the patronage of the Timurid sultan Husayn Bayqara (r. 1470–1506).

The most famous Persian painter of his age was BIHZAD, who worked at the Herat court before migrating to Tabriz. At Herat, he illustrated the sultan's copy of *Bustan* (*The Orchard*) by the Persian poet Sadi (ca. 1209–1292). One page (FIG. 10-33) represents a story in both the Bible and the Koran—the seduction of Yusuf (Joseph) by Potiphar's wife, Zulaykha. Bihzad dispersed Sadi's text throughout the page in elegant Arabic script in a series of beige panels. According to the tale as told by Jami (1414–1492), an influential mystic theologian and poet whose Persian text appears in blue in the white pointed arch of the composition's lower center, Zulaykha lured Yusuf into her palace and led him through seven rooms, locking each door behind him. In the last room she threw herself at Yusuf, but he resisted and was able to flee when the seven doors opened miraculously. Bihzad's painting of the story highlights all the stylistic elements that brought him great renown: vivid color, intricate decorative detailing suggesting luxurious textiles and tiled walls, and a brilliant balance between two-dimensional patterning and perspective depictions of balconies and staircases.

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1 in.

10-34 **Sultan-Muhammad, *Court of Gayumars,* folio 20 verso of the *Shahnama* of Shah Tahmasp, from Tabriz, Iran, ca. 1525–1535. Ink, watercolor, and gold on paper, 1′ 1″ × 9″. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan Collection, Geneva.**

Sultan-Muhammad painted the legend of King Gayumars for the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp (FIG. 33-5). The off-center placement on the page enhances the sense of lightness permeating the painting.

Bihzad's apprentices later worked for the Mughal court in India and introduced his distinctive style to South Asia (see "Humayun," page 1046).

Safavid *Shahnama*. The successors of the Timurids in Iran were the Safavids. Shah Tahmasp, the Safavid ruler who commissioned the Ardabil carpets (FIG. 10-31), was also a great patron of books. Around 1525, he commissioned an ambitious decade-long project to produce an illustrated 742-page copy of the *Shahnama* (*Book of Kings*). The *Shahnama,* the Persian national epic poem by Firdawsi (940–1025), recounts the history of Iran from creation until the Muslim conquest. Tahmasp's *Shahnama* contains 258 illustrations by many artists, including some of the most admired painters of the day. It was eventually presented as a gift to Selim II, the Ottoman sultan who was the patron of Sinan's mosque (FIGS. 10-26 and 10-27) at Edirne. The manuscript later entered a private collection in the West and ultimately was auctioned as a series of individual pages, destroying its integrity but underscoring that Western collectors viewed each page as an independent masterpiece.

The page reproduced here (FIG. 10-34) is the work of Sultan-Muhammad and depicts Gayumars, the legendary first king of Iran, and his court. According to tradition, Gayumars ruled from a mountaintop when humans first learned to cook food and clothe themselves in leopard skins. In Sultan-Muhammad's representation of the story, Gayumars presides over his court from his mountain throne. The king is surrounded by light amid a golden sky. His son and grandson perch on multicolored rocky outcroppings to the viewer's left and right, respectively. The court encircles the ruler and his heirs. All of the figures wear leopard skins. Dozens of human faces appear among the rocks, and many species of animals populate the lush landscape. According to the *Shahnama,* wild beasts became instantly tame in the presence of Gayumars. Sultan-Muhammad rendered the figures, animals, trees, rocks, and sky with an extraordinarily delicate touch. The sense of lightness and airiness permeating the painting is enhanced by its placement on the page—floating, off center, on a speckled background of gold leaf. The painter gave his royal patron a singular vision of Iran's fabled past.

***Baptistère de Saint Louis*.** Metalwork was another early Islamic art form (FIG. 10-19) that continued to play an important role in the later period. An example of the highest quality is a brass basin (FIG. 10-35) from Egypt inlaid with gold and silver and signed—six times—by the Mamluk artist Muhammad ibn al-Zayn. The basin, used for washing hands at official ceremonies, must have been fashioned for a specific

1 in.

10-35 **Muhammad ibn al-Zayn, basin (*Baptistère de Saint Louis*), from Egypt, ca. 1300. Brass inlaid with gold and silver, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.**

Muhammad ibn al-Zayn proudly signed (six times) this basin used for washing hands at official ceremonies. The central band, inlaid with gold and silver, depicts Mamluk hunters and Mongol enemies.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Christian Patronage of Islamic Art

During the 11th through 13th centuries, large numbers of Christians traveled to Islamic lands, especially to the Christian holy sites in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, either as pilgrims or as Crusaders (see "Pilgrimages," page 350, and "The Crusades," page 360). Many returned with mementos of their journey, usually in the form of inexpensive mass-produced souvenirs. But some wealthy individuals commissioned local Muslim artists to produce custom-made pieces using costly materials.

A unique brass canteen (FIG. 10-36) inlaid with silver and decorated with scenes of the life of Jesus appears to be the work of a 13th-century Ayyubid metalsmith in the employ of a Christian patron. The canteen is a luxurious version of the "pilgrim flasks" that Christian visitors to the Holy Land often carried back to Europe. Four inscriptions in Arabic promise eternal glory, secure life, perfect prosperity, and increasing good luck to the canteen's unnamed owner, who, despite the Arabic words, must have been a Christian, because only a Christian would have commissioned a canteen engraved with New Testament subjects. The Madonna and infant Jesus appear enthroned in the central medallion, and three panels depicting events from the Gospels (see "The Life of Jesus in Art," pages 244–245) fill most of the band around the medallion. The narrative unfolds in a counterclockwise sequence (Arabic is read from right to left), beginning with the Nativity (at 2 o'clock) and continuing with the presentation in the temple (10 o'clock) and Jesus's entry into Jerusalem (6 o'clock). The scenes may have been chosen because the patron had visited their locales (Bethlehem and Jerusalem). Most scholars believe that the Muslim artist used Syrian Christian manuscripts as the source for the canteen's Christian iconography. Many of the decorative details, however, are common in contemporaneous Islamic metalwork inscribed with the names of Muslim patrons. Whoever the owner was, the canteen testifies to the fruitful artistic interaction between Christians and Muslims in 13th-century Syria.

10-36 Canteen with episodes from the life of Jesus, from Syria, ca. 1240–1250. Brass, inlaid with silver, 1′ 2 1/2″ high. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

This unique canteen is the work of an Ayyubid metalsmith in the employ of a Christian pilgrim to the Holy Land. The three scenes from the life of Jesus appear in counterclockwise sequence.

Mamluk patron. Some scholars think that a court official named Salar ordered the piece as a gift for his sultan, but no inscription identifies him. The central band depicts Mamluk hunters and Mongol enemies. Running animals fill the friezes above and below. Stylized vegetal forms of inlaid silver fill the background of all the bands and roundels. Figures and animals also decorate the inside and underside of the basin, which has long been known as the *Baptistère de Saint Louis.* The association with the famous French king (see "Louis IX, the Saintly King," page 398) is a myth, however. Louis died before Muhammad ibn al-Zayn made the piece. Nonetheless, the *Baptistère,* taken to France long ago, was used in the baptismal rites of newborns of the French royal family as early as the 17th century.

Like the Zandana silk (FIG. 10-17A) in Toul Cathedral and a 13th-century inlaid brass canteen (FIG. 10-36) featuring scenes of the life of Jesus (see "Christian Patronage of Islamic Art," above), the *Baptistère de Saint Louis* testifies to the prestige of Islamic art well beyond the boundaries of the Islamic world.

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THE BIG PICTURE

The Islamic World

Umayyad Syria and Abbasid Iraq 661–1258

- The Umayyads (r. 661–750) were the first Islamic dynasty. They ruled from their capital at Damascus (Syria) until the Abbasids (r. 750–1258) overthrew them and established a new capital at Baghdad (Iraq).
- The first great Islamic building was the Dome of the Rock, a domed octagon commemorating the triumph of Islam in Jerusalem, which the Muslims captured from the Byzantines in 638.
- Umayyad and Abbasid mosques—for example, those in Damascus and Kairouan (Tunisia)—are of the hypostyle-hall type and incorporate arcaded courtyards and minarets. The mosaic decoration of early mosques was often the work of Byzantine artists, but excluded zoomorphic forms.
- The earliest preserved Korans date to the ninth century and feature Kufic calligraphy and decorative motifs, but no figural illustrations.

Great Mosque, Damascus, 706–715

Islamic Spain 756–1492

- Abd al-Rahman I established the Umayyad dynasty (r. 756–1031) in Spain when he escaped the Abbasid massacre of his clan in 750.
- The Umayyad capital was at Córdoba, where the caliphs constructed and expanded the Great Mosque between the 8th and 10th centuries. The mosque features horseshoe and multilobed arches and mosaic-covered domes resting on arcuated squinches.
- The last Spanish Muslim dynasty was the Nasrid (r. 1232–1492), whose capital was at Granada. The Alhambra is the best surviving example of Islamic palace architecture. It is famous for its courtyards, stuccoed walls, and arches and its muqarnas decoration on vaults and domes.

Court of the Lions, Alhambra, 1354–1391

Islamic Egypt 909–1517

- The Fatimids (r. 909–1171) established their caliphate at Cairo (Egypt) in 909. Their successors were the Ayyubids (r. 1171–1250) and the Mamluks (r. 1250–1517).
- The most ambitious Mamluk builder was Sultan Hasan, whose madrasa-mosque-mausoleum complex in Cairo derives from Iranian four-iwan mosque designs.
- Egyptian artists excelled in glassmaking, metalwork, and other luxury arts and produced magnificent mosque lamps and engraved basins.

Mosque lamp of Sayf al-Din Tuquztimur, 1340

Timurid and Safavid Iran and Central Asia 1370–1732

- The Timurid (r. 1370–1501) and Safavid (r. 1501–1732) dynasties, which ruled Iran and Central Asia for almost four centuries, were great patrons of art and architecture.
- The Timurid court at Herat (Afghanistan) employed the most skilled painters of the day, who specialized in illustrating books. The most famous manuscript painter was Bihzad.
- Persian painting also flourished in Safavid Iran under Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576), who in addition set up royal carpet factories in several cities.
- The art of tilework reached its peak under the patronage of the Safavid dynasty. Builders of the time frequently used cuerda seca and mosaic tiles to cover the walls, minarets, vaults, and domes of mosques, madrasas, palaces, and tombs.

Mihrab, Madrasa Imami, Isfahan, ca. 1354

Ottoman Turkey 1281–1924

- Osman I (r. 1281–1326) founded the Ottoman dynasty in Turkey. By the middle of the 15th century, the Ottomans had become a fearsome power and captured Byzantine Constantinople in 1453.
- The greatest Ottoman architect was Sinan (ca. 1491–1588), who perfected the design of the domed central-plan mosque. His Mosque of Selim II at Edirne is also an engineering triumph. Its dome is taller than Hagia Sophia's.

Sinan, Mosque of Selim II, Edirne, 1568–1575

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▲**11-1a** In this opening page to the Gospel of Saint Matthew, the painter transformed the biblical text into abstract pattern, literally making God's words beautiful. The intricate design recalls early medieval metalwork.

◀**11-1b** The *chi-rho-iota* page is not purely embellished script and abstract pattern. Three half-figures of winged angels appear to the left of *chi*, accompanying the Christogram as if accompanying Christ himself.

▲**11-1c** The other figural elements on this page of the *Book of Kells* include a youthful long-haired male head growing out of the end of the curve in the Greek letter *rho*, intertwined with the letter *iota*.

1 in.

11-1 ***Chi-rho-iota*** **(XPI) page, folio 34 recto of the** ***Book of Kells*****, probably from Iona, Scotland, late eighth or early ninth century. Tempera on vellum, 1′ 1″ × 9½″. Trinity College Library, Dublin.**

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EARLY MEDIEVAL EUROPE 11

FRAMING THE ERA

Missionaries and the Beauty of God's Words

The half millennium between 500 and 1000 was the great formative period of western medieval art, a time of significant innovation that produced some of the most extraordinary artworks in world history. The patrons of many of these works were Christian missionaries, who brought to the non-Christian peoples of the former northwestern provinces of the Roman Empire not only the Gospel but the culture of the Late Antique Mediterranean world, including the art of the book.

In Ireland, the most distant European outpost of the then-known world, the Christianization of the Celts began in the fifth century. By the end of the seventh century, monks at several Irish monasteries were producing magnificent illuminated books for use by the clergy but also to dazzle their converts, who could not read, with the beauty of God's words. The greatest of these early Irish books is the *Book of Kells,* which one commentator described in the *Annals of Ulster* for the year 1003 as "the chief relic of the western world." The manuscript (named after the monastery in central Ireland that once owned it) was probably the work of scribes and illuminators at the monastery at Iona. The monks kept the *Book of Kells* in an elaborate metalwork box, as befits a greatly revered "relic," and they most likely displayed it on the church altar.

The page reproduced here (FIG. 11-1) opens the account of the nativity of Jesus in the Gospel of Saint Matthew and is the passage read in church on Christmas Eve. The initial letters of Christ in Greek (XPI, *chi-rho-iota*) occupy nearly the entire page, although two words—*autem* (abbreviated simply as *h*) and *generatio*—appear at the lower right. Together they read: "Now this is how the birth of Christ came about." The illuminator transformed the holy words into extraordinarily intricate abstract designs that recall Celtic and Anglo-Saxon metalwork (compare FIG. 11-3A), but the page is not purely embellished script and abstract pattern. The letter *rho,* for example, ends in a youthful long-haired male head, and half-figures of winged angels appear to the left of *chi,* accompanying the Christogram as if accompanying Christ himself. When the priest Giraldus Cambrensis visited Ireland in 1185, he described a manuscript that, if not the *Book of Kells* itself, must have been very much like it:

> Fine craftsmanship is all about you, but you might not notice it. Look more keenly at it and you . . . will make out intricacies, so delicate and subtle, so exact and compact, so full of knots and links, with colors so fresh and vivid, that you might say that all this was the work of an angel, and not of a man. For my part, the oftener I see the book, the more carefully I study it, the more I am lost in ever fresh amazement, and I see more and more wonders in the book.[1]

In the early Middle Ages, the monasteries of northern Europe were both the repositories of knowledge in the midst of an almost wholly illiterate population and the greatest centers of art production.

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EUROPE AFTER THE FALL OF ROME

Early medieval art* in western Europe (MAP 11-1) was the result of a unique fusion of the classical heritage of Rome's northwestern provinces, the cultures of the non-Roman peoples north of the Alps, and Christianity. Although the Romans called everyone who lived beyond their empire's frontiers "barbarians," many northerners had risen to prominent positions within the Roman army and government during Late Antiquity. Others established their own areas of rule, sometimes with Rome's approval, sometimes in opposition to imperial authority. Over the centuries, the various population groups merged, and a new order gradually replaced what had been the Roman Empire, resulting eventually in today's European nations.

As Rome's power waned, armed conflicts and competition for political authority became commonplace among the Huns, Vandals, Merovingians, Franks, Goths, and other non-Roman peoples of Europe. Once one group established itself in Italy or in one of Rome's European provinces, another often pressed in behind and compelled the first one to move on. The Visigoths, for example, who at one time controlled part of Italy and formed a kingdom in what is today southern France, were forced southward into Spain under pressure from the Franks, who had crossed the lower Rhine River and established themselves firmly in France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and parts of Germany. The Ostrogoths moved from Pannonia (at the junction of modern Hungary, Austria, and the former Yugoslavia) to Italy. Their king, Theodoric, chose Ravenna as his capital in 493, only to have the city fall less than a century later to the Lombards, the last of the early Germanic powers to occupy land within the limits of the old Roman Empire. Anglo-Saxons controlled what had been Roman Britain. Celts inhabited France and parts of the British Isles, including Ireland. In Scandinavia, the seafaring Vikings held sway.

MEROVINGIANS AND ANGLO-SAXONS

Art historians do not know the full range of art and architecture that these non-Roman cultures produced. What has survived is probably not fully representative and consists almost exclusively of small portable "status symbols"—weapons and items of personal adornment such as bracelets, pendants, and belt buckles discovered in lavish burials. Earlier scholars, who viewed medieval art through a Renaissance lens, ignored these "minor arts" because of their small scale, seemingly utilitarian nature, and abstract ornamentation, and because their makers rejected the classical idea that naturalistic representation should be the focus of artistic endeavor. In the early Middle Ages, people regarded these objects, which often display a high degree of technical and stylistic sophistication, as treasures. The objects enhanced their owners' prestige and testified to the stature of those buried with them. In the great early (possibly seventh-century) Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf,* after Beowulf dies, his comrades cremate the hero and place his ashes in a huge *tumulus* (burial mound) overlooking the sea. As an everlasting tribute to Beowulf's greatness, they "buried rings and brooches in the barrow, all those adornments that brave men had brought out from the hoard after Beowulf died. They bequeathed the gleaming gold, treasure of men, to the earth."[2]

11-2 Pair of Merovingian looped fibulae, from Jouy-le-Comte, France, mid-sixth century. Silver gilt worked in filigree, with inlays of garnets and other stones, 4″ high. Musée d'archéologie nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

Early medieval jeweled fibulae were status symbols for elite patrons. This pair, probably owned by a Merovingian woman, features eagle heads and fish integrated into a highly decorative design.

*The adjective *medieval* and the noun *Middle Ages* are very old terms stemming from an outmoded view of the roughly 1,000 years between the adoption of Christianity as the Roman Empire's official religion and the rebirth (Renaissance) of interest in classical antiquity. Earlier historians, following the lead of the humanist scholars of Renaissance Italy, viewed this period as a long and artistically crude interval between (in the middle of) two great civilizations. The force of tradition dictates the retention of both terms to describe this period and its art, although scholars long ago ceased to see medieval art as unsophisticated or inferior.

EARLY MEDIEVAL EUROPE

410–768	768–919	919–1024
Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon	**Hiberno-Saxon and Carolingian**	**Ottonian**
■ After the fall of Rome, Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon artists produce costly portable items of personal adornment featuring cloisonné ornamentation and intertwined animal-and-interlace patterns ■ Anglo-Saxon kings are laid to rest in treasure-laden ship burials, a tradition reflected in the *Beowulf* saga	■ Christian missionaries commission sumptuous illuminated manuscripts featuring full pages devoted to embellishing the word of God ■ Charlemagne and his Carolingian successors (768–877) initiate a conscious revival of the art and culture of Early Christian Rome ■ Carolingian architects introduce the twin-tower westwork and modular plans for basilican churches	■ Ottonian painters and sculptors produce illuminated manuscripts and ivory reliefs inspired by Late Antique and Byzantine sources ■ Bishop Bernward adorns Saint Michael's at Hildesheim with bronze doors and a freestanding bronze column covered with figural reliefs ■ Ottonian architects introduce the alternate-support system and galleries into the naves of churches

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Cloisonné

The most extraordinary item found in the Sutton Hoo tumulus is the purse cover shown in FIG. 11-3, a masterpiece of *cloisonné* ornamentation. The *Beowulf* saga refers to the warlords who honored the living and dead by giving them jewelry and other costly portable items as "treasure givers," and the cloisonné technique was a favored manufacturing process for their treasures.

The technique, however, is much older than the era of the Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon kings, and dates at least as early as the New Kingdom in Egypt.

Metalworkers produced cloisonné jewelry by soldering small metal strips, or *cloisons* (French for "partitions"), edge up, to a metal background, and then filling the compartments with semiprecious stones, pieces of colored glass, or glass paste fired to resemble sparkling jewels. The edges of the cloisons are an important part of the design.

Cloisonné is a cross between mosaic and stained glass (see "Mosaics," page 256, and "Stained-Glass Windows," page 392), but medieval artists used it only on a miniature scale. The decoration of the Sutton Hoo purse cover consists of seven cloisonné plaques within a cloisonné border—five plaques with human and animal figures and two with purely abstract ornament.

11-3 Purse cover, from the Sutton Hoo ship burial in Suffolk, England, ca. 625. Gold, glass, and cloisonné garnets, 7 ½″ wide. British Museum, London (gift of Mrs. E. M. Pretty).

This purse cover with cloisonné ornamentation comes from a treasure-laden royal burial ship. The combination of abstract interlace with animal figures is the hallmark of early medieval art in western Europe.

Merovingian Fibulae. Most characteristic, perhaps, of the prestige adornments of the early medieval period was the *fibula,* a decorative pin favored by the Romans (and the Etruscans before them; FIG. 6-2). Men and women alike used fibulae to fasten their garments. Made of bronze, silver, or gold, these pins often featured profuse decoration, sometimes incorporating inlaid precious or semiprecious stones. The pair of fibulae illustrated here (FIG. 11-2) formed part of a find of jewelry of the mid-sixth century, when Merovingian kings (r. 482–751), named for the founder of their line, Merovech, ruled large parts of what is now France. The pins, probably once the proud possession of a wealthy Merovingian woman, accompanied their owner into the afterlife. They resemble, in general form, the roughly contemporaneous but plain fibulae used to fasten the outer garments of some of the attendants flanking the Byzantine emperor Justinian in the apse mosaic (FIG. 9-13) of San Vitale in Ravenna. (Note how much more elaborate is the emperor's clasp. In Rome, Byzantium, and early medieval Europe alike, these fibulae were emblems of office and of prestige.)

Covering almost the entire surface of each of the Merovingian fibulae are decorative patterns adjusted carefully to the basic shape of the object. They thus describe and amplify the fibula's form and structure, becoming an organic part of the pin itself. Often the early medieval metalworkers so successfully integrated zoomorphic elements into this type of highly disciplined, abstract decorative design that the animal forms became almost unrecognizable. For example, the fibulae in FIG. 11-2 incorporate a fish just above the center of each pin. The looped forms at the top and around the edges are stylized eagles' heads with red garnets forming the eyes.

Sutton Hoo Ship Burial. In 1939, archaeologists uncovered a treasure-laden ship in a burial mound at Sutton Hoo, near the sea, in Suffolk, England. The Sutton Hoo ship never set out to sea. Rather, it is among the best examples of the early medieval tradition of burying great lords in ships with rich furnishings (see "Early Medieval Ship Burials," page 322). Among the many precious finds were a purse cover (FIG. 11-3) with gold, glass, and garnet *cloisonné* ornamentation (see "Cloisonné," above); a gold belt buckle (FIG. 11-3A); 10 silver bowls; a silver plate with the imperial stamp of the Byzantine emperor Anastasius I (r. 491–518); and 40 gold coins (perhaps to pay the 40

11-3A Belt buckle, Sutton Hoo, ca. 625.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Early Medieval Ship Burials

The Vikings, famous for their prowess as shipbuilders and sailors, were not the only early medieval northern European civilization to bury their elite in sailing vessels, whether beneath grand earthen mounds or set adrift in the ocean. For example, the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf* saga recounts the funeral of the warrior lord Scyld, whom his comrades laid to rest in a ship overflowing with arms and armor and costly adornments.

> They laid their dear lord, the giver of rings, deep within the ship by the mast in majesty; many treasures and adornments from far and wide were gathered there. I have never heard of a ship equipped more handsomely with weapons and war-gear, swords and corselets; on his breast lay countless treasures that were to travel far with him into the waves' domain.*

Two archaeological discoveries during the first half of the 20th century at Sutton Hoo (FIGS. 11-3 and 11-3A) in England and Oseberg (FIG. **11-4**) in Norway confirmed that ship burials were not fictional literary inventions. Norwegian excavators discovered the Oseberg ship in 1904 in a burial mound near Tonsberg on the west coast of the Oslo fjord. Grave robbers had long before plundered the treasure of jewelry and metalwork presumably buried with the deceased, but most of the other furnishings of the ship were intact. These included five animal-head posts (FIG. **11-4A**) of uncertain function found in the ship's burial chamber, dated ca. 834 based on analysis of the tree rings in the wood. The burial chamber also contained the remains of two women of different ages, clothing, furniture, and a four-wheeled cart. Scholars are uncertain whether the older woman, thought to be 60–70 years of age, or her younger companion, a woman about 50 years old, was the more important, the other possibly being her attendant, who may have been sacrificed to accompany her mistress into the afterlife. Also found aboard the Oseberg ship were the skeletons of 14 horses, three dogs, and an ox.

11-4A Animal-head post, Oseberg, ca. 834.

The ship itself is most likely about 15 years older than the burial and was a seaworthy vessel, but because of its relatively light construction, it probably was used only for coastal voyages. Fifteen pairs of holes for oars indicate that 30 rowers formed the crew of the Oseberg ship. The mast was about 28 feet tall. The vessel may have been a pleasure yacht belonging to a woman of high status. It has an elegant, elongated shape designed to cut through the water. Its sweeping lines end in a stylized sea serpent's head at the top of the prow. All along the border of the ship are carved reliefs of interlaced animals, the most characteristic motif in the Viking decorative repertoire.

Beowulf 36–42. Translated by Kevin Crossley-Holland (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1968), 2–3.

11-4 Viking ship burial, Oseberg, Norway, ca. 820. Wood, 70′ 10 3/8″ long.

This Viking burial ship features carved wood ornament with interlaced animals. In it were the remains of two women, 14 horses, three dogs, and an ox. There was probably also a treasure of jewelry and metalwork.

oarsmen who would row the deceased across the sea on his final voyage). Also placed in the ship were two silver spoons inscribed "Saulos" and "Paulos," Saint Paul's names in Greek before and after his baptism. They may allude to a conversion to Christianity. Some historians have associated the ship with the East Anglian king Raedwald (r. 599?–625), who was baptized a Christian before his death in 625, but the identity of the king buried at Sutton Hoo is uncertain.

On the Sutton Hoo purse cover, four symmetrically arranged groups of figures make up the lower row. The end groups consist of a man standing between two beasts. He faces front, and they appear in profile. This heraldic type of grouping has a venerable heritage in the ancient world (FIG. 2-7), but must also have delivered a powerful contemporary message. It is a pictorial parallel to the epic sagas of the era in which heroes such as Beowulf battle and conquer horrific monsters. The two center groups represent eagles attacking

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ducks. The metalworker ingeniously composed the animal figures. For example, the convex beaks of the eagles (compare the Merovingian fibulae, FIG. 11-2) fit against the concave beaks of the ducks. The two figures fit together so snugly that they seem at first to be a single dense abstract design. This is true also of the man-and-animals motif.

Above these figures are three geometric designs. The outer ones are purely linear, although they also rely on color contrasts for their effect. The central design is an interlace pattern in which the interlacements evolve into writhing animal figures. Elaborate intertwining linear patterns are characteristic of many times and places, notably in the art of the Islamic world (see FIGS. 10-6B, 10-12, 10-13, and 10-23). But the combination of interlace with animal figures was uncommon outside the realm of the early medieval warlords. In fact, metalcraft with interlace patterns and other motifs beautifully integrated with animal forms was the premier art of the early Middle Ages in northwestern Europe. Interest in animal-based interlace patterns was so great that artists imitated the colorful effects of these jewelry designs in the painted decorations of manuscripts (FIGS. 11-1, 11-6, and 11-7), in the ornamentation of churches (FIG. 11-5), and in sculpture in stone and in wood (FIGS. 11-4 and 11-4A), the last an especially important medium of Viking art.

VIKINGS

In 793, the pre-Christian traders and pirates of Scandinavia known as Vikings (named after the *viks*—coves or harbors—of the Norwegian shoreline) landed in the British Isles. They destroyed the Christian monastic community on Lindisfarne Island off the Northumbrian (northeastern) coast of England. Shortly after, these Norsemen (North men) attacked the monasteries at Jarrow in England and on Iona Island, off the west coast of Scotland. (Monasteries were very attractive targets because they owned treasures but were undefended.) From then until the mid-11th century, the Vikings were the terror of western Europe. From their great ships, they seasonally harried and plundered harbors and river settlements. Their fast, seaworthy longboats took them on wide-ranging voyages, from Ireland eastward to Russia and westward to Iceland and Greenland and even, briefly, to Newfoundland in North America, long before Columbus arrived in the New World.

The Vikings were intent not merely on a hit-and-run strategy of destruction but also on colonizing the lands they conquered. Their exceptional talent for organization and administration, as well as for war, enabled them to acquire and govern large territories in Ireland, England, and France, as well as in the Baltic regions and Russia. For a while, in the early 11th century, the whole of England was part of a Danish empire. When Vikings settled in northern France in the early 10th century, their territory came to be called Normandy—home of the Norsemen who became Normans. (Later, a Norman duke, William the Conqueror, sailed across the English Channel and invaded and became the master of Anglo-Saxon England; FIG. 12-41.)

Oseberg Ship Burial. Much of the preserved art of the Viking sea-rovers consists of decoration of their great ships. Striking examples of Viking woodcarving come from a ship burial near the sea at Oseberg, Norway (see "Early Medieval Ship Burials," page 322). The ship (FIG. 11-4), discovered beneath an earthen mound as was the earlier Sutton Hoo vessel, is more than 70 feet long. The Oseberg burial contained the remains of two women. The size of the sleek ship alone and the wood vessel's lavishly carved ornamentation (FIG. 11-4A) attest to the importance of those laid to rest beneath the mound. The Oseberg ship also once must have carried many precious objects, which, unfortunately, robbers stole long before its modern discovery.

Stave Church, Urnes. By the 11th century, much of Scandinavia had become Christian, but Viking artistic traditions persisted. Nowhere is this more evident than in the decoration of the wood portal (FIG. 11-5) of the stave church (*staves* are wedge-shaped timbers placed vertically) at Urnes, Norway. The portal and a few staves are almost all that remain from the mid-11th-century church. Builders later incorporated these fragments into the walls of the 12th-century church. Gracefully elongated animal forms intertwine with flexible plant stalks and tendrils in spiraling rhythm. The effect of natural growth is astonishing, yet the designer subjected the organic forms to a highly refined abstract sensibility. The motifs include one large four-legged beast standing to the left of the portal, perhaps serving as a guardian. It bites, and is bitten by, one of the serpentine animals, and exemplifies the intertwining compositions favored by the non-Roman peoples north of the Alps before their conversion to Christianity.

11-5 Wood portal of the stave church at Urnes, Norway, ca. 1050–1070.

By the 11th century, Scandinavia had become mostly Christian, but Viking artistic traditions persisted, as in the intertwining animal-and-plant decoration of this Norwegian church portal.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Medieval Books

Because of the central role that books played in the medieval Church, scribes in the monasteries of western Europe developed a large number of specialized types for priests, monks and nuns, and laypersons.

The primary sacred text came to be called the Bible ("the Book," in Greek), consisting of the Hebrew scriptures (the "Old Testament") and the Christian "New Testament," written in Greek. In the late fourth century, Saint Jerome (d. 420) produced the canonical Latin, or *Vulgate* ("vulgar," or common tongue), version of the Bible, which incorporates 46 Old and 27 New Testament books. Before the invention of the printing press in the 15th century, all books were handwritten. Bibles were major undertakings, labor-intensive and very expensive to produce. Consequently, few early medieval monasteries possessed a complete Bible. Instead, medieval codices consist of a section of the Bible, such as a single book (for example, the *Vienna Genesis,* FIGS. 9-17 and 9-17A) or a set of several books.

The *Pentateuch* contains the five books of the Hebrew Torah, beginning with the story of Adam and Eve (Genesis). The *Gospels* ("good news") are the New Testament works of Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John (see "The Four Evangelists," page 331) and tell the story of Christ's life, death, and resurrection (see "The Life of Jesus in Art," pages 244–245). Medieval Gospel books often contain *canon tables*—a concordance, or matching, of the corresponding passages of the four Gospels, which Eusebius of Caesarea (d. ca. 339) compiled in the fourth century. *Psalters* (FIGS. 11-14A and 11-15) collect the 150 psalms of King David, written in Hebrew and translated into both Greek and Latin.

The Church also frequently employed other types of books. *Lectionaries* (FIGS. 11-12A and 11-32) contain passages from the Gospels reordered to appear in the sequence that priests read them during the celebration of Mass throughout the year. *Breviaries* include the texts required for monks' daily recitations. *Sacramentaries* incorporate the prayers that priests recite during Mass. *Benedictionals* contain bishops' blessings. In the later Middle Ages, scribes also created specialized books for the private devotions of the laity, patterned after monks' readers. The most popular was the *Book of Hours,* so called because it contains the prayers to be read at specified times of the day.

Medieval scribes produced many other types of books—compilations of saints' lives (*passionals*), theological treatises, secular texts on history and science, and even some classics of Greco-Roman literature—but these contained illustrations less frequently than did the various sacred texts.

11-6 Man (symbol of Saint Matthew), folio 21 verso of the *Book of Durrow,* possibly from Iona, Scotland, ca. 660–680. Ink and tempera on parchment, $9\frac{5}{8}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. Trinity College Library, Dublin.

This early Hiberno-Saxon Gospel book has four pages devoted to the symbols of the four evangelists. The cloak of Saint Matthew's man resembles a cloisonné brooch filled with abstract ornamentation.

HIBERNO-SAXON MONASTERIES

At the same time that powerful Merovingian, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian warlords were amassing artworks dominated by abstract and animal motifs, Christian missionaries were establishing monasteries in northern Europe and sponsoring artworks of Christian content (see "Missionaries and the Beauty of God's Words," page 319). The early medieval art of these monasteries, however, differs dramatically from contemporaneous works produced in Italy and the Byzantine Empire. These Christian artworks are among the most distinctive ever created and testify to the fruitful fusion of native and imported artistic traditions.

In Ireland, in part because of their isolation, the Celts who converted to Christianity, although nominally subject to the Church of Rome, quickly developed a different form of monastic organization. The monks often selected inaccessible and inhospitable places where they could carry on their duties far from worldly temptations and distractions. Before long, Irish monks, filled with missionary zeal, set up monastic establishments in Britain and Scotland. In 563, the most famous of these monks, Saint Columba (521–597), founded an important monastery on the Scottish island of Iona, where he successfully converted the native Picts to Christianity.

The Iona monastery became one of several major artistic centers of the early Middle Ages. Art historians called the art of these monasteries *Hiberno-Saxon* (Hibernia was the Roman name for Ireland) or *Insular* to denote the early medieval art of the Irish-English islands. The most distinctive products of the Hiberno-Saxon monasteries were illuminated Christian books, such as the *Book of Kells* (FIG. 11-1). Books were the primary vehicles in the effort to Christianize Britain, Scotland, and Ireland. They brought

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the word of God to a predominantly illiterate population, who regarded the monks' sumptuous volumes with awe. Books were scarce and jealously guarded treasures of the libraries and *scriptoria* (writing studios) of monasteries and major churches. Illuminated books are the most important extant monuments of the brilliant artistic culture that flourished in Ireland and Northumbria during the seventh and eighth centuries.

Book of Durrow. Among the earliest Hiberno-Saxon illuminated manuscripts is the *Book of Durrow,* a Gospel book (see "Medieval Books," page 324) that may have been written and decorated in the monastic scriptorium at Iona, although it has no documented provenance. In the late Middle Ages, it was in the monastery in Durrow, Ireland—hence its modern name. The Durrow Gospels already display one of the most characteristic features of Insular book illumination—full pages devoted neither to text nor to illustration but to pure embellishment. The Hiberno-Saxon painters must have felt that beautiful decoration lent prestige to books just as ornamental jewelry lent status to those who wore it. Interspersed between the Durrow text pages are so-called *carpet pages,* resembling textiles, made up of decorative panels of abstract and animal forms (compare FIG. 11-7). The *Book of Durrow* also contains pages on which the illuminator enormously enlarged the initial letters of an important passage of sacred text and transformed those letters into elaborate decorative patterns (compare FIG. 11-1). Such manuscript pages have no precedents in Greco-Roman books. They reveal the striking independence of Insular artists from the classical tradition.

In the *Book of Durrow,* each of the four Gospel books has a carpet page facing a page dedicated to the symbol of the evangelist who wrote that Gospel. An elaborate interlace design similar to those found on contemporaneous belt buckles and brooches frames each symbol. These pages serve to highlight the major divisions of the text. The symbol of Saint Matthew (FIG. 11-6) is a man (more commonly represented later as winged; see "The Four Evangelists," page 331), but the only human parts that the artist—a seventh-century monk—chose to render are a schematic frontal head and two profile feet. A cloak of yellow, red, and green squares—resembling cloisons filled with intricate abstract designs and outlined in dark brown or black—envelops the rest of the "body." The *Book of Durrow* weds the abstraction of northern European early medieval personal adornment with the Christian pictorial imagery of Italy and Byzantium. The vehicle for the transmission of those Mediterranean forms was the illustrated book itself, which Christian missionaries brought to Ireland.

Lindisfarne Gospels. The marriage between Christian imagery and the animal-and-interlace style of the northern warlords is evident in the cross-inscribed carpet page (FIG. 11-7) of the *Lindisfarne Gospels.* Produced in the Northumbrian monastery on Lindisfarne Island, the book contains several ornamental pages and exemplifies Hiberno-Saxon art at its best. According to a later *colophon* (an inscription, usually on the last page, providing information regarding a book's manufacture), Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne between 698 and his death in 721, wrote the *Lindisfarne Gospels* "for God and Saint Cuthbert." Cuthbert's *relics* recently had been deposited in the Lindisfarne church (see "The Veneration of Relics," page 349).

The Lindisfarne carpet page features much more intricate patterning and detail than comparable ornamental pages in the *Book of Durrow.* Serpentine interlacements of fantastic animals devour each other, curling over and returning on their writhing, elastic shapes. The rhythm of expanding and contracting forms produces a vivid effect of motion and change, but the painter held it in check by the regularity of the design and by the dominating motif of the inscribed cross. The cross—the

11-7 Cross-inscribed carpet page, folio 26 verso of the *Lindisfarne Gospels,* from Northumbria, England, ca. 698–721. Tempera on vellum, 1′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″ × $9\frac{1}{4}$″. British Library, London.

The cross-inscribed carpet page of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* exemplifies the way that Hiberno-Saxon illuminators married Christian imagery and the animal-and-interlace style of the early medieval warlords.

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A SECOND OPINION

The Lindisfarne Saint Matthew

As is characteristic of illuminated medieval Gospel books (see "Medieval Books," page 324), portraits of the authors of the four accounts of Christ's life (see "The Four Evangelists," page 331) open each section of the *Lindisfarne Gospels.* The portrait of the evangelist Matthew (FIG. **11-8**) in that manuscript differs sharply from the representation of Matthew's symbol in the earlier *Book of Durrow* (FIG. 11-6). Art historians agree that the model for the Lindisfarne illuminator was either an illustrated Gospel book that a Christian missionary brought with him from Italy or a northern manuscript modeled in turn on a representation in a Mediterranean book. Author portraits were familiar features of Greek and Latin books, and similar representations of seated philosophers or poets writing or reading (FIGS. 7-25, 7-70, and 8-7) abound in ancient art. The Lindisfarne Matthew sits in his study writing in a codex that he rests on his lap. A curtain sets the scene indoors, as in classical art (FIG. 5-58), and Matthew's seat is at an angle, which also suggests a Mediterranean model employing classical perspective.

However, the Northumbrian painter's goal was not to copy the assumed model faithfully. Instead, uninterested in volume, shading, and perspective—hallmarks of the pictorial illusionism of Greco-Roman painting—the Lindisfarne illuminator conceived the subject exclusively in terms of line and color. In the Hiberno-Saxon manuscript, the drapery folds are a series of sharp, regularly spaced, curving lines filled in with flat colors. The painter converted fully modeled forms bathed in light into the linear idiom of Insular art. The result is a vivid new vision of Saint Matthew.

Although it seems clear that a Late Antique or early medieval author portrait was the model for the Lindisfarne page depicting Saint Matthew composing his Gospel account, other aspects of the illumination present difficulties in interpretation. For example, the Hiberno-Saxon painter (or the scribe) added the identifying label for the evangelist by using a curious combination of Greek (*O Agios,* "saint [*hagios*]"—written, however, in Latin rather than Greek letters) and Latin (*Mattheus*). Why? Was the artist or scribe copying words from two different sources, or was the combination of Greek and Latin intentional, perhaps to lend the page the prestige of two classical languages? The former was the language of the New Testament, the latter of the Church of Rome. Latin dominates here, for the label accompanying Matthew's symbol, the winged man, is *imago hominis,* "image of the man."

More problematic is the identity of the third figure or, more precisely, the disembodied head and shoulders looking at Matthew from behind the curtain. Among the possibilities that various scholars have suggested are Christ and Saint Cuthbert. But a more convincing identification is the Old Testament prophet Moses. According to this suggestion, Moses is holding the closed book of the Old Testament in contrast with the open book of Matthew's New Testament. This is a common juxtaposition in medieval Christian art and thought.

11-8 Saint Matthew, folio 25 verso of the *Lindisfarne Gospels,* from Northumbria, England, ca. 698–721. Tempera on vellum, 1′ $\frac{1}{2}$″ × 9 $\frac{1}{4}$″. British Library, London.

Portraits of the four authors frequently appeared in Gospel books. This Hiberno-Saxon depiction of the evangelist Matthew with his symbol derives directly or indirectly from an image in a Mediterranean book.

all-important symbol of the imported religion—stabilizes the rhythms of the serpentines and, perhaps by contrast with its heavy immobility, seems to heighten the effect of motion. The illuminator placed the motifs in detailed symmetries, with inversions, reversals, and repetitions that the viewer must study closely in order to appreciate not only their variety but also their mazelike complexity. The animal forms intermingle with clusters and knots of line, and the whole design vibrates with energy. The color is rich yet cool. The painter adroitly adjusted shape and color to achieve a smooth and perfectly even surface.

As do most Hiberno-Saxon artworks, the Lindisfarne cross page displays the artist's preference for small, infinitely complex, and painstaking designs. Even the Matthew symbol (FIG. 11-6) in the *Book of Durrow* reveals that the illuminator's concern was abstract design, not the depiction of the natural world. But exceptions exist. In some Insular manuscripts, the artists appear to have based their compositions on classical pictures in imported Mediterranean books (see "The Lindisfarne Saint Matthew," above).

High Crosses. The *Lindisfarne Gospels* is surpassed in richness only by the *Book of Kells,* which boasts an unprecedented number of full-page illuminations, including carpet pages, evangelist symbols, portrayals of the Virgin Mary and of Christ, New Testament narrative scenes, canon tables, and several instances of enlarged and

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11-9 *High Cross of Muiredach* (east face), Monasterboice, Ireland, 923. Sandstone, 18′ high.

Early medieval Irish high crosses are exceptional in size. This cross probably marked Abbot Muiredach's grave and features themes well suited to a Christian burial: the Crucifixion and the Last Judgment.

11-9A *South Cross,* Ahenny, late eighth century.

embellished words from the Bible (for example, FIG. 11-1). Nonetheless, as magnificent to behold as the Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts are, they are still relatively small objects, as are the portable fibulae, purses, and other treasures coveted by early medieval patrons. In the Hiberno-Saxon world, the *high crosses* of Ireland and northern England, set up between the 8th and 10th centuries, are exceptional in their mass and scale. These majestic monuments, some more than 20 feet in height, loom large in the burial grounds adjoining Hiberno-Saxon monasteries. Freestanding and unattached to any architectural fabric, the high crosses have the imposing unity, weight, and presence of both building and statue—architecture and sculpture combined.

The *High Cross of Muiredach* (FIG. 11-9) at Monasterboice and the *South Cross* (FIG. 11-9A) at Ahenny are two of the largest and finest early medieval high crosses. The Monasterboice cross is larger and more unusual because of its extensive narrative relief decoration, which may have been inspired by the relief decoration of Early Christian stone sarcophagi that Irish missionaries encountered during their travels, although the subject matter is very different. An inscription on the bottom of the west face of the shaft asks a prayer for a man named Muiredach. Most scholars identify him as the influential Irish cleric of the same name who was abbot of Monasterboice and died in 923. The monastery he headed was one of Ireland's oldest, founded in the late fifth century. The cross probably marked the abbot's grave. Four arcs forming a circle connect the concave arms, which expand into squared terminals (compare FIG. 11-7). The circle intersecting the cross identifies the type as Celtic. At the center of the west side of Muiredach's cross is a depiction of the crucified Christ. On the east side (FIG. 11-9), the risen Christ stands as judge of the world, the hope of the dead. Below him is a depiction of the weighing of souls on scales (compare FIG. 3-1)—a theme that, two centuries later, sculptors of church portals (FIG. 12-1) pursued with extraordinary force.

VISIGOTHIC AND MOZARABIC ART

The Romans never ruled Ireland, but Spain was a province of the Roman Empire for hundreds of years. The Roman conquest brought new roads to the Iberian peninsula and new cities with Roman temples, fora, theaters, and aqueducts. The province also produced two of Rome's most important emperors—Trajan and Hadrian (FIG. 7-48). But in the early fifth century, the Roman cities fell to Germanic invaders, most notably the Visigoths, who had converted to Christianity. Many of the stone churches that the Visigoths built in the sixth and seventh centuries still stand.

Baños de Cerrato. An outstanding example is the small church of San Juan Bautista (Saint John the Baptist, FIG. 11-10) at Baños de Cerrato, which the Visigothic king Recceswinth (r. 649–672) constructed in 661 in thanksgiving for a cure after bathing in the waters there. The Visigothic churches are basilican in form, but often have multiple square apses. (The Baños de Cerrato church has three.) They also regularly incorporate horseshoe arches, a form usually associated with Islamic architecture (FIGS. 10-11 and 10-12) but that in Spain predates the Muslim conquest of 711.

11-10 San Juan Bautista (looking northeast), Baños de Cerrato, Spain, 661.

This small three-aisled basilican church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist is typical of Visigothic architecture in Spain. It features three square apses and an entrance portal crowned by a horseshoe arch.

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11-11 **Emeterius, the tower and scriptorium of San Salvador de Tábara, colophon (folio 168) of the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* by Beatus, from Tábara, Spain, 970. Tempera on parchment, 1′ $2\frac{1}{8}$″ × 10″. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.**

In this earliest known depiction of a medieval scriptorium, the painter carefully recorded the tower's Islamic-style glazed-tile walls and elegant windows with horseshoe arches, a Visigothic legacy.

Tábara. Although the Islamic caliphs of Córdoba swept the Visigoths away (see "Córdoba," page 301), they never succeeded in gaining control of the northernmost parts of the peninsula. There, the Christian culture called *Mozarabic* (referring to Christians living in Arab territories) continued to flourish, as did some Jewish communities. One northern Spanish monk, Beatus (ca. 730–798), abbot of San Martín at Liébana, wrote *Commentary on the Apocalypse* around 776. This influential work was widely copied and illustrated in the monastic scriptoria of medieval Europe. One copy, produced in 970, is the work of scribes and painters at the monastery of San Salvador at Tábara in the kingdom of Léon. The colophon (fig. 11-11) to the illustrated *Commentary* presents the earliest known depiction of a medieval scriptorium. Because the artist provided a composite of exterior and interior views of the building, it is especially informative.

At the left is a great bell tower with a monk on the ground floor ringing the bells. The painter carefully recorded the Islamic-style glazed-tile walls of the tower, its interior ladders, and its elegant windows with their horseshoe arches, the legacy of the Visigoths. To the right, in the scriptorium proper, three monks perform their respective specialized duties. The colophon identifies the two monks in the main room as the scribe Senior and the painter Emeterius. To the right, a third monk uses shears to cut sheets of parchment. The colophon also pays tribute to Magius, "the worthy master painter. . . . May he deserve to be crowned with Christ,"[3] who died before he could complete his work on the book. His pupil Emeterius took his place and brought the project to fruition. He probably was the painter of the colophon.

The colophon of another Beatus manuscript, dated 975 and today in Girona Cathedral, also names Emeterius as co-illuminator with the nun Ende, a "painter and servant of God." Ende's is one of the few recorded names of a woman artist in the early Middle Ages, a rarity also in the ancient world (see "Iaia of Cyzicus," page 223).

CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE

On Christmas Day of the year 800, Pope Leo III (r. 795–816) crowned Charles the Great (Charlemagne), king of the Franks since 768, as emperor of Rome (r. 800–814). In time, Charlemagne came to be seen as the first Holy (that is, Christian) Roman Emperor, a title that his successors did not formally adopt until the 12th century. The setting

MAP 11-1 **The Carolingian Empire at the death of Charlemagne in 814.**

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ART AND SOCIETY

Charlemagne's *Renovatio Imperii Romani*

Charlemagne's official seal bore the phrase *renovatio imperii Romani* ("renewal of the Roman Empire"). As the pope's designated Roman emperor, Charlemagne sought to revive the glory of Early Christian Rome. He accomplished this in part through artistic patronage—commissioning imperial portrait statues (FIG. 11-12) and large numbers of illustrated manuscripts (FIGS. 11-12A and 11-13)—and by fostering a general revival of learning.

To make his empire as splendid as Rome's, Charlemagne invited to his court at Aachen the best minds and the finest artisans of western Europe and Byzantium. Among them were Theodulf of Orléans (d. 821), Paulinus of Aquileia (d. 802), and Alcuin (d. 804), master of the cathedral school at York, the center of Northumbrian learning. Alcuin brought Anglo-Saxon scholarship to the Carolingian court.

Charlemagne himself, according to Einhard (d. 840), his biographer, "most zealously cultivated the liberal arts, held those who taught them in great esteem, and conferred great honors upon them."* He could read and speak Latin fluently, in addition to Frankish, his native tongue, and understood Greek, although he did not speak it well. Einhard also reports that Charlemagne studied rhetoric and mathematics with the learned men whom he gathered around him. But he never learned to write properly. That was a task best left to professional scribes. In fact, one of Charlemagne's dearest projects was the recovery of the true text of the Bible, which, through centuries of errors in copying, had become quite corrupted. Various scholars undertook the great project, but Alcuin of York's revision of the Bible, prepared at the new monastery at Tours, became the most widely used.

Charlemagne's scribes also were responsible for the development of a new, more compact, and more easily written and legible version of Latin script called *Caroline minuscule.* The letters on this page are descendants of the alphabet that Carolingian scribes perfected. Later generations also owe to Charlemagne's patronage the restoration and copying of important classical texts. The earliest known manuscripts of many Greek and Roman authors are Carolingian in date.

*Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne,* 25. Translated by Samuel Epes Turner (New York: Harper, 1880), 61.

11-12 Equestrian portrait of Charlemagne or Charles the Bald, from Metz, France, ninth century. Bronze, originally gilt, 9½″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The Carolingian emperors sought to revive the glory and imagery of the Roman Empire. This equestrian portrait depicts a crowned emperor holding a globe, the symbol of world dominion.

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for Charlemagne's coronation, fittingly, was Saint Peter's basilica (FIG. 8-9) in Rome, built by Constantine, the first Roman emperor to embrace Christianity. Born in 742, when northern Europe was still in chaos, Charlemagne consolidated the Frankish kingdom that his father and grandfather bequeathed him, defeated the Lombards in Italy (MAP 11-1), and laid claim to reviving the glory of the Roman Empire. He gave his name (Carolus Magnus in Latin) to an entire era, the *Carolingian* period.

The "Carolingian Renaissance" was a remarkable historical phenomenon, an energetic, brilliant *renovatio* of the art, culture, and political ideals of Early Christian Rome (see "Charlemagne's *Renovatio Imperii Romani,*" above). Charlemagne's (Holy) Roman Empire, waxing and waning for a thousand years and with many hiatuses, existed in central Europe until Napoleon destroyed it in 1806.

Sculpture and Painting

When Charlemagne returned home from his coronation in Rome, he ordered the transfer of an equestrian statue of the Ostrogothic king Theodoric from Ravenna to the Carolingian palace complex at Aachen. That portrait is lost, as is the grandiose gilded-bronze statue of the Byzantine emperor Justinian that once crowned a column in Constantinople (see "The Emperors of New Rome," page 267). But in the early Middle Ages, both statues stood as reminders of ancient Rome's glory and of the pretensions and aspirations of the medieval successors of Rome's Christian emperors.

Carolingian Portraiture. The portrait of Theodoric may have been the inspiration for a ninth-century bronze statuette (FIG. 11-12) of a Carolingian emperor on horseback. Charlemagne greatly

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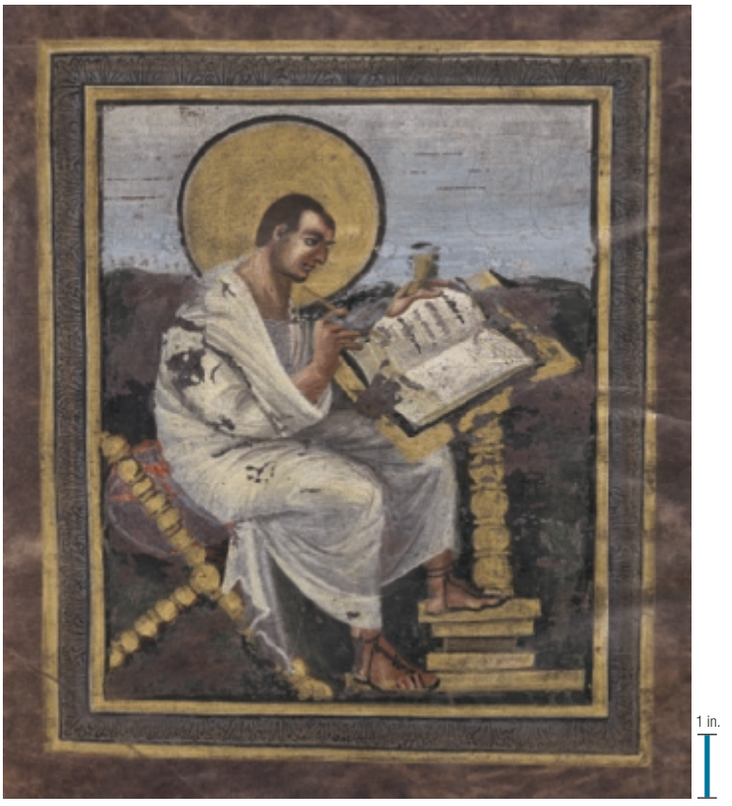
admired Theodoric, the first Germanic ruler of Rome, and many scholars have identified the small bronze figure as Charlemagne himself. Others, however, think that it portrays his grandson, Charles the Bald (r. 840–877). The ultimate model for the statuette was the equestrian portrait of Marcus Aurelius (FIG. 7-58) in Rome. In the Middle Ages, people mistakenly thought that the bronze statue represented Constantine, another revered predecessor of Charlemagne and his Carolingian successors. Both the Roman and the medieval sculptors portrayed their emperor as overly large so that the ruler, not the horse, is the center of attention. But unlike Marcus Aurelius, who extends his right arm in a gesture of clemency to a foe who once cowered beneath the raised foreleg of his horse, Charlemagne (or Charles the Bald) is on parade. He wears imperial robes rather than a general's cloak, although his sheathed sword is visible. On his head is a crown, and in his outstretched left hand he holds a globe, a symbol of world dominion. The portrait proclaimed the renovatio of the Roman Empire's power and trappings.

Coronation Gospels. As noted, Charlemagne was a sincere admirer of learning, the arts, and classical culture, even before his coronation as emperor of Rome. He placed high value on books, both sacred and secular, importing many and sponsoring the production of far more. One of the earliest is the *Godescalc Lectionary* (FIG. 11-12A), securely dated to 781 to 783, but the most famous is the early-ninth-century purple vellum *Coronation Gospels* (also known as the *Gospel Book of Charlemagne*), which has a text written in handsome gold letters. The major full-page illuminations, which show the four Gospel authors at work (see "The Four Evangelists," page 331), reveal that, compared with their Hiberno-Saxon counterparts, Carolingian manuscript painters brought a radically different stylistic sensibility to their work. For example, for the page depicting Saint Matthew (FIG. 11-13), the *Coronation Gospels* painter, in contrast to the Northumbrian illuminator who painted the portrait of the same evangelist in the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (FIG. 11-8), created shapes using color and modulation of light and shade, not line, and defined the massive drapery folds wrapped around Matthew's body by employing deft, illusionistic brushwork. The cross-legged chair, the lectern, and the saint's toga are familiar Roman accessories. In fact, this Carolingian evangelist portrait closely follows the format and style of Greco-Roman author portraits, as exemplified by the seated Menander (FIG. 7-25) at Pompeii. The *Coronation Gospels* landscape background also has many parallels in Roman painting, and the frame consists of the kind of acanthus leaves found in Roman temple capitals and friezes (FIG. 7-32). Almost nothing is known in the Hiberno-Saxon or Frankish world that could have prepared the way for this portrayal of Saint Matthew. If a Frankish, rather than an Italian or a Byzantine, artist painted the evangelist portraits of the *Coronation Gospels,* the Carolingian artist had fully absorbed the classical manner. Classical painting style was one of the many components of Charlemagne's program to establish Aachen as the capital of a renewed Christian Roman Empire.

11-12A Christ enthroned, *Godescalc Lectionary,* 781–783.

Ebbo Gospels. The classical-revival style evident in the *Coronation Gospels* was by no means the only one that appeared suddenly in the Carolingian world. The painters of the court school and monastic scriptoria employed a wide variety of styles derived from Late Antique prototypes. Another Saint Matthew (FIG. 11-14), in a Gospel book produced for Archbishop Ebbo of Reims, may be an interpretation of an author portrait very similar to the one that the *Coronation Gospels* master used as a model. The *Ebbo Gospels* illuminator, however, replaced the classical calm and solidity of the *Coronation Gospels* evangelist with an energy approaching frenzy. Matthew (the winged man in the upper right corner identifies him) writes in frantic haste. His hair stands on end, his eyes open wide, the folds of his drapery writhe and vibrate, and the landscape behind him rears up alive. The painter even set the page's leaf border in motion. Matthew's face, hands, inkhorn, pen, and book are the focus of the composition. This presentation contrasts strongly with the settled pose of the Saint Matthew of the *Coronation Gospels,* with its even stress so that no part of the composition jumps out at viewers to seize their attention. Just as the painter of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* Matthew (FIG. 11-8) transformed a Mediterranean model into an original Hiberno-Saxon idiom, so the *Ebbo Gospels* artist translated a classical prototype into a new Carolingian style. This master painter brilliantly merged classical illusionism and the northern linear tradition.



11-13 Saint Matthew, folio 15 recto of the *Coronation Gospels* (*Gospel Book of Charlemagne*), from Aachen, Germany, ca. 800–810. Ink and tempera on vellum, full page 1′ $\frac{3}{4}$″ × 10″; detail 8 $\frac{3}{4}$″ high. Schatzkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

The books produced for Charlemagne's court reveal the legacy of classical art (FIG. 7-25). The Carolingian painter used light, shade, and perspective in this representation of the evangelist at work.

Utrecht Psalter. One of the finest and most unusual medieval manuscripts—indeed, one of the most remarkable illustrated books

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The Four Evangelists

Evangelist derives from the Greek word for "one who announces good news," namely the Gospel of Christ. The authors of the Gospels, the first four books of the New Testament, are Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, collectively known as the four evangelists. Two—Matthew and John—were also apostles (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). The Gospel books provide the authoritative account of the life of Jesus, differing in some details but together constituting the primary literary basis for the iconography of Christian art (see "The Life of Jesus in Art," pages 244–245). Each evangelist has a unique symbol derived from various biblical passages, including the accounts in Ezekiel (1:5–14) and the Apocalypse (4:6–8) describing the beasts that pulled the throne-chariot of God (FIG. 9-18).

- ***Matthew*** was a tax collector in Capernaum before Jesus called him to become an apostle (FIGS. 24-17 and 25-7). Little else is known about him, and accounts differ as to how he became a martyr. Matthew's symbol is the winged man or angel (FIGS. 11-8 and 11-14), because his Gospel opens with a description of the human ancestry of Christ.
- ***Mark*** was the first bishop of Alexandria in Egypt, where he suffered martyrdom. He was a companion of both Saint Peter and Saint Paul. One tradition says that Peter dictated the Gospel to Mark, or at least inspired him to write it. Because Mark's Gospel begins with a voice crying in the wilderness, his symbol is the lion, the king of the desert.
- ***Luke*** was a disciple of Saint Paul, who refers to Luke as a physician. A later tradition says that Luke painted a portrait of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child (FIGS. 20-1 and 23-14A). Consequently, late medieval painters' guilds often chose Luke as their patron saint. Luke's symbol is the ox, because his Gospel opens with a description of the priest Zacharias sacrificing an ox.
- ***John*** was the apostle seated next to Jesus at the Last Supper (FIG. 22-4) and was the only disciple who witnessed Jesus's crucifixion (FIGS. 9-24 and 23-2). In addition to his Gospel, John was the author of the Apocalypse, the last book of the New Testament, which he wrote in exile on the Greek island Patmos (FIG. 25-32). The Apocalypse records John's visions of the end of the world, the Last Judgment, and the Second Coming. John's symbol is the eagle, the high-flying bird symbolizing the soaring style of his writing and his apocalyptic visions.

The four evangelists appear frequently in medieval art, especially in illuminated Gospel books, where they regularly serve as frontispieces to their respective Gospels, lending their authority to the accounts of Christ's life, death, and resurrection. Artists often represented them as seated authors, with or without their symbols (FIGS. I-8, 11-8, 11-13, and 11-14). In some instances, all four evangelists appear together (FIG. I-8). Frequently, both in painting and in sculpture, the evangelists are represented only by their symbols (FIGS. 9-13A, 11-6, 12-9, 12-11, 12-19, and 13-5).

11-14 Saint Matthew, folio 18 verso of the *Ebbo Gospels* (*Gospel Book of Archbishop Ebbo of Reims*), from the abbey of Saint Peter, Hautvillers, France, ca. 816–835. Ink and tempera on vellum, full page $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$; detail $7\frac{3}{4}''$ high. Bibliothèque municipale, Épernay.

This Gospel author writes frantically, and the folds of his drapery writhe and vibrate. Even the landscape rears up alive. The painter merged classical illusionism with the northern European linear tradition.

of any date—is the *Utrecht Psalter* (FIGS. 11-14A and 11-15) from Saint Peter's abbey in Hautvillers, France. The text reproduces the psalms of King David in three columns of Latin capital letters in emulation of the script and page organization of ancient books. The artist illustrated each psalm with a pen-and-ink drawing stretching across the width of the page. Some scholars have argued that the costumes and other details indicate that the artist followed one or more manuscripts created 400 years before. Even if the *Utrecht Psalter* is not a copy, the artist's intention was to evoke earlier artworks and to make the book appear ancient, a common aspiration in the age of Charlemagne. But whatever model the Carolingian artist used, it is unlikely to have included illustrations of the distinctive kind that appear throughout the *Utrecht Psalter* (see "How to Illustrate a Psalm," page 332).

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How to Illustrate a Psalm

Illustrating a narrative, such as the life of Jesus, is a relatively straightforward task for an artist. Illustrating a psalm—a poem—presents a special problem because there is no story line, just verbal metaphors. The painter of the *Utrecht Psalter* (FIG. **11-14A**) met this challenge brilliantly, bringing the psalmist's words to life by visualizing them literally with figures that move and gesticulate with nervous energy. (It has been suggested that this literal approach was intended to aid the book's owner in memorizing the psalms.)

11-14A Psalm 23, *Utrecht Psalter,* ca. 820–835.

The page illustrated here (FIG. **11-15**) exemplifies this Carolingian artist's loose linear drawing style and genius for anecdotal detail, which characterize every illustration in the manuscript.

In Psalm 44 (Psalm 43 of the Vulgate text of the Carolingian era), the psalmist laments the plight of the oppressed Israelites. The accompanying illustration in the *Utrecht Psalter* closely follows the poetic text. For example, the psalm says "We are counted as sheep for slaughter." Consequently, in front of a walled city reminiscent of cities on the Column of Trajan (FIGS. 7-45, 7-45A, and 7-45C) in Rome and in Early Christian mosaics (FIGS. 8-20 and 8-21) and manuscripts (FIG. 9-17A), the artist drew some slain sheep fallen to the ground. At the left, the faithful grovel on the ground before a temple ("Our soul is bowed down to the dust; our belly cleaveth unto the earth"). To illustrate the passage in which six angels plead, "Awake, why sleepest thou, O Lord?" the artist depicted the Lord reclining in a canopied bed overlooking the slaughter below. But "the Lord" is Jesus, complete with cruciform halo, instead of David's Hebrew God. The drawing shows a vivid animation of much the same kind as the *Ebbo Gospels* Saint Matthew (FIG. 11-14). The bodies of the *Utrecht Psalter* figures are tense, with shoulders hunched and heads thrust forward. As in the *Ebbo Gospels,* even the earth heaves up around the figures.

1 in.

11-15 Psalm 44, detail of folio 25 recto of the *Utrecht Psalter,* from the abbey of Saint Peter, Hautvillers, France, ca. 820–835. Ink on vellum, full page, 1′ 1″ × 9 7/8″; detail, 4 1/2″ high. University Library, Utrecht.

The drawings in the *Utrecht Psalter* are rich in anecdotal detail and show figures acting out, literally, King David's psalms—the Carolingian artist's solution to the problem of illustrating poetic metaphors.

Lindau Gospels. The taste for costly portable objects, the hallmark of the art of the early medieval warlords, persisted under Charlemagne and his successors. The Carolingians commissioned numerous works employing luxurious materials, including book covers made of gold and jewels and sometimes also ivory or pearls. Gold and gems not only underscored the wealth of the owners but glorified the word of God and evoked the heavenly Jerusalem. One of the most lavishly decorated Carolingian book covers (FIG. **11-16**) is the one later added to the *Lindau Gospels.* The gold cover, fashioned in one of the workshops of Charles the Bald's court, is grand in conception. A youthful Christ in the Early Christian tradition, nailed to the cross, is the central motif. Surrounding Christ are pearls and jewels (raised on golden claw feet so that they can catch and reflect the light even more brilliantly and protect the delicate metal relief from denting). The statuesque, open-eyed figure, rendered in *repoussé* (hammered relief), recalls

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11-16 ***Crucifixion,*** **front cover of the** ***Lindau Gospels,*** **from Saint Gall, Switzerland, ca. 870. Gold, precious stones, and pearls, 1′ $1\frac{3}{8}$″ × $10\frac{3}{8}$″. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.**

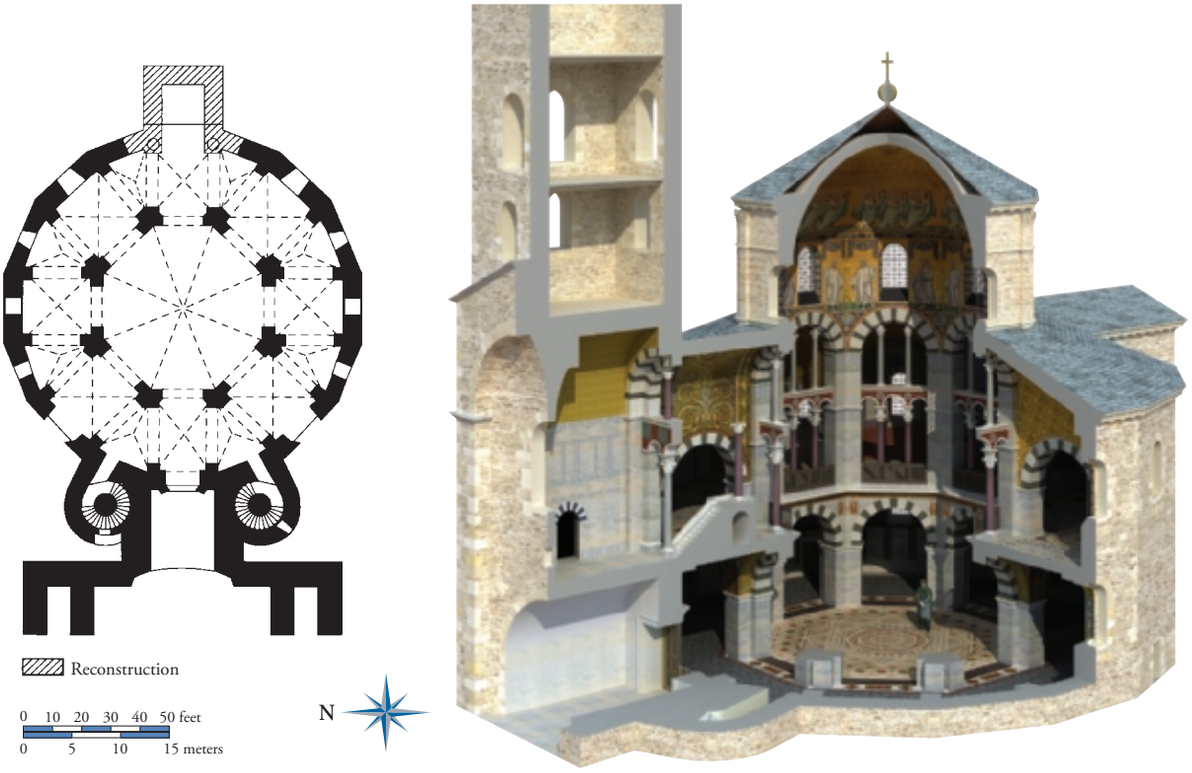
This gold-and-jeweled Carolingian book cover revives the Early Christian imagery of the youthful Christ (FIG. 8-16). The statuesque crucified Christ, heedless of pain, is classical in conception and style.

the beardless, unsuffering Christ of a fifth-century ivory plaque (FIG. 8-16) from Italy. By contrast, the four angels and the personifications of the moon and the sun above and the crouching figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John (and two other figures of uncertain identity) in the quadrants below display the vivacity and nervous energy of the *Utrecht Psalter* figures (FIGS. 11-14A and 11-15). The *Lindau Gospels* cover highlights the stylistic diversity of early medieval art in Europe. Here, however, the translated figural style of the Mediterranean prevailed, in keeping with the classical tastes and imperial aspirations of the Frankish emperors of Rome.

Architecture

In his eagerness to reestablish the imperial past, Charlemagne also encouraged the use of Roman building techniques. In architecture, as in sculpture and painting, innovations made in the reinterpretation of earlier Roman Christian sources became fundamental to the subsequent development of northern European architecture. For his models, Charlemagne looked to Rome and Ravenna. One was the former heart of the Roman Empire, which he wanted to renew. The other was the long-term western outpost of Byzantine might and splendor, which he wanted to emulate in his own capital at Aachen, a site chosen because of its renowned hot springs.

Aachen. Charlemagne often visited Ravenna, and the equestrian statue of Theodoric he brought from there to display in his Aachen palace complex served as a model for Carolingian equestrian portraits (FIG. 11-12). Charlemagne also imported porphyry (purple marble) columns from Ravenna to adorn his Palatine Chapel (see "Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen," page 334), and historians long have thought that he chose one of Ravenna's churches as the model for the new structure. The Aachen chapel's plan (FIG. 11-17, *left*)



11-17 Restored plan (*left*) and cutaway view (*right*) of the Palatine Chapel of Charlemagne, Aachen, Germany, 792–805 (John Burge).

Charlemagne sought to emulate Byzantine splendor in Germany. The plan of his Aachen chapel is based on that of San Vitale (FIG. 9-11) at Ravenna, but the architect omitted San Vitale's apse-like extensions.

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Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen

In his biography of Charlemagne, Einhard only briefly mentions the "beautiful church" the emperor built at his capital at Aachen, even though it was Einhard whom Charlemagne placed in charge of its construction. Unlike modern architectural historians, the scholarly monk, who held a position of prominence in Charlemagne's court, was not concerned with describing the innovative design of the interior vaulting (FIG. 11-18) or the facade (FIG. 11-19) of the Palatine Chapel (FIG. 11-17). As other medieval writers had done when commenting on buildings (see "Abbot Suger and the Rebuilding of Saint-Denis," page 383), Einhard focused on the extravagant gifts the emperor bestowed on the church and its clergy and attendants, which he cites as examples of Charlemagne's piety.

> [Because of his devotion to the Christian religion, he built the Palatine Chapel at Aachen], which he adorned with gold and silver and lamps, and with rails and doors of solid brass. He had the columns and marbles for this structure brought from Rome and Ravenna, for he could not find such as were suitable elsewhere. . . . He provided it with a great number of sacred vessels of gold and silver, and with such a quantity of clerical robes that not even the doorkeepers, who fill the humblest office in the church, were obliged to wear their every-day clothes when in the exercise of their duties.*

Charlemagne, like Constantine in the fourth century, also lavished gifts upon the basilica dedicated to Saint Peter (FIG. 8-9) in Rome, where he was crowned emperor in 800.

> He cherished the Church of St. Peter the Apostle at Rome above all other holy and sacred places, and heaped its treasury with a vast wealth of gold, silver, and precious stones. He sent great and countless gifts to the popes; and throughout his whole reign the wish that he had nearest at heart was to . . . defend and protect the Church of St. Peter, and to beautify and enrich it.†

*Einhard, *Life of Charlemagne,* 26. Translated by Samuel Epes Turner (New York: Harper, 1880), 63–64.
†Einhard, 27. Ibid., 64–65.

11-18 Interior of the Palatine Chapel of Charlemagne (looking east), Aachen, Germany, 792–805.

Charlemagne's chapel is the first vaulted medieval structure north of the Alps. The architect transformed the complexity and lightness of San Vitale's interior (FIG. 9-1) into simple, massive geometric form.

11-19 West facade of the Palatine Chapel of Charlemagne, Aachen, Germany, 792–805.

The innovative design of Charlemagne's palace chapel features cylindrical towers with spiral staircases flanking the entrance portal (compare FIG. 11-17), foreshadowing later medieval dual-tower church facades.

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resembles San Vitale's (FIG. 9-11), and a direct relationship very likely exists between the two.

A comparison between the Carolingian chapel, the first vaulted structure of the Middle Ages north of the Alps, and its southern counterpart yields several insights. The Aachen plan is simpler. The architect omitted San Vitale's apselike extensions reaching from the central octagon into the ambulatory. At Aachen, the two main units stand in greater independence of each other. This solution may lack the subtle sophistication of the Byzantine building, but the Palatine Chapel gains geometric clarity. The photograph reproduced here (FIG. 11-18) shows that Charlemagne's builders converted the lightness and complexity of San Vitale's interior (FIG. 9-1) into the simple, massive geometry of the Aachen chapel.

The Carolingian conversion of a complex Byzantine prototype into a building that embodies robust strength and clear structural articulation foreshadows the architecture of the 11th and 12th centuries and the style called Romanesque (see "Romanesque," page 348). So, too, does the treatment of the Palatine Chapel's exterior, where two cylindrical towers with spiral staircases flank the entrance portal (FIGS. 11-17 and 11-19). This was a first step toward the great dual-tower facades of western European churches from the 10th century to the present. Above the portal, Charlemagne could appear in a large framing arch and be seen by those gathered in the atrium in front of the chapel. (The arcuated second-story window in FIG. 11-19 dates to the Gothic period; the plan in FIG. 11-17 includes only part of the atrium.) Directly behind the arch was Charlemagne's marble throne. From there he could peer down at the altar in the apse from a privileged position in his private gallery. Charlemagne's second-story gallery followed the model of the imperial gallery at Hagia Sophia (FIGS. 9-7 and 9-8) in Constantinople. The Palatine Chapel was in every sense a royal chapel. Charlemagne received the title of Roman emperor in Saint Peter's, but the coronation of his son and successor, Louis the Pious (r. 814–840), took place in the Palatine Chapel.

Saint Gall. The emperor was not the only important builder of the Carolingian age. With increased prosperity came the construction and expansion of many monasteries. A unique document, the ideal plan (FIG. 11-20) for a Benedictine monastery (see "Medieval Monasteries and Benedictine Rule," page 336) at Saint Gall in Switzerland, provides precious information about the design of Carolingian monastic communities. Haito, the abbot of Reichenau and bishop of Basel from 806 to 823, ordered the preparation of the plan and sent it around 819 to Gozbertus, abbot of Saint Gall from 816 to 836, as a guide for the rebuilding of the Saint Gall monastery. The design's fundamental purpose was to separate the monks from the laity (nonclergy) who also inhabited the community. Variations of the scheme may be seen in later monasteries all across western Europe.

Near the center, dominating everything, was the *oratory* (monastic church) with its *cloister,* a colonnaded courtyard not unlike the Early Christian atrium (FIG. 8-10) but situated to the side of the church instead of in front of its main portal. Reserved for the monks alone, the cloister, a kind of earthly paradise removed from the world at large, provided the peace and quiet necessary for contemplation. Clustered around the cloister were the most essential buildings: the dormitory, *refectory* (dining hall), kitchen, and storage rooms.

Other structures, including an infirmary, school, guesthouse, bakery, brewery, and workshops, filled the areas around this central core of church and cloister. In at least one Carolingian monastery, at Lorsch in Germany, a monumental freestanding gateway (FIG. 11-19A) stood in front of the church.

11-19A Torhalle, Lorsch, late eighth or ninth century.

Haito invited the abbot of Saint Gall to adapt the plan as he saw fit, and indeed, the Saint Gall builders did not follow the Reichenau model precisely. Nonetheless, had the abbot wished, Haito's plan could have served as a practical guide for the Saint Gall masons because it was laid out using a *module* (standard unit) of 2.5 feet. The designer consistently employed that module, or multiples or fractions of it, for all elements of the plan. For example, the nave's width, indicated on the plan as 40 feet, is equal to 16 modules. Each monk's bed is 2.5 modules long, and the paths in the vegetable garden are 1.25 modules wide. Like so much else in the Carolingian Empire, this rational, indeed mathematical, approach to urban planning revived ancient Greek and Roman practice (see "Hippodamos's Plan for the Ideal City," page 154, and FIGS. 5-77 and 7-43).

The prototypes carrying the greatest authority for Charlemagne and his builders were those from the Christian phase of the Late Roman Empire. The widespread adoption of the Early Christian basilica, at Saint Gall and elsewhere, rather than the domed central plan of Byzantine churches, was crucial to the subsequent development of western European church architecture. Unfortunately, no Carolingian basilica has survived in its original form. Nevertheless, it is possible to reconstruct the appearance of some of them with fair accuracy—for example, the abbey of Saint-Riquier (FIG. 11-19B) at Centula, France, which an 11th-century illuminator reproduced in a now-lost manuscript.

11-19B Saint-Riquier, Centula, 790–799.

Some Carolingian structures followed their Early Christian models quite closely. But in other instances, the ninth-century builders significantly modified the basilica plan, converting it into a much more complex form. The oratory at Saint Gall, for example, was essentially a traditional basilica, but it had features not found in any Early Christian church. Most obvious is the addition of a second apse on the west end of the building, perhaps to accommodate additional altars and to display relics (see "The Veneration of Relics," page 349). Whatever its purpose, this feature remained a characteristic regional element of German churches until the 11th century (compare FIGS. 11-22, 11-24, and 11-25).

Not quite as evident but much more important to the subsequent development of church architecture in northern Europe was the presence of a *transept* at Saint Gall, a very rare feature but one that characterized the two greatest Early Christian basilicas in Rome, Saint Peter's (FIGS. 8-9 and 8-10) and Saint Paul's, as well as the main church at the Centula abbey (FIG. 11-19B). The Saint Gall transept is as wide as the nave on the plan and was probably the same height. Early Christian builders had not been concerned with proportional relationships. On the Saint Gall plan, however, the various parts of the building relate to one another by a geometric scheme that ties them together into a tight and cohesive unit.

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Medieval Monasteries and Benedictine Rule

Since Early Christian times, monks who established monasteries also made the rules governing communal life. The most significant of these monks was Benedict of Nursia (Saint Benedict, ca. 480–547), who founded the Benedictine Order in 529. By the ninth century, the "Rule" that Benedict wrote (*Regula Sancti Benedicti*) had become standard for all western European monastic communities, in part because Charlemagne had encouraged its adoption throughout the Frankish territories.

Saint Benedict believed that the corruption of the clergy that accompanied the increasing worldliness of the Church had its roots in the lack of firm organization and regulation. As he saw it, idleness and selfishness had led to neglect of the commandments of God and of the Church. The cure for this was communal association in an *abbey* under the absolute rule of an *abbot* whom the monks elected (or an *abbess* chosen by the nuns), who would ensure that the clergy spent each hour of the day in useful work and in sacred reading.

> Idleness is the enemy of the soul. Therefore, the brothers should have specified periods for manual labor as well as for prayerful reading.*

The emphasis on work and study and not solely on meditation and austerity is of great historical significance. Since antiquity, manual labor had been considered unseemly, the business of the lowborn or of slaves. Benedict raised it to the dignity of religion. The core idea of what many people today call the "work ethic" found early expression in Benedictine monasteries as an essential feature of spiritual life. By thus exalting the virtue of manual labor, Benedict not only rescued it from its age-old association with slavery but also recognized it as the way to self-sufficiency for the entire religious community.

Whereas some of Saint Benedict's followers emphasized spiritual "work" over manual labor, others, most notably the Cistercians (see "Bernard of Clairvaux," page 356), put Benedictine teachings about the value of physical work into practice. These monks reached into their surroundings and helped reduce the vast areas of daunting wilderness of early medieval Europe. They cleared dense forest teeming with wolves, bear, and wild boar; drained swamps; cultivated wastelands; and built roads, bridges, and dams, as well as monastic churches and their associated living and service quarters.

The ideal monastery (FIG. 11-20) provided all the facilities necessary for the conduct of daily life as well as "the Work of God"—a mill, bakery, infirmary, vegetable garden, and even a brewery—so that the monks would feel no need to wander outside its protective walls. Benedict's rules of conduct were very strict—for example:

> [The monks must] sleep clothed, and girded with belts or cords. . . . Thus the monks will always be ready to arise without delay when the signal is given; each will hasten to arrive at the Work of God before the others, yet with all dignity and decorum. . . . The oratory ought to be what it is called, and nothing else is to be done or stored there. After the Work of God, all should leave in complete silence and with reverence for God, so that a brother who may wish to pray alone will not be disturbed by the insensitivity of another. . . . The beds are to be inspected frequently by the abbot, lest private possessions be found there. A monk discovered with anything not given him by the abbot must be subjected to very severe punishment. In order that this vice of private ownership may be completely uprooted, the abbot is to provide all things necessary; that is, cowl, tunic, sandals, shoes, belt, knife, stylus, needle, handkerchief and writing tablets.†

11-20 Schematic plan for a monastery, from Saint Gall, Switzerland, ca. 819. Red ink on parchment, 2′ 4″ × 3′ 8 1/8″. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall.

The purpose of this plan for an ideal, self-sufficient Benedictine monastery was to separate the monks from the laity. Near the center is the church with its cloister, the monks' earthly paradise.

As Benedict recognized, the monks were often scribes and scholars. In fact, the clergy had a monopoly on the skills of reading and writing in an age of almost universal illiteracy. Monastic communities were centrally important to the revival of learning. The libraries and scriptoria (FIG. 11-11), where the monks and nuns read, copied, illuminated, and bound books with ornamented covers, became centers of study. Monasteries were almost the sole repositories of what remained of the literary culture of the Greco-Roman world and early Christianity. Saint Benedict's requirements of manual labor and sacred reading came to include writing and copying books, studying music for chanting daily prayers, and—of great significance—teaching. The monasteries were the schools of the early Middle Ages as well as self-sufficient communities and production centers.

**Rule of Saint Benedict,* 48.1. Translated by Timothy Fry, *The Rule of St. Benedict in English* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1981), 69.
†*Rule of Saint Benedict,* 22.5–6; 52.1–3; 55.16–19. Translated by Fry, 49, 72, 76–77.

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11-21 Westwork of the abbey church, Corvey, Germany, 873–885.

An important new feature of Carolingian church architecture was the westwork, a monumental western facade incorporating two towers. The sole example in its original form is the abbey church at Corvey.

Equalizing the widths of nave and transept automatically makes the area where they cross (the *crossing*) a square. Most Carolingian churches shared this feature. But in Haito's plan, the *crossing square* is also the unit of measurement for the remainder of the church plan. The transept arms are equal to one crossing square, the distance between transept and apse is one crossing square, and the nave is 4.5 crossing squares long. In addition, the two aisles are half as wide as the nave, integrating all parts of the church in a rational and orderly plan.

The Saint Gall plan also reveals another important feature of many Carolingian basilicas, including Saint-Riquier (FIG. 11-19B) at Centula: towers framing the end(s) of the church. Haito's plan shows only two towers, both cylindrical and on the west side of the church, as at Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel (FIGS. 11-17 and 11-19), but they stand apart from the church facade. If a tower existed above the crossing, the silhouette of Saint Gall would have shown three towers, altering the horizontal profile of the traditional basilica and identifying the church even from afar. Saint-Riquier had six towers.

Corvey. Other Carolingian basilicas had towers incorporated in the fabric of the west end of the building, thereby creating a grandiose unified facade greeting all those who entered the church. Architectural historians call this feature of Carolingian and some later churches the *westwork* (from the German *Westwerk,* "western entrance structure"). Early medieval writers referred to it as a *castellum* (Latin, "castle" or "fortress") or *turris* ("tower"). The major surviving example is the westwork (FIG. 11-21) of the abbey church at Corvey. The uppermost parts are 12th-century additions (easily distinguishable from the original westwork by the differing masonry technique). Stairs in each tower provided access to the upper stories. On the second floor is a two-story chapel with an aisle and a gallery on three sides. As at Aachen, the chapel opens onto the nave, and from it the visiting emperor and his entourage could watch and participate in the service below. Not all Carolingian westworks, however, served as seats reserved for the emperor. They also functioned as churches within churches, housing a second altar for special celebrations on major feast days. Boys' choirs stationed in the westwork chapel participated from above in the services conducted in the church's nave.

OTTONIAN EMPIRE

Louis the Pious laid Charlemagne to rest in the Palatine Chapel at Aachen in 814. Charlemagne had ruled for 46 years, but his empire survived him by fewer than 30. When Louis died in 840, his three sons—Charles the Bald, Lothair I, and Louis the German—divided the Carolingian Empire among themselves. After bloody conflicts, the brothers signed a treaty at Verdun in 843, partitioning the Frankish lands into western, central, and eastern areas, very roughly foreshadowing the later nations of France and Germany and a third realm corresponding to a long strip of land stretching from the Netherlands and Belgium to Rome. Intensified Viking incursions in the west helped bring about the collapse of the Carolingians. The empire's breakup into weak kingdoms, ineffectual against the invasions, brought a time of confusion to Europe. Complementing the Viking threat in the west were the invasions of the Magyars in the east and the plundering and piracy of the Saracens (Muslims) in the Mediterranean.

Only in the mid-10th century did the eastern part of the former empire consolidate under the rule of a new Saxon line of German emperors, called, after the names of the three most illustrious family members, the *Ottonians.* In Rome in 962, the pope crowned the first Otto, king of the Germans since 936, as "emperor of Rome," the title that Charlemagne's weak successors held during most of the previous century and that Otto retained until his death in 973. The Ottonian emperors made headway against the eastern invaders, remained free from Viking attacks, and not only preserved but also enriched the culture and tradition of the Carolingian period. The Church, which had become corrupt and disorganized, recovered in the 10th century under the influence of a

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great monastic reform encouraged and sanctioned by the Ottonians. The new German emperors also cemented ties with Italy and the papacy as well as with Byzantium (see "Theophanu, a Byzantine Princess at the Ottonian Court," page 342). The Ottonian line ended in the early 11th century with the death of Henry II (r. 1002–1024).

Architecture

Ottonian architects followed the course of their Carolingian predecessors, building basilican churches with towering spires and imposing westworks, but they also introduced new features that would have a long future in Western church architecture.

Gernrode. The best-preserved 10th-century Ottonian basilica is Saint Cyriakus (FIG. 11-22) at Gernrode, begun in 961 and completed in 973. In the 12th century, a large apse replaced the western entrance, but the upper parts of the westwork, including the two cylindrical towers, are intact. The interior (FIG. 11-23), although heavily restored in the 19th century, retains its 10th-century character. Saint Cyriakus reveals how Ottonian architects enriched the Early Christian and Carolingian basilica. The church has a transept at the east with a square choir in front of the apse. The nave is one of the first in western Europe to incorporate a gallery between the ground-floor arcade and the clerestory, a design that became very popular in the succeeding Romanesque era. Scholars have reached no consensus on the function of these galleries in Ottonian churches. They cannot have been reserved for women, as some think they were in Byzantium, because Saint Cyriakus is the centerpiece of a convent exclusively for nuns, founded the same year that construction of the church began. The galleries may have housed additional altars, as in the westwork at Corvey, or the singers in the church's choir. The Gernrode builders also transformed the nave arcade itself by adopting the *alternate-support system,* in which heavy square piers alternate with columns, dividing the nave into vertical units. The division continues into the gallery level, breaking the smooth rhythm of the all-column arcades of Early Christian and Carolingian basilicas and leading the eye upward. Later architects would carry this verticalization of the basilican nave much further (FIG. 13-20).

Hildesheim. Many of the most important architectural patrons of the Carolingian and Ottonian eras were not emperors but local church officials—for example, Abbot Gozbertus of Saint Gall (FIG. 11-20) and Abbot Angilbert of Centula (FIG. 11-19B)—although some of them had close ties with the imperial family. One of the great patrons of Ottonian art and architecture was Bishop Bernward (r. 993–1022) of Hildesheim, Germany, who also had imperial connections: he was the tutor of Otto III (r. 983–1002). Bernward, who made Hildesheim a center of learning, was the builder of the abbey church of Saint Michael (FIG. 11-24) there, and an eager scholar, a lover of the arts, and,

11-22 Westwork (with 12th-century apse) of the church of Saint Cyriakus, Gernrode, Germany, 961–973.

The impressive 10th-century two-tower facade of Saint Cyriakus was modified during the 12th century to incorporate an apse in place of a portal, but it is otherwise an intact Ottonian westwork.

11-23 Nave (looking east) of the church of Saint Cyriakus, Gernrode, Germany, 961–973.

Ottonian builders modified the interior elevation of Early Christian basilicas. The Gernrode designer added a gallery above the nave arcade and adopted an alternate-support system of piers and columns.

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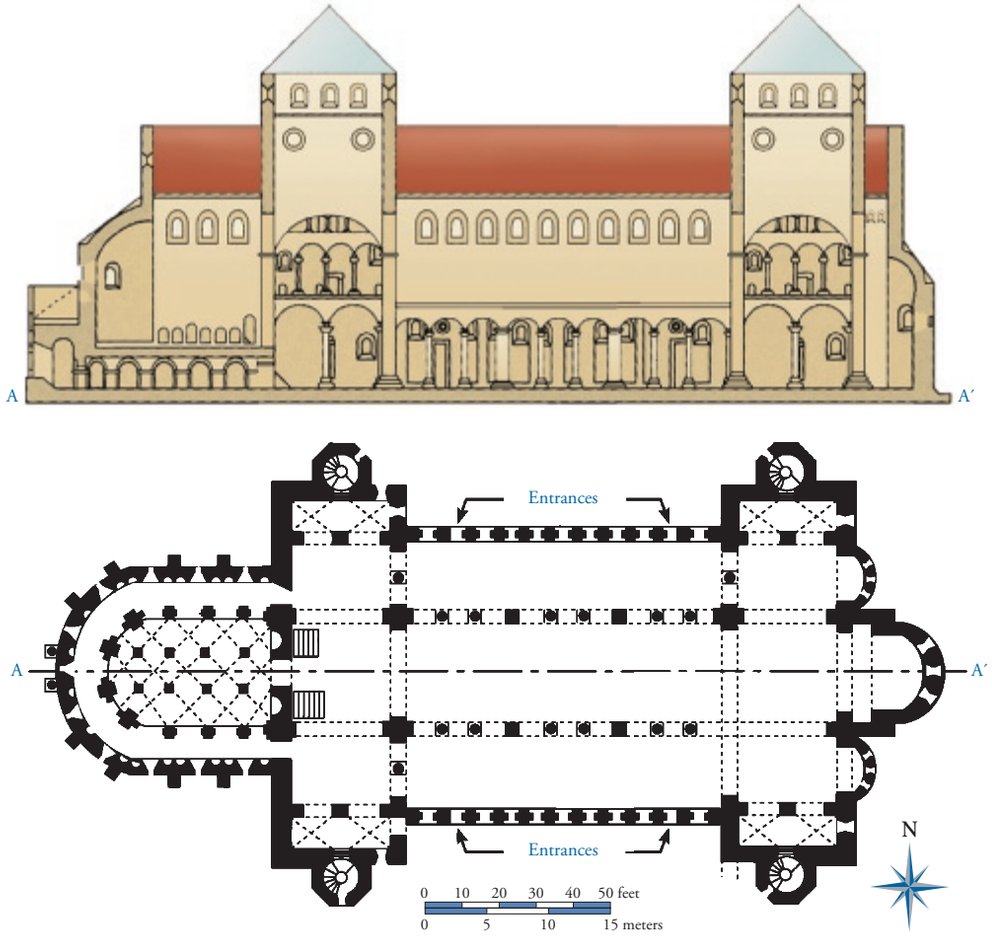
11-24 Saint Michael's (looking northwest), Hildesheim, Germany, 1001–1031.

Built by Bishop Bernward, a great art patron, Saint Michael's is a masterpiece of Ottonian basilica design. The church's two apses, two transepts, and multiple towers give it a distinctive profile.



11-25 Longitudinal section (*top*) and plan (*bottom*) of the abbey church of Saint Michael's, Hildesheim, Germany, 1001–1031.

The entrances to Saint Michael's are on the side. Alternating piers and columns divide the space in the nave into vertical units. These features transformed the tunnel-like horizontality of Early Christian basilicas.

11-25A Nave, Saint Michael's, Hildesheim, 1001–1031.

according to Thangmar of Heidelberg, his biographer, an expert craftsman and bronze-caster. In 1001, Bernward traveled to Rome as the guest of Otto III. During his stay, he studied at first hand the monuments of the ancient empire that the Carolingian and Ottonian emperors revered.

Constructed between 1001 and 1031 (and rebuilt after a bombing during World War II), Saint Michael's (FIG. 11-24) has a double-transept plan (FIG. 11-25, *bottom*), six towers, and a westwork. The two transepts create eastern and western centers of gravity. The nave (FIG. 11-25A) merely seems to be a hall connecting them. Lateral entrances leading into the aisles from the north and south additionally make for an almost complete loss of the traditional basilican orientation toward the east. Some ancient Roman basilicas, such as the Basilica Ulpia (FIG. 7-44, no. 4) in the Forum of Trajan, also had two apses and entrances on the side, and Bernward probably was familiar with this variant basilican plan.

At Hildesheim, as in the plan of the monastery at Saint Gall (FIG. 11-20), the builders adopted a modular approach. The crossing squares, for example, are the basis for the nave's dimensions—three crossing squares long and one square wide. The placement

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1 ft.

11-26 Doors with relief panels (Genesis, left door; life of Christ, right door), commissioned by Bishop Bernward for Saint Michael's, Hildesheim, Germany, 1015. Bronze, 15′ 5¾″ high. Römer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim.

Bernward's doors tell the story of Original Sin and redemption, and draw parallels between the Old and New Testaments, juxtaposing, for example, Eve nursing Cain with Mary and the infant Christ.

of heavy piers at the corners of each square gives visual emphasis to the three units. These piers alternate with pairs of columns (FIGS. 11-25 and 11-25A) as wall supports in a design similar to that of Saint Cyriakus (FIG. 11-23) at Gernrode.

Sculpture and Painting

In 1001, when Bishop Bernward was in Rome visiting the young Otto III, he resided in Otto's palace on the Aventine Hill in the neighborhood of Santa Sabina (FIGS. 8-18 and 8-19), an Early Christian church renowned for its carved wood doors (FIG. 8-19A). Those doors, decorated with episodes from both the Old and New Testaments, may have inspired the remarkable bronze doors that the bishop commissioned for his new church in Germany.

Hildesheim Doors. The doors (FIG. 11-26) to Saint Michael's, dated by inscription to 1015, are more than 15 feet tall. They are technological marvels, because the Ottonian metalworkers cast each door in a single piece with the figural sculpture. Carolingian sculpture, like most sculpture since Late Antiquity, consisted primarily of small-scale art executed in ivory and precious metals, often for book covers (FIG. 11-16). The Hildesheim doors are gigantic in comparison, but the 16 individual panels stem from this tradition.

Bernward placed the bronze doors in the portal to Saint Michael's that led from the cloister, where the monks would see them each time they entered the church. The panels of the left door illustrate highlights from Genesis, beginning with the creation of Eve (at the top) and ending with the murder of Abel, Adam and Eve's son, by his brother Cain (at the bottom). The right door recounts the life of Christ (reading from the bottom up), starting with the Annunciation and terminating with Noli me tangere, when Christ appears to Mary Magdalene after his resurrection (see "The Life of Jesus in Art," pages 244–245). Together, the doors tell the story of Original Sin and ultimate redemption, showing the expulsion from the Garden of Eden and the path back to Paradise through the Church. (Reliefs depicting additional episodes from Jesus's life decorate a bronze column [FIG. 11-26A] that Bernward also commissioned for Saint Michael's.) As in Early Christian times, the Ottonian clergy interpreted the Hebrew Bible as prefiguring the New Testament (see "Old Testament Subjects in Christian Art," page 242). For example, the Hildesheim designer juxtaposed the Fall of Adam and Eve on the left door with the Crucifixion on the right door. Eve nursing the infant Cain is opposite Mary with the Christ Child in her lap.

11-26A Column, Saint Michael's, Hildesheim, ca. 1015–1022.

The composition of many of the scenes on the doors derives from Carolingian manuscript illumination, and the style of the figures has an expressive strength that brings to mind the illustrations in the *Utrecht Psalter* (FIGS. 11-14A and 11-15). For example, in the fourth panel (FIG. 11-27) from the top on the left door, God, portrayed as a man, accuses Adam and Eve after their fall from grace. He jabs his finger at them with the force of his whole body. The force is concentrated in the gesture, which becomes the psychic focus of the entire composition. The frightened pair crouch, not only to hide their shame but also to escape the lightning bolt of divine wrath. Each passes the blame—Adam pointing backward to Eve and Eve pointing downward to the deceitful serpent. The starkly flat setting throws into relief the gestures and attitudes of rage, accusation, guilt, and fear. The sculptor presented the story with simplicity, although with great emotional impact, as well as a flair for anecdotal detail. Adam and Eve both struggle to point with one arm while attempting to shield their bodies from view with the

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11-27 God accusing Adam and Eve, detail of the left door of Saint Michael's, Hildesheim, Germany, 1015. Bronze, 1′ 10⅛″ high. Römer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim.

The Hildesheim bronze-caster recounted the story of Original Sin with a flair for anecdote. With vivid gestures, God accuses Adam, who passes the blame to Eve, who points in turn to the serpent.

other. With an instinct for expressive pose and gesture, the artist brilliantly communicated their newfound embarrassment at their nakedness and their unconvincing denials of wrongdoing.

Magdeburg Ivories. The figural panels of the bronze doors of Saint Michael's at Hildesheim constitute a unique ensemble, but they are not the only series of small-scale narrative relief panels made for display in an Ottonian church. Sixteen ivory plaques remain from a set of perhaps as many as 50 that once decorated the altar, pulpit, or another important item of church furniture in Magdeburg Cathedral. The cathedral housed the relics of Saint Mauritius (Maurice), a Christian army commander from Africa whom the Romans executed in Gaul during the third century when he refused to sacrifice to the old gods. Otto I transferred the saint's relics from France to Magdeburg in 960. A former monastic community on the eastern frontier of the Ottonian Empire, Magdeburg became an archbishopric in 968, the year Otto I dedicated the city's new cathedral. The 10th-century church burned down in 1207. The present cathedral is a Gothic replacement.

Most of the plaques depict scenes from the life of Christ. The one illustrated here (FIG. 11-28), however, features Otto I presenting Magdeburg Cathedral to Christ, who sits on a large wreath and extends his right hand to the emperor to indicate that he welcomes the gift. Ottonian representations of the emperor usually depict him as the central figure and of large stature (for example, FIG. 11-31), but the artist here represented the bearded and crowned Otto to one side and as small as a child. The age-old principle of hierarchy of scale dictated that the artist depict the only mortal as the smallest figure. Christ is largest, and the saints are intermediate in size. The two most prominent are Saint Peter, at the right holding the key to the kingdom of Heaven, and Saint Mauritius, who introduces the emperor to Christ. Art historians believe that the plaques are the work of ivory carvers in Milan, the leading city of Lombardy, which was part of Otto I's empire.

Otto II and Theophanu. On April 14, 972, Otto I arranged the marriage of his son, Otto II, to the Byzantine princess Theophanu (see "Theophanu, a Byzantine Princess at the Ottonian Court," page 342). The wedding secured the important political alliance between the Ottonian and Byzantine empires. Because the couple married in Rome with the pope administering the vows, the wedding reaffirmed the close relationship between the Ottonians and the papacy. The marriage, commemorated on a contemporaneous ivory plaque (FIG. 11-29), also enhanced the already strong artistic and cultural ties between Germany and Constantinople.

Gero Crucifix. During the Ottonian period, interest in freestanding statuary, which had been exceedingly rare for the preceding half millennium, also revived. The outstanding example

11-28 Otto I presenting Magdeburg Cathedral to Christ, panel from an altar or pulpit in Magdeburg Cathedral, Magdeburg, Germany, 962–968. Ivory, 5″ × 4½″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of George Blumenthal, 1941).

This ivory panel was affixed to an altar or pulpit dedicated by Otto I in Magdeburg Cathedral. It shows Saint Mauritius introducing the emperor to Christ, to whom Otto presents the new cathedral.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Theophanu, a Byzantine Princess at the Ottonian Court

The bishop of Mainz crowned Otto I king of the Saxons at Aachen in 936, but it was not until 962 that Pope John XII (r. 955–964) conferred the title of emperor of Rome upon him in Saint Peter's basilica. Otto, known as the Great, had ambitions to restore the glory of Charlemagne's Christian Roman Empire and to enlarge the territory under his rule. In 951, he defeated a Roman noble who had taken prisoner Adelaide, the widow of the Lombard king Lothar. Otto then married Adelaide, assumed the title of king of the Lombards, and extended his power south of the Alps. Looking eastward, in 972 he arranged the marriage of his son (and coemperor since 967), Otto II, to Theophanu (ca. 955–991), probably the niece of Emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969). Otto was 17 years old, his bride 16. They wed in Saint Peter's in Rome, with Pope John XIII (r. 965–972) presiding. When Otto the Great died the next year, Otto II became sole emperor (r. 973–983). The second Otto died in Italy a decade later and was buried in the atrium of Saint Peter's. His son, Otto III, only three years old at the time, nominally became king, but it was his mother, Theophanu, coregent with Adelaide until 985 and sole regent thereafter, who wielded power in the Ottonian Empire until her death in 991. Adelaide then served as regent until Otto III was old enough to rule on his own. He became emperor of Rome in 996 and died six years later.

1 in.

Theophanu brought the prestige of Byzantium to Germany. Artistic ties between the Ottonian court and Constantinople became even stronger, and the Ottonians imported Byzantine luxury goods, including ivory plaques, in great quantities. One surviving ivory panel (FIG. 11-29) commemorates the marriage between Otto II and Theophanu. It shows Christ, central and the largest figure, extending both arms to bless the crowned emperor and his empress. (Otto appears much older than 17, consistent with his imperial stature.) The artist depicted all three standing rigidly and looking directly at the viewer. The frontality of the figures, the tripartite composition, and the style of carving suggest that the work is an import from Constantinople, as does the lengthy Greek dedicatory inscription. A few words are in Latin, however, and the inscription also identifies the donor—the tiny bowing figure clinging to Christ's stool—as an Italian bishop. Some art historians therefore think that the artist may have been an Ottonian ivory carver in Lombardy. Whoever made the plaque, the iconography is distinctively Byzantine, because the imagery declares that Otto's authority to rule comes directly from Christ, not from the pope. Whether of Byzantine or Ottonian manufacture, the ivory is an Ottonian commission in Byzantine style. The influence of Byzantine art is also evident in Ottonian manuscript painting (FIGS. 11-30A and 11-32).

11-29A Saint Pantaleon, Cologne, 966–996.

Theophanu also made her mark as a patron of ecclesiastical architecture, remodeling and expanding the towering westwork (FIG. 11-29A) of the abbey church of Saint Pantaleon in Cologne.

11-29 Christ blessing Otto II and Theophanu, 972–973. Ivory, $7\frac{1}{8}'' \times 4''$. Musée national du Moyen Âge, Paris.

Commemorating the marriage of Otto II and Theophanu, this ivory plaque is Byzantine in style and iconography. Theophanu came from Constantinople and promoted Byzantine art at the Ottonian court.

of Ottonian large-scale sculpture is the *crucifix* (FIG. 11-30) that Archbishop Gero (r. 969–976) commissioned and presented to Cologne Cathedral in 970. Carved in oak, then painted and gilded, the 6-foot-tall image of Christ nailed to the cross is both statue and *reliquary* (a shrine for sacred relics; see "The Veneration of Relics," page 349). A compartment in the back of the head held bread for the Eucharist. According to one story, a crack developed in the wood of Gero's crucifix, but miraculously healed. Similar tales of miracles surround many sacred Christian objects—for example, some Byzantine icons (see "Icons," page 278).

The *Gero Crucifix* presents a conception of Christ dramatically different from that seen on the *Lindau Gospels* cover (FIG. 11-16), with

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1 ft.

11-30 Crucifix commissioned by Archbishop Gero (*Gero Crucifix*), Cologne Cathedral, Cologne, Germany, ca. 970. Painted wood, height of figure 6′ 2″.

In this early example of the revival of large-scale sculpture in the Middle Ages, an Ottonian sculptor depicted with unprecedented emotional power the intense agony of Christ's ordeal on the cross.

its Early Christian imagery of the youthful Christ triumphant over death. Consistent with the strong Byzantine element in Ottonian art, the bearded Christ of the Cologne crucifix is more akin to Byzantine representations of the suffering Jesus (FIG. 9-24), but the emotional power of the Ottonian work is greater still. The sculptor depicted Christ as an all-too-human martyr. Blood streaks down his forehead from the (missing) crown of thorns. His eyelids are closed, his face is contorted in pain, and his body sags under its weight. The muscles stretch to their limit—those of the right shoulder and chest seem almost to rip apart. The halo behind Christ's head may foretell his subsequent resurrection, but the worshiper can sense only his pain. The *Gero Crucifix* is the most powerful characterization of intense agony of the early Middle Ages.

Gospel Book of Otto III. In a Gospel book containing some of the finest early medieval paintings of the life of Christ (for example, FIG. 11-30A), one full-page representation (FIG. 11-31) stands apart from the rest. The page shows Otto III, son of Otto II and Theophanu, enthroned and holding the scepter and cross-inscribed orb that signify his universal authority, conforming to a Christian imperial iconographic tradition that began with Constantine (FIG. 7-79, *right*). At the emperor's sides are the clergy and the barons (the Church and the State), both aligned in his support. On the facing page (not illustrated), also derived from ancient Roman sources, are female personifications of Slavinia, Germany, Gaul, and Rome—the provinces of the Ottonian Empire—bringing tribute to the young emperor.

Of the three Ottos, the last most fervently dreamed of a revived Christian Roman Empire. Indeed, it was his life's obsession. The boy-emperor was keenly aware of his descent from both German and Byzantine imperial lines, but he apparently was prouder of his Constantinopolitan than his German roots. He moved his court, with its Byzantine rituals, to Rome and there set up theatrically the symbols and trappings of Roman imperialism. Otto's romantic dream of imperial unity for Europe, the conceit behind his self-aggrandizing portrayal in the *Gospel Book of Otto III,* never materialized, however. He died prematurely, at age 21, and, at his request, was buried beside Charlemagne at Aachen.

11-30A Jesus and Peter, *Gospel Book of Otto III,* 997–1000.

Lectionary of Henry II. Otto III's successor, Henry II, was the last Ottonian emperor. Of the artworks produced during his reign, the *Lectionary of Henry II* is the most noteworthy. A product of the leading Ottonian scriptorium at Reichenau, as was Otto III's Gospel book, Henry's lectionary (see "Medieval Books," page 324) was a gift to Bamberg Cathedral. In the full-page illumination of the announcement of Christ's birth to the shepherds, the angel has

1 in.

11-31 Otto III enthroned, folio 24 recto of the *Gospel Book of Otto III,* from Reichenau, Germany, 997–1000. Tempera on vellum, 1′ 1″ × 9 3/8″. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

Emperor Otto III, descended from both German and Byzantine imperial lines, appears in this Gospel book enthroned and holding the scepter and cross-inscribed orb signifying his universal authority.

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11-32 **Annunciation to the shepherds, folio in the *Lectionary of Henry II,* from Reichenau, Germany, 1002–1014. Tempera on vellum, full page 1′ 5″ × 1′ 1″; detail 10 $\frac{1}{2}$″ high. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.**

The full-page illuminations in the *Lectionary of Henry II* fuse elements of Late Antique landscapes, the Carolingian-Ottonian anecdotal narrative tradition, and the gold background of Byzantine art.

11-33 **Abbess Uta dedicating her codex to the Virgin, folio 2 recto of the *Uta Codex,* from Regensburg, Germany, ca. 1025. Tempera on parchment, 9 $\frac{5}{8}$″ × 5 $\frac{1}{8}$″. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.**

The *Uta Codex* illustrates the important role that women played both in religious life and as patrons of the arts. The dedicatory page shows Abbess Uta presenting her codex to the Virgin Mary.

just alighted on a hill, his still-beating wings rippling his draperies (FIG. 11-32). The angel looms immense above the startled and terrified shepherds, filling the golden sky. He extends his hand in a gesture of authority and instruction. Emphasized more than the message itself are the power and majesty of God's authority. The painting is a summation of the stylistic complexity of Ottonian art. It is a highly successful fusion of the Carolingian-Ottonian anecdotal narrative tradition, elements derived from Late Antique painting—for example, the rocky landscape setting with grazing animals (FIG. 8-24)—and the golden background of Byzantine book illumination and mosaic decoration.

Uta Codex. Another lectionary (FIG. 11-33), one of the finest Ottonian books produced for the clergy, as opposed to the imperial court, was the work of scribes and illuminators at Regensburg. Their patron was Uta, abbess of Niedermünster from 1003 to 1025, a leading nun well known in royal circles. Uta was instrumental in bringing Benedictine reforms to the Niedermünster convent, whose nuns were usually the daughters of the local nobility. Near the end of her life, she presented the nunnery with a sumptuous manuscript containing many full-page illuminations interspersed with Gospel readings, the so-called *Uta Codex.* The lectionary's case, fashioned of gold with jeweled and enamel decoration, also survives.

The dedicatory page (FIG. 11-33) at the front of the *Uta Codex* depicts the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child in her lap in the central medallion. Labeled *Virgo Virginum,* Virgin of Virgins, Mary is the model for Uta and the Niedermünster nuns. Uta is the full-length figure presenting a new book—this book—to the Virgin. An inscription accompanies the dedicatory image: "Virgin Mother of God, happy because of the divine Child, receive the votive offerings of your Uta of ready service."[4] The artist painted Uta last, superimposing her figure upon the design and carefully placing it so that Uta's head touches the Virgin's medallion but does not penetrate it, suggesting the interplay between, but also the separation of, the divine and human realms.

In many respects, the *Uta Codex* is more typical of the earlier medieval period and the succeeding Romanesque and Gothic eras than are the artworks and buildings commissioned by the Carolingian and Ottonian emperors. The Roman Empire, in revived form, may have lived on to 1002 at Otto III's court in Rome, but after Henry II's death in 1024, Rome's influence waned. Romanesque Europe found unity not politically but in a shared religious fervor, manifested most clearly in the launching of crusades to free the Holy Land from Muslim control (see "The Crusades," page 360).

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THE BIG PICTURE

Early Medieval Europe

Merovingians, Anglo-Saxons, and Vikings 5th to 10th Centuries

- After the fall of Rome in 410, the Merovingians, Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Goths, Vikings, and other non-Roman peoples competed for power in the former Roman northwestern provinces.
- Other than the ornamentation of ships used for burials, the surviving artworks of this period are almost exclusively small-scale status symbols, especially items of personal adornment, such as bracelets, pins, purses, and belt buckles, often featuring cloisonné decoration. A mixture of abstract and zoomorphic motifs appears on these portable treasures. Especially characteristic are intertwined animal-and-interlace patterns.

Purse cover, Sutton Hoo, ca. 625

Hiberno-Saxon Monasteries 6th to 10th Centuries

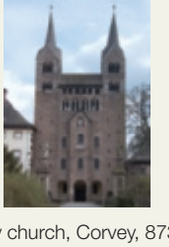
- Art historians call the Christian art of early medieval Britain and Ireland Hiberno-Saxon or Insular. The most important extant artworks are the illuminated manuscripts produced in the monastic scriptoria of Ireland and Northumbria—for example, the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the *Book of Kells.*
- These Insular books feature folios devoted neither to text nor to illustration but to pure embellishment. "Carpet pages" consist of decorative panels of abstract and zoomorphic motifs. Some books also have full pages depicting the four evangelists or their symbols. Text pages often present the initial letters of important passages enlarged and transformed into elaborate decorative patterns.

Book of Kells, late eighth or ninth century

Carolingian Empire 768–877

- Charlemagne, king of the Franks since 768, expanded the territories he inherited from his father, and in 800, Pope Leo III crowned him emperor of Rome (r. 800–814). Charlemagne and his successors initiated a conscious revival of the art and culture of Early Christian Rome in their capital at Aachen.
- Carolingian sculptors revived the imperial Roman tradition of portraying rulers on horseback holding the orb of world power, as well as the Early Christian tradition of depicting Christ as a statuesque youth. The books that Carolingian artists produced sometimes featured magnificent jeweled covers (*Lindau Gospels*).
- Carolingian manuscripts merged the illusionism of classical painting with the northern European linear tradition, replacing the calm and solid figures of those models with figures that leap from the page with frenzied energy, as in the *Ebbo Gospels* and the *Utrecht Psalter.*
- Carolingian architects looked to Ravenna and Early Christian Rome for models, but transformed their sources, introducing, for example, the twin-tower western facade for basilicas at Corvey and elsewhere and employing strict modular plans for entire monasteries as well as individual churches, as seen in the plan of the Saint Gall monastery in Switzerland.

Ebbo Gospels, ca. 816–835



Abbey church, Corvey, 873–885

Ottonian Empire 919–1024

- In the mid-10th century, a new line of emperors, the Ottonians, consolidated the eastern part of Charlemagne's former empire and sought to preserve and enrich the culture and tradition of the Carolingian period.
- Like other early medieval artists, Ottonian artists excelled in producing small-scale artworks, especially ivory plaques with narrative reliefs, often influenced by Byzantine art. But Ottonian sculptors also revived the art of large-scale sculpture in such works as the *Gero Crucifix* and the bronze doors of Saint Michael's at Hildesheim. Ottonian painters combined motifs and landscape elements from Late Antique art with the golden backgrounds of Byzantine art.
- Ottonian architects built basilican churches incorporating the towering spires and imposing westworks of their Carolingian models, but introduced the alternate-support system and galleries into the nave.

Gero Crucifix, ca. 970

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▶12-1a Above Autun Cathedral's portal, at the far left, a trumpet-blowing angel announces the Second Coming. Another obliging angel boosts one of the blessed over the fortified walls of Heaven.

◀12-1b In Gislebertus's unforgettable rendition of Judgment Day, one of the Devil's agents shoves the damned headfirst into the dragon mouth of Hell while another demon drags four terrified souls in.

1 ft.

12-1 **Gislebertus, *Last Judgment*, west tympanum of Saint-Lazare, Autun, France, ca. 1120–1135. Marble, lintel 21′ wide.**

◀12-1c Below, the souls of the dead line up to await their fate. Two of the men carry the travel bags of pilgrims to Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela, and consequently they can expect to be judged favorably.

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ROMANESQUE EUROPE 12

FRAMING THE ERA

The Blessed and the Damned on Judgment Day

As worshipers entered the western portal of the Burgundian cathedral of Saint-Lazare (Saint Lazarus) at Autun, they passed under a dramatic representation of the Last Judgment (FIG. 12-1) by the sculptor GISLEBERTUS. A renowned artist, he inscribed his name and also this message from the church's officials:

> I [Christ] alone arrange all things and crown the deserving. Punishment, with me as judge, holds in check those whom vice stimulates. Whoever is not seduced by an impious life will rise again in this way, and the light of day will shine on him forever. May this terror terrify those whom earthly error binds, for the horror of these images here in this manner truly depicts what will be.[1]

This warning echoes the sentiment expressed in a mid-10th-century copy of Beatus of Liébana's *Commentary on the Apocalypse.* There, the painter Magius (teacher of Emeterius; FIG. 11-11) explained the purpose of his work: "I have painted a series of pictures for the wonderful words of [the Apocalypse's] stories, so that the wise may fear the coming of the future judgment of the world's end."[2]

Few people in 12th-century France other than the clergy could read Gislebertus's message, but even the illiterate could, in the words of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, "read in the marble" (see "Bernard of Clairvaux," page 356). Indeed, in the entire history of art, there is probably no more terrifying visualization of what awaits sinners than the one that Gislebertus invented for Autun Cathedral. Four trumpet-blowing angels announce the Second Coming of Christ, enthroned at the center, far larger than any other figure. He dispassionately presides over the separation of the blessed from the damned. At the left, an obliging angel boosts one of the saved into the heavenly city. Below, the dead line up to await their fate. Two of the men near the center of the lintel carry bags emblazoned with a cross and a shell. These are the symbols of pilgrims to Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela, respectively (see "Pilgrimage Roads," page 350). Those who had made either difficult journey would be judged favorably. To their right, three small figures beg an angel to intercede on their behalf. The angel responds by pointing to the Judge above. On the right side are those who will be condemned to Hell. Giant hands pluck one poor soul from the group. Directly above is Gislebertus's unforgettable rendition of the weighing of souls (FIG. I-7; compare FIG. 11-9). Angels and the Devil's agents try to manipulate the balance for or against a soul. Hideous demons guffaw and roar. Their gaunt, lined bodies, with legs ending in sharp claws, writhe and bend like long, loathsome insects. A devilish creature, leaning from the dragon mouth of Hell (compare FIG. 11-9), drags souls in, while, above him, a howling demon shoves the damned headfirst into a furnace.

The Autun *Last Judgment* is one of the earliest examples of the rebirth of the art of large-scale sculpture in the Middle Ages, a hallmark of the age that art historians have dubbed *Romanesque* because of the extensive use of stone sculpture and vaulting in 11th- and 12th-century ecclesiastical architecture.

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EUROPEAN CULTURE IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

"Romanesque." The Romanesque era is the first since Archaic and Classical Greece to take its name from an artistic style rather than from politics or geography. Unlike Carolingian and Ottonian art, named for emperors, or Hiberno-Saxon art, a regional term, *Romanesque* is a title that art historians invented to describe medieval art that appeared "Roman-like." Architectural historians first employed the adjective in the early 19th century to characterize European architecture of the 11th and 12th centuries. They noted that certain architectural elements of this period, principally barrel and groin vaults based on the round arch, resembled those of ancient Roman architecture. Thus the word distinguished most Romanesque buildings from earlier medieval timber-roofed structures, as well as from later Gothic churches with vaults resting on *pointed arches* (see "The Gothic Rib Vault," page 387). Scholars in other fields quickly borrowed the term. Today, "Romanesque" broadly designates the history and culture of western Europe between about 1050 and 1200. In fact, in terms of art and architecture, "Romanesque" is not one style of painting or sculpting or one way of constructing buildings but many regional styles and techniques with significant variations even within the artworks and buildings of a single region. To a certain extent, Romanesque art and architecture can be compared with the European Romance languages, which vary regionally but have a common core in Latin, the language of the Romans.

Towns and Churches. In the early Middle Ages, the focus of life was the *manor,* or estate, of a landholding *liege lord,* who might grant rights to a portion of his land to *vassals.* In this socioeconomic system, called *feudalism,* the vassals swore allegiance to their liege and rendered him military service in return for use of the land and the promise of protection. But in the Romanesque period, a sharp increase in trade encouraged the growth of towns and cities, which gradually displaced feudal estates as the backbone of late medieval European society. Feudal lords granted independence to the new towns in the form of charters, which enumerated the communities' rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions beyond the feudal obligations that the vassals owed the lords. Often located on navigable rivers, the new urban centers naturally became the nuclei of networks of maritime and overland commerce.

Separated by design from the busy secular life of Romanesque towns were the monasteries (see "Medieval Monasteries," page 336) and their churches. During the 11th and 12th centuries, thousands of Christian houses of worship were remodeled or newly constructed. This immense building enterprise was in part a natural by-product of the rise of independent cities and the prosperity they enjoyed. But it also was an expression of the widely felt relief and thanksgiving that the conclusion of the first Christian millennium in the year 1000 had not brought an end to the world, as many had feared. In the Romanesque age, the construction of churches became almost an obsession. Raoul Glaber (ca. 985–ca. 1046), a monk who witnessed the coming of the new millennium, noted the beginning of it:

> [After the] year of the millennium, which is now about three years past, there occurred, throughout the world, especially in Italy and Gaul [France], a rebuilding of church basilicas. Notwithstanding, the greater number were already well established and not in the least in need, nevertheless each Christian people strove against the others to erect nobler ones. It was as if the whole earth, having cast off the old by shaking itself, were clothing itself everywhere in the white robe of the church.[3]

Pilgrims and Relics. The enormous investment in new and remodeled churches and their furnishings also reflected a significant increase in pilgrimage traffic in Romanesque Europe (see "Pilgrimage Roads in France and Spain," page 350, and MAP 12-1). Pilgrims, along with wealthy landowners, were important sources of funding for those monasteries that possessed the relics of revered saints (see "The Veneration of Relics," page 349). The monks of Sainte-Foy (FIG. 12-6A) at Conques, for example, used pilgrims' donations to pay for a magnificent cameo- and jewel-encrusted gold and silver reliquary (FIG. 12-2) to house the skull of Saint Faith. In fact, the clergy of the various monasteries vied with one another to provide the most magnificent settings for the display of their unique relics. They found justification for their lavish expenditures on buildings and furnishings in the Bible itself—for example, "Lord, I have loved the beauty of your house, and the place where your glory dwells" (Psalm 26:8). Traveling pilgrims fostered the growth of towns as well as monasteries. Pilgrimages were a major economic as well as conceptual catalyst for the art and architecture of the Romanesque period.

FRANCE AND NORTHERN SPAIN

As noted, although art historians use the adjective "Romanesque" to describe 11th- and 12th-century art and architecture throughout Europe, pronounced regional differences exist. This chapter examines in turn Romanesque France and Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, Italy, and Normandy and England.

Architecture and Architectural Sculpture

The regional diversity of the Romanesque period is particularly evident in architecture. For example, some Romanesque churches, especially in Italy, retained the timber roofs of their Early Christian

ROMANESQUE EUROPE

1000–1100

- The passing of the year 1000, the growth of towns, and the popularity of pilgrimages foster a surge in church construction
- Romanesque architects replace the timber roofs of churches with barrel vaults in the nave and groin vaults in the aisles
- Churches along the pilgrimage roads to Santiago de Compostela feature radiating chapels in ambulatories and transepts
- The *Bayeux Tapestry* commemorates the Norman conquest of England in 1066

1100–1200

- Romanesque sculptors revive large-scale stone relief carving, especially on church facades, usually greeting worshipers with a vision of Christ as Last Judge
- Saint Bernard of Clairvaux opposes the proliferation of sculpture in churches
- Manuscript illumination flourishes in the scriptoria of Cluniac monasteries
- Pilgrimages give impetus to the manufacture of costly reliquaries
- Architects in Normandy and England introduce groin vaulting in church naves in conjunction with a three-story elevation (arcade-tribune-clerestory)

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The Veneration of Relics

The cult of *relics* was not new in the Romanesque era. For centuries, Christians had traveled to sacred shrines housing the body parts of, or objects associated with, the holy family or the saints. The faithful had long believed that bones, clothing, instruments of martyrdom, and the like had the power to heal body and soul. In the 11th and 12th centuries, however, the veneration of relics reached a high point, prompting the devout to undertake often dangerous pilgrimages to hallowed shrines in Jerusalem, in Rome, and throughout western Europe (see "Pilgrimage Roads in France and Spain," page 350). Churches vied with one another not only for the possession of relics but also in the magnificence of the containers (*reliquaries*) that preserved and protected them.

The case of the relics of Saint Faith (Sainte Foy, in French), an early-fourth-century child martyr who refused to pay homage to the Roman gods, is a telling example. A monk from the abbey church at Conques (FIG. 12-6A) stole the saint's skull from the nearby abbey of Agen around 880. The monks justified the act as *furta sacra* ("holy theft"), claiming that Saint Faith herself wished to move.

The reliquary (FIG. **12-2**) they provided to house the saint's remains is one of the most sumptuous ever produced. It takes the form of an enthroned statuette of the martyr. Fashioned of gold leaf and silver gilt over a wood core, the reliquary prominently features inset jewels and cameos of various dates—the accumulated donations of pilgrims and church patrons over many years. The saint's oversize head is a reworked ancient Roman *parade helmet*—a masklike helmet worn by soldiers on special ceremonial occasions and not part of standard battle dress. The monks added a martyr's crown to the ancient helmet. The rear of the throne bears an image of Christ on the cross engraved in rock crystal, establishing a parallel between Christ's martyrdom and Saint Faith's.

Reflecting the Romanesque passion for relics, *The Song of Roland,* an 11th-century epic poem recounting a historical battle of 778 between Charlemagne's rear guard and the Saracens, describes Durendal, the extraordinary sword that the hero Roland wielded, as follows:

> Ah, Durendal, fair, hallowed, and devote,
> What store of relics lie in thy hilt of gold!
> St Peter's tooth, St Basil's blood, it holds,
> Hair of my lord St Denis, there enclosed,
> Likewise a piece of Blessed Mary's robe.*

In view of the keen competition among Romanesque monasteries and cities for the possession of saints' relics, the author of the 12th-century *Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* saw fit to include comments on authenticity. For example, about Saint James's tomb, the guidebook states:

> May therefore the imitators from beyond the mountains blush who claim to possess some portion of him or even his entire relic. In fact, the body of the Apostle is here in its entirety, divinely lit by paradisiacal carbuncles, incessantly honored with immaculate and soft perfumes, decorated with dazzling celestial candles, and diligently worshipped by attentive angels.†

*173.2344–2348. Translated by Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Song of Roland* (New York: Penguin, 1957), 141.

†Translated by William Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, 1993), 127.

12-2 Reliquary statue of Sainte Foy (Saint Faith), late 10th to early 11th century with later additions. Gold, silver gilt, jewels, and cameos over a wood core, 2′ 9½″ high. Treasury, Sainte-Foy, Conques.

This enthroned image containing the skull of Saint Faith is one of the most lavish Romanesque reliquaries. The head is an ancient Roman helmet, and the cameos are donations from pilgrims.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Pilgrimage Roads in France and Spain

In the Romanesque era, pilgrimage was the most conspicuous feature of public devotion, proclaiming pilgrims' faith in the power of saints and hope for their special favor. The major shrines—Saint Peter's and Saint Paul's in Rome and the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem—drew pilgrims from all over Europe, just as Muslims journeyed from afar to Mecca (see "Muhammad and Islam," page 295). For the sake of salvation, pilgrims braved bad roads and hostile wildernesses where robbers preyed on innocent travelers. The journeys could take more than a year to complete—when they were successful. People often undertook pilgrimage as an act of repentance or as a last resort in their search for a cure for some illness or disability. Hardship and austerity were means of increasing pilgrims' chances for the remission of sin or of disease. The distance and peril of the pilgrimage were measures of the reward that pilgrims sought and of the sincerity of their repentance.

For those with insufficient time or money to make a pilgrimage to Rome or Jerusalem (in short, most people), holy destinations could be found closer to home. In France, for example, the church at Vézelay (FIG. 12-15) housed the bones of Mary Magdalene. Pilgrims could view Saint Lazarus's remains at Autun (FIG. 12-1), Saint Saturninus's at Toulouse (FIG. 12-5), Saint Faith's at Conques (FIGS. 12-2 and 12-6A), and Saint Martin's at Tours (see "The Veneration of Relics," page 349). Each of these great shrines was also an important way station en route to the most hallowed shrine in western Europe, the tomb of Saint James at Santiago de Compostela (FIG. 12-6B) in northwestern Spain.

Large crowds of pilgrims paying homage to saints placed a great burden on the churches possessing their relics and led to changes in church design, principally longer and wider naves and aisles; transepts and ambulatories with additional chapels (FIG. 12-6); and second-story galleries (FIGS. 12-6B and 12-7). Pilgrim traffic also established the routes that later became the major avenues of commerce and communication in western Europe. The popularity of pilgrimages gave rise to travel guides that, like modern guidebooks, provided pilgrims with information not only about saints and shrines but also about roads, accommodations, food, and drink. How widely circulated these handwritten books were is a matter of debate, but the information they provide is invaluable.

The most famous Romanesque guidebook described the four roads leading to Santiago de Compostela through Arles and Toulouse, Conques and Moissac, Vézelay and Périgueux, and Tours and Bordeaux (MAP **12-1**). Saint James (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247) was the symbol of Christian resistance to Muslim expansion in western Europe, and his relics, discovered in the ninth century, drew pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela from far and wide. The guidebook's anonymous 12th-century author, possibly Aimery Picaud, a Cluniac monk, was himself a well-traveled pilgrim. The text states that the author wrote the guide "in Rome, in the lands of Jerusalem, in France, in Italy, in Germany, in Frisia and mainly in Cluny."* Pilgrims reading the guidebook learned about the saints and their shrines at each stop along the way to Spain. Saint Saturninus of Toulouse, for example, endured a martyr's death at the hands of the Romans when he

> was tied to some furious and wild bulls and then precipitated from the height of the citadel. . . . His head crushed, his brains knocked out, his whole body torn to pieces, he rendered his worthy soul to Christ. He is buried in an excellent location close to the city of Toulouse where a large basilica [FIG. 12-5] was erected by the faithful in his honor.†

*Translated by William Melczer, *The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela* (New York: Italica Press, 1993), 133.
†Ibid., 103.

MAP 12-1 Western Europe around 1100.

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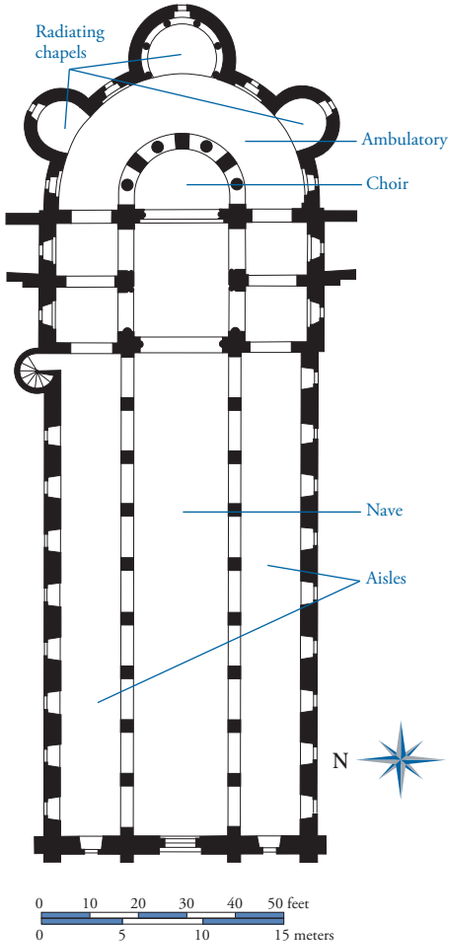
12-3 Interior of Saint-Étienne (looking east), Vignory, France, 1050–1057.

The timber-roofed abbey church at Vignory reveals a kinship with the three-story naves of Ottonian churches (FIG. 11-23), which also feature an alternate-support system of piers and columns.



12-4 Plan of Saint-Étienne, Vignory, France, 1050–1057.

The innovative plan of the east end of the abbey church of Saint Stephen features an ambulatory around the choir and three semicircular radiating chapels opening onto it for the display of relics.

predecessors long after stone vaulting had become commonplace elsewhere. Even in France and northern Spain, home of many of the most innovative instances of stone vaulting, some Romanesque architects continued to build timber-roofed churches.

Vignory. The mid-11th-century church of Saint-Étienne (Saint Stephen) at Vignory in the Champagne region of central France has strong ties to Carolingian-Ottonian architecture, but incorporates features that became common only in later Romanesque buildings. The interior (FIG. 12-3) reveals a kinship with the three-story timber-roofed churches of the Ottonian era—for example, Saint Cyriakus (FIG. 11-23) at Gernrode. At Vignory, however, the second story is not a true *tribune* (gallery over the aisle opening onto the nave) but rather a screen with alternating piers and columns opening onto very tall flanking aisles. The east end of the church, by contrast, has an innovative plan (FIG. 12-4) with an ambulatory around the choir and three semicircular chapels opening onto it. These *radiating chapels* probably housed the church's relics, which the faithful could view without disturbing a service in progress by entering the choir, where the officiating priest performed the sacred rites at the main altar.

Other 11th-century churches—for example, Sant Vicenç (FIG. 12-4A) at Cardona, Spain, and Saint-Philibert (FIG. 12-4B) at Tournus, France—are noteworthy as early Romanesque examples of stone vaulting, and in that respect are more advanced than the timber-roofed Saint-Étienne. But the Vignory church is among the first to incorporate stone sculpture, one of the Romanesque period's defining features. At Vignory, however, the only sculpture is the relief decoration of the capitals of the ambulatory and false tribunes, where abstract and vegetal ornamentation, lions, and other four-legged beasts are the exclusive motifs (compare FIG. 12-10, *right*).

12-4A Sant Vicenç, Cardona, ca. 1029–1040.

12-4B Saint-Philibert, Tournus, ca. 1060.

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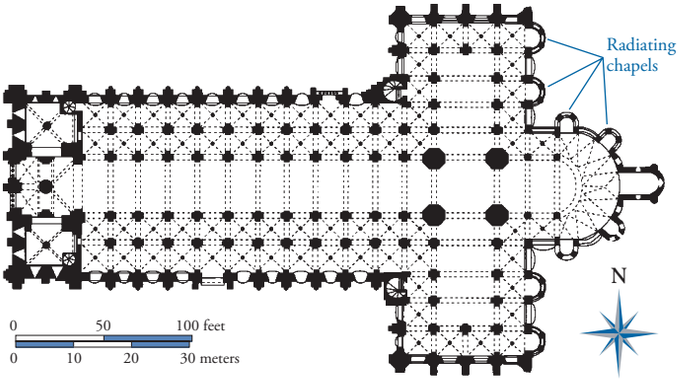
12-5 Aerial view of Saint-Sernin (looking northwest), Toulouse, France, ca. 1070–1120.

Pilgrimages were a major economic catalyst in the Romanesque era. The clergy vied to provide magnificent settings for the display of holy relics. Toulouse was a major stop on the road to Santiago de Compostela.

Toulouse. Dwarfing the Vignory, Cardona, and Tournus churches is the immense stone-vaulted basilica of Saint-Sernin (Saint Saturninus; FIG. 12-5) at Toulouse. Construction began around 1070 to honor the city's first bishop, a martyr saint of the mid-third century. Toulouse was an important stop on the pilgrimage road through southwestern France to Santiago de Compostela (see "Pilgrimage Roads," page 350). Large congregations gathered at the shrines along the major pilgrimage routes, and the unknown architect designed Saint-Sernin to accommodate them. The grand scale of the building is apparent in the aerial view reproduced here, which includes automobiles, trucks, and nearly invisible pedestrians. The church's 12th-century exterior is still largely intact, although the two towers of the western facade (FIG. 12-5, *left*) were never completed, and the prominent crossing tower dates to the Gothic and later periods.

Saint-Sernin's plan (FIG. 12-6) closely resembles those of the churches of Sainte-Foy (FIG. 12-6A) at Conques, Saint James (FIG. 12-6B) at Santiago de Compostela, and Saint-Martin at Tours, and exemplifies what has come to be called the "pilgrimage church" type. At Toulouse, the builders increased the length of the nave, doubled the side aisles, and added a transept, ambulatory, and radiating chapels to provide additional space for pilgrims and the clergy. Radiating chapels opening onto an ambulatory had been introduced earlier in Vignory's abbey church (FIG. 12-4), but at Toulouse the chapels are greater in number and open onto the transept as well as the ambulatory.



12-6 Plan of Saint-Sernin, Toulouse, France, ca. 1070–1120 (after Kenneth John Conant).

Increased traffic led to changes in church design. "Pilgrimage churches" have longer and wider naves and aisles, as well as transepts and ambulatories with radiating chapels for viewing relics.

12-6A Sainte-Foy, Conques, mid-11th to early 12th century.

12-6B Saint James, Santiago de Compostela, ca. 1075–1120.

The Saint-Sernin plan is extremely regular and geometrically precise. The crossing square, flanked by massive piers and marked off by heavy arches, served as the module for the entire church. Each nave bay, for example, measures exactly one half of the crossing square, and each aisle bay measures exactly one quarter. The builders employed similar simple ratios throughout the church. The first suggestion of this kind of planning scheme in medieval Europe was the Saint Gall monastery plan (FIG. 11-20) almost three centuries earlier. The Toulouse solution was a crisply rational and highly refined realization of an idea first seen in Carolingian architecture. This approach to design became increasingly common in the Romanesque period.

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WRITTEN SOURCES

The Burning of Canterbury Cathedral

The perils of wood construction were the subject of frequent commentary among chroniclers of medieval church history. In some cases, the Christian houses of worship burned over and over again in the course of a single century and repeatedly had to be extensively repaired or completely rebuilt. In September 1174, for example, Canterbury Cathedral, which had been dedicated only 44 years earlier, was accidentally set ablaze and destroyed. Gervase of Canterbury (1141–1210), who entered the monastery there in 1163 and wrote a history of the archbishopric from 1100 to 1199, provided in his *Chronica* a vivid eyewitness account of the disastrous fire:

> [D]uring an extraordinarily violent south wind, a fire broke out before the gate of the church, and outside the walls of the monastery, by which three cottages were half destroyed. From thence, while the citizens were assembling and subduing the fire, cinders and sparks carried aloft by the high wind were deposited upon the church, and being driven by the fury of the wind between the joints of the lead, remained there among the half-rotten planks, and shortly glowing with increased heat, set fire to the rotten rafters; from these the fire was communicated to the larger beams and their braces, no one yet perceiving or helping. For the well-painted ceiling below, and the sheet-lead covering above, concealed between them the fire that had arisen within. . . . But beams and braces burning, the flames arose to the slopes of the roof; and the sheets of lead yielded to the increasing heat and began to melt. Thus the raging wind, finding a freer entrance, increased the fury of the fire. . . . And now that the fire had loosened the beams from the pegs that bound them together, the half-burnt timbers fell into the choir below upon the seats of the monks; the seats, consisting of a great mass of woodwork, caught fire, and thus the mischief grew worse and worse. And it was marvelous, though sad, to behold how that glorious choir itself fed and assisted the fire that was destroying it. For the flames multiplied by this mass of timber, and extending upwards full fifteen cubits [about 25 feet], scorched and burned the walls, and more especially injured the columns of the church. . . . In this manner the house of God, hitherto delightful as a paradise of pleasures, was now made a despicable heap of ashes, reduced to a dreary wilderness.*

*Translated by Robert Willis, quoted in Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, *A Documentary History of Art,* 2d ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 1:52–54.

12-7 Interior of Saint-Sernin (looking east), Toulouse, France, ca. 1070–1120.

Saint-Sernin's stone compound piers and barrel vaults in the nave, and the groin vaults in the tribune galleries, helped prevent the kind of disastrous fire that destroyed Canterbury Cathedral.

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Another telling feature of Saint-Sernin's design is the insertion of tribunes opening onto the nave over the inner aisles (FIG. 12-7), a feature also of the nave (FIG. 12-6B) of the church of Saint James at Santiago de Compostela. These galleries housed overflow crowds on special occasions and played an important role in buttressing the nave's continuous semicircular cut-stone barrel vault, in contrast to the fire-prone timber roof over the nave (FIG. 12-3) of the smaller abbey church at Vignory (see "The Burning of Canterbury Cathedral," above). Groin vaults (indicated by Xs on the plan, FIG. 12-6; compare FIG. 7-6) in the tribunes as well as in the ground-floor aisles absorbed the pressure exerted by the barrel vault along the entire length of the nave and transferred the main thrust to the thick outer walls (see "Stone Vaulting in Romanesque Churches," page 354).

The builders of Saint-Sernin were not content merely to buttress the massive nave vault. They also carefully coordinated the design of the vault with that of the nave arcade below and with the modular plan of the building as a whole. The nave elevation (FIG. 12-7), which features *engaged columns* (attached half-columns) embellishing the piers marking the corners of the bays, fully reflects the church's geometric floor plan (FIG. 12-6). Architectural historians refer to piers with columns or pilasters attached to their rectangular cores as *compound piers.* At Saint-Sernin, the engaged columns rise from the bottom of the compound piers to the vault's *springing* (the lowest stone of an arch) and continue across the nave as *transverse arches.* As a result, the Saint-Sernin nave gives the impression of being numerous identical vertical volumes of space placed one behind the other, marching down the building's length

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

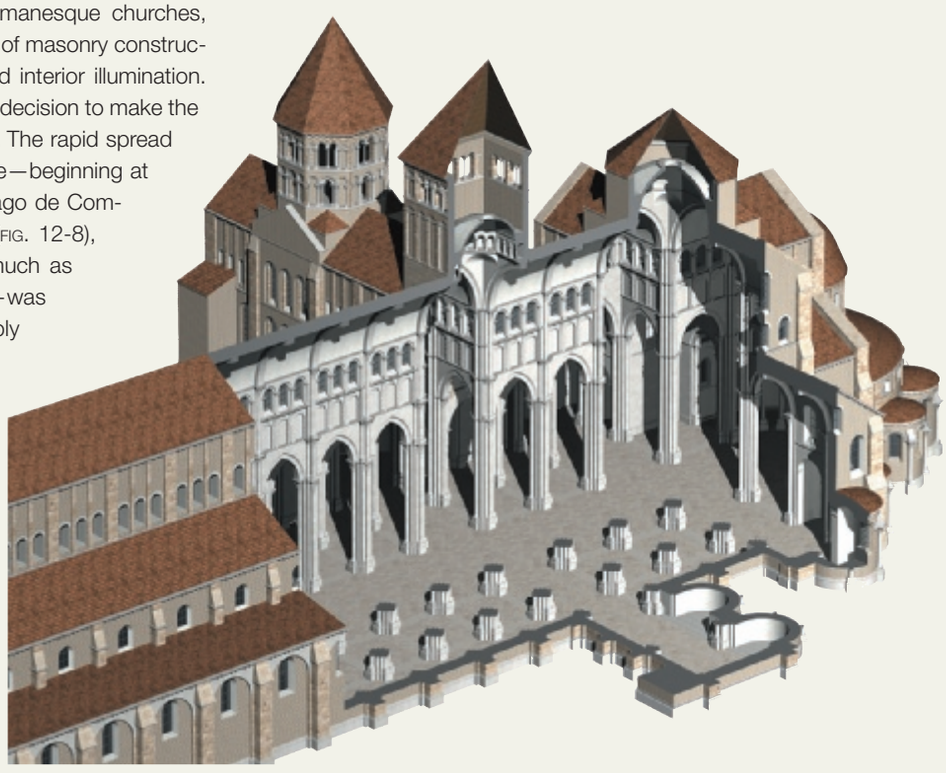
Stone Vaulting in Romanesque Churches

After fire destroyed Canterbury Cathedral in 1174, the monks resolved to build a new church more impervious to fire. They summoned a master builder from Sens, a French city 75 miles southeast of Paris, to supervise the construction of the replacement cathedral. Gervase, the Canterbury monk who wrote an account of the fire (see "The Burning of Canterbury Cathedral," page 353) reported that the first task William of Sens tackled was "the procuring of stone from beyond the sea."*

Substituting stone vaulting for timber roofing in the nave, transept, and aisles was the best available solution to the problem of building a fire-resistant church. However, many architectural historians believe that a quest for fireproof structures was not the primary rationale for introducing stone barrel and groin vaults in Romanesque churches, although that was no doubt one of the attractions of masonry construction in an age when candles and lamps provided interior illumination. Other factors probably played a greater role in the decision to make the enormous investment of time and funds required. The rapid spread of stone vaulting throughout Romanesque Europe—beginning at Cardona (FIG. 12-4A), Tournus (FIG. 12-4B), Santiago de Compostela (FIG. 12-6B), Toulouse (FIG. 12-7), Cluny (FIG. 12-8), Speyer (FIG. 12-21), and Milan (FIG. 12-23), as much as a century before the new Canterbury Cathedral—was more likely the result of a desire to provide a suitably majestic setting for the display of relics as well as enhanced acoustics for the Christian liturgy and the music accompanying it.

Some contemporaneous texts, in fact, comment on the visual impact of costly stone vaults. For example, in 1150 at Angers in northwestern France, a church chronicler explained what the bishop sought to achieve by replacing the timber roof of his cathedral with stone vaults: "[He] took down the timber beams of the nave of the church, threatening to fall from sheer old age, and began to build stone vaults of wondrous effect."† Stone vaulting was an aesthetic solution to a different kind of problem than protecting churches from destruction by fire.

*Translated by Robert Willis, quoted in Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, *A Documentary History of Art,* 2d ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), 1:54.
†Translated by John Hooper Harvey, *The Medieval Architect* (London: Waylan, 1972), 39.



12-8 Restored cutaway view of the third abbey church ("Cluny III"; looking northeast), Cluny, France, 1088–1130 (John Burge).

Cluny III was the largest church in Europe for 500 years. It had a 500-foot-long, three-story (arcade-tribune-clerestory) nave, four aisles, radiating chapels, and slightly pointed stone barrel vaults.

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in orderly procession. Saint-Sernin's spatial organization corresponds to and renders visually the plan's geometric organization. The articulation of the building's exterior walls (FIG. 12-5), where buttresses frame each bay, also reflects the segmentation of the nave. This rationally integrated scheme, with repeated units decorated and separated by moldings, would have a long future in European church architecture.

Cluny. Architectural historians are fortunate that several important late-11th-century churches still stand, but the greatest of them all does not. In 909, William the Pious, duke of Aquitaine (r. 893–918), donated land near Cluny in Burgundy to a community of reform-minded Benedictine monks under the leadership of Berno of Baume (d. 927). Because William waived his feudal rights to the land, the abbot of Cluny was obligated only to the pope in Rome, an exceptional privilege. Berno founded a new order at Cluny according to the rules of Saint Benedict (see "Medieval Monasteries and Benedictine Rule," page 336). Under Berno's successors, the Cluniac monks became famous for their scholarship, music, and art. Their influence and wealth grew rapidly, and they built a series of ever more elaborate monastic churches at Cluny.

Abbot Hugh of Semur (1024–1109) began construction of the third church at Cluny in 1088. Called Cluny III by architectural historians, the building has largely vanished, but it is possible to reconstruct what it looked like (FIG. 12-8). When work concluded in 1130, Cluny III was the largest church in Europe, and it retained that distinction for almost 500 years until the completion of the new Saint Peter's (FIG. 24-4) in Rome in the early 17th century. Contemporaries considered Cluny III a place suitable for angels to dwell if they lived on earth. The church had a bold and influential design, with a barrel-vaulted nave, four aisles, and radiating chapels, as at Saint-Sernin (FIGS. 12-6 and 12-7), but with a three-story

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A SECOND OPINION

The Rebirth of Large-Scale Sculpture in Romanesque Europe

With some notable exceptions, such as Irish high crosses (FIGS. 11-9 and 11-9A), stone sculpture had almost disappeared from the art of western Europe during the early Middle Ages. The revival of stonecarving in the 11th century at Toulouse (FIG. 12-9) and Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines (FIG. 12-9A) in southern France and at Silos (FIG. 12-9B) in northern Spain is a hallmark of the Romanesque age—and one reason that the period is aptly named. The inspiration for stone sculpture no doubt came, at least in part, from the abundant remains of ancient statues and reliefs throughout Rome's northwestern provinces. Yet these models had been available for centuries and therefore cannot explain the sudden proliferation of stone sculpture in Romanesque churches. Why did Romanesque church officials decide to revive the art of stone sculpture in the 11th century?

12-9A Saint-Genis-des-Fontaines, 1019–1020.

12-9B Santo Domingo, Silos, ca. 1090–1100.

Many art historians have noted that the reemergence of large-scale stone sculpture coincided with the introduction of stone vaulting in early Romanesque churches. But medieval builders had erected stone-walled basilicas and towering stone westworks for centuries, even if the structures bore timber ceilings and roofs. The earliest Romanesque sculptures, in fact, appear in timber-roofed churches, such as Saint-Étienne (FIG. 12-3) at Vignory. Therefore, the addition of stone vaults to basilican churches cannot account for the resurgence of stonecarving in the Romanesque period. But just as stone vaulting reflects the greater prosperity of the age, so too does the decoration of churches with large-scale sculptures. Both are consistent with the widespread desire in the Romanesque period to beautify the house of God and make it, in the words of Gervase of Canterbury, "a paradise of pleasures."

The popularity of stone sculpture in the 12th century also reflects the changing role of many churches in western Europe. In the early Middle Ages, most churches served small monastic communities, and the worshipers were primarily or exclusively clergy. With the rise of towns in the Romanesque period, churches, especially those on the major pilgrimage routes, increasingly served the lay public. The display of sculpture both inside and outside Romanesque churches was a means of impressing—and educating—a new and largely illiterate audience.

Portal sculptures, especially those with Christ as the central motif (FIGS. 12-1, 12-11, 12-12B, 12-14, and 12-15), communicated a very important message. These entryways reflect the belief, dating to Early Christian times, that Christ is the door to salvation ("I am the door; who enters through me will be saved"—John 10:9). An inscription on the tympanum of the late-11th-century monastic church of Santa Cruz de la Serós in Spain made this message explicit: "I am the eternal door. Pass through me faithful ones. I am the source of life."

12-9 Bernardus Gelduinus, *Christ in Majesty,* relief in the ambulatory of Saint-Sernin (FIG. 12-5), Toulouse, France, ca. 1096. Marble, 4′ 2″ high.

One of the earliest series of large Romanesque figural stone reliefs decorated the pilgrimage church of Saint-Sernin. The models were probably metal or ivory Carolingian and Ottonian book covers.

nave elevation (arcade-tribune-clerestory) and vaults with pointed arches, which became typical of French church architecture only in the Gothic age (see "The Gothic Rib Vault," page 387). With a nave more than 500 feet long and more than 100 feet high (both dimensions are about 50 percent greater than the comparable dimensions of Saint-Sernin), it exemplified the grandiose scale of the new stone-vaulted Romanesque churches and was a symbol of the power and prestige of the Cluniac order.

Bernardus Gelduinus. The Cluniac monks were also the primary patrons of stone sculpture in the Romanesque era, but it is Saint-Sernin that boasts one of the earliest precisely dated medieval series of large-scale Romanesque figural reliefs—a group of seven marble slabs representing Christ, angels, and apostles (see "The Rebirth of Large-Scale Sculpture in Romanesque Europe," above). An inscription on the altar states that the reliefs date to the year 1096 and identifies the artist as Bernardus Gelduinus. Today, the

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WRITTEN SOURCES

Bernard of Clairvaux on Cloister Sculpture

The most influential theologian of the Romanesque era was Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153). A Cistercian monk and abbot of the monastery he founded at Clairvaux in northern Burgundy, he embodied not only the reforming spirit of the Cistercian order but also the new religious fervor awakening throughout Europe. Bernard's impassioned eloquence made him a celebrity and drew him into the stormy politics of the 12th century. He intervened in high matters of both Church and State, defended and sheltered embattled popes, counseled kings, denounced heretics, and preached Crusades against the Muslims (see "The Crusades," page 360)—all in defense of papal Christianity and spiritual values. The Church declared Bernard a saint in 1174, barely two decades after his death.

In a letter Bernard wrote in 1127 to William, abbot of Saint-Thierry, he complained about the rich outfitting of non-Cistercian churches in general and, in particular, the sculptural adornment of monastic cloisters, such as those at Silos (FIG. 12-9B) and Moissac (FIGS. 12-10 and 12-10A).

> I will overlook the immense heights of the places of prayer, their immoderate lengths, their superfluous widths, the costly refinements, and painstaking representations which deflect the attention . . . of those who pray and thus hinder their devotion. . . . But so be it, let these things be made for the honor of God . . . [But] in the cloisters, before the eyes of the brothers while they read—what . . . are the filthy apes doing there? The fierce lions? The monstrous centaurs? The creatures, part man and part beast? The striped tigers? The fighting soldiers? The hunters blowing horns? You may see many bodies under one head, and conversely many heads on one body. On one side the tail of a serpent is seen on a quadruped, on the other side the head of a quadruped is on the body of a fish. Over there an animal has a horse for the front half and a goat for the back. . . . Everywhere so plentiful and astonishing a variety of contradictory forms is seen that one would rather read in the marble than in books, and spend the whole day wondering at every single one of them than in meditating on the law of God. Good God! If one is not ashamed of the absurdity, why is one not at least troubled at the expense?*

*Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia* 12.28–29. Translated by Conrad Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's* Apologia *and the Medieval Attitude toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 279, 283.

12-10 General view (*left*; looking southeast) and historiated capital (*right*) of the cloister of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, France, ca. 1100–1115.

The revived tradition of stonecarving probably began with historiated capitals. The most extensive preserved ensemble of sculptured early Romanesque capitals is in the Moissac cloister.

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sculptures adorn the church's ambulatory wall, but their original location is unknown. In the view of some scholars, the reliefs once formed part of a shrine dedicated to Saint Saturninus that stood in the *crypt* (a vaulted underground chamber) of the grand pilgrimage church. Others believe that the plaques once decorated a choir screen or an exterior portal. The relief illustrated here (FIG. 12-9), *Christ in Majesty,* is the centerpiece of the group. Christ sits in a mandorla, his right hand raised in blessing, his left hand resting on an open book inscribed *Pax vobis* ("Peace unto you"). The signs of the four evangelists (see "The Four Evangelists," page 331) occupy the corners of the slab. Art historians debate the sources of Bernardus's style, but the composition could have been used earlier for a Carolingian or Ottonian work in metal or ivory, perhaps a book cover. The polished marble has the gloss of both materials, and the sharply incised lines and ornamentation of Christ's aureole are characteristic of pre-Romanesque metalwork.

Moissac. The abbey of Saint-Pierre (Saint Peter) at Moissac in southwestern France joined the Cluniac order in 1047 and was an important stop along the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela. Enriched by the gifts of pilgrims and noble benefactors, the monks adorned their church with one of the most extensive series of relief sculptures in Romanesque Europe. The oldest are in the cloister (FIG. 12-10). *Cloister* (from the Latin word *claustrum,*

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"enclosed place") connotes being shut away from the world. Architecturally, the medieval church cloister expressed the seclusion of the spiritual life, the *vita contemplativa* ("contemplative life"), as opposed to the *vita activa* ("active life") of the lay population. At Moissac, as elsewhere, the cloister provided the monks (and nuns) with a foretaste of Paradise. In its garden or the timber-roofed columnar walkway framing the garden, they could read their devotions, pray, meditate, and carry on other activities in a beautiful and centrally located space. The cloisters of the 12th century are monuments to the vitality, popularity, and influence of monasticism at its peak.

12-10A Abbot Durandus, Moissac, ca. 1000–1115.

Moissac's cloister sculpture program consists of large figural reliefs (FIG. **12-10A**) on the piers as well as *historiated capitals* (capitals ornamented with carved figures; FIG. 12-10, *right*) on the columns. The 76 capitals alternately crown single and paired column shafts. They are variously decorated, some with abstract patterns, many with biblical scenes or scenes from the lives of saints, others with fantastic monsters of all sorts—basilisks, griffins, lizards, gargoyles, and more. *Bestiaries*—collections of illustrations of real and imaginary animals—became very popular in the Romanesque age. The monstrous forms were reminders of the chaos and deformity of a world without God's order. Medieval artists delighted in inventing composite multiheaded beasts and other fantastic creations. Historiated capitals were also a feature of Moissac's mother church, Cluny III, and were common in Cluniac monasteries.

Not everyone shared the Cluniac monks' enthusiasm for stone sculpture. One group of Benedictine monks founded a new order at Cîteaux in eastern France in 1098. The Cistercians (from the Latin name for Cîteaux) split from the Cluniac order to return to the strict observance of the rules of Saint Benedict (see "Medieval Monasteries and Benedictine Rule," page 336), changing the color of their robes from Cluniac black to unbleached white. These White Monks emphasized productive manual labor, and their systematic farming techniques stimulated the agricultural transformation of Europe.

12-10B Notre-Dame, Fontenay, 1139–1147.

The Cistercian movement expanded with astonishing rapidity. Within a half century, the White Monks had established more than 500 monasteries. Their churches, such as Notre-Dame at Fontenay (FIG. **12-10B**), are uniformly austere. The Cistercians rejected figural sculpture as a distraction from their devotions. The most outspoken Cistercian critic of church sculpture was Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (see "Bernard of Clairvaux on Cloister Sculpture," page 356).

Bernard directed his tirade against figural sculpture primarily at monks who allowed the carvings to distract them from their meditations. But at Moissac (FIG. **12-11**) and other Cluniac churches, the most extensive sculptural ensembles adorned those parts of the church open to the laity, especially the facade. Saint-Pierre's

12-11 South portal of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, France, ca. 1115–1135.

A vision of the Second Coming of Christ on Judgment Day greets worshipers entering Saint-Pierre at Moissac. Accompanying Christ in the tympanum are the 24 elders and the symbols of the four evangelists.

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The Romanesque Church Portal

One of the most significant and distinctive features of Romanesque art is the revival of stone sculpture (see "The Rebirth of Large-Scale Sculpture," page 355). Large-scale carved biblical figures were extremely rare in Christian art before the year 1000. But in the late 11th and early 12th centuries, rich ensembles of figural reliefs began to appear again, most often in the grand stone portals (FIGS. 12-11 and 12-12B) through which the faithful had to pass. Sculpture had been employed in church doorways before. For example, carved wood doors (FIG. 8-19A) greeted Early Christian worshipers as they entered Santa Sabina in Rome, and Ottonian bronze doors (FIG. 11-26) decorated with Old and New Testament scenes marked the entrance from the cloister to the church of Saint Michael's at Hildesheim. But these were exceptions, and in the Romanesque era (and during the Gothic period that followed), sculpture usually appeared in the area *around,* rather than *on,* the doors.

Shown in FIG. 12-12 are the parts of church portals that Romanesque sculptors regularly decorated with figural reliefs:

- ***Tympanum*** (FIGS. 12-1, 12-11, 12-12B, and 12-15), the prominent semicircular *lunette* above the doorway proper, comparable in importance to the triangular *pediment* of a Greco-Roman temple
- ***Voussoirs*** (FIG. 12-15), the wedge-shaped blocks that together form the ***archivolts*** of the arch framing the tympanum
- ***Lintel*** (FIGS. 12-1, 12-9A, 12-15, and 12-15C), the horizontal beam above the doorway
- ***Trumeau*** (FIGS. 12-11 and 12-13), the center post supporting the lintel in the middle of the doorway
- ***Jambs*** (FIG. 12-11), the side posts of the doorway

12-12 The Romanesque church portal (John Burge).

The clergy considered the church doorway to be the beginning of the path to salvation through Christ. Many Romanesque churches feature didactic figural reliefs above and beside the entrance portals.

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richly decorated south portal faces the town square, and features figural and decorative reliefs in its tympanum, voussoirs, lintel, trumeau, and jambs (see "The Romanesque Church Portal," above).

The focus of the sculptural program of the Moissac portal is the tympanum depicting the Second Coming of Christ as king and judge of the world in its last days—a subject chosen to underscore the role of the church as the path to Heaven (see "The Rebirth of Large-Scale Sculpture," page 355). As befits his majesty, the enthroned Christ is at the center, reflecting a compositional rule followed since Early Christian times. Flanking him are the signs of the four evangelists and attendant angels holding scrolls to record human deeds for judgment. Completing the design are 24 figures of crowned musicians. They are the 24 elders who accompany Christ as the kings of this world and make music in his praise. Each turns to face the enthroned judge, much as would the courtiers of a medieval monarch in attendance on their lord. Two courses of wavy lines symbolizing the clouds of Heaven divide the elders into three tiers.

Variations on the theme of the Second Coming adorn the tympana of many Romanesque churches, but the style of these sculptures is quite diverse. The figures of the Moissac tympanum contrast sharply with those of the earlier Saint-Sernin ambulatory reliefs (FIG. 12-9) and the Silos pier reliefs (FIG. 12-9B), as well as with the contemporaneous tympana at Autun (FIGS. 12-1 and 12-14) and Vézelay (FIG. 12-15), the later reliefs on the facade of Notre-Dame-la-Grande (FIG. 12-12A) at Poitiers and Saint Trophîme (FIG. 12-12B) at Arles, and even the pier reliefs (FIG. 12-10A) of the Moissac cloister. The extremely elongated bodies of the angels recording each soul's fate, the cross-legged dancing pose of Saint Matthew's angel, and the jerky, hinged movement of the elders' heads are characteristic of the nameless Moissac master's style of representing the human figure. The zigzag and dovetail lines of the draperies, the band-like folds of the torsos, the bending back of the hands against the body, and the wide cheekbones are also common features of this distinctive style. The animation of the individual figures, however, contrasts with the stately monumentality of the composition as a whole, producing a dynamic tension in the tympanum.

12-12A
Notre-Dame-la-Grande, Poitiers, ca. 1130–1150.

12-12B
Saint-Trophîme, Arles, mid-12th century.

The jambs and central post (trumeau) of the Moissac portal (FIG. 12-11) have scalloped contours, a borrowing from Spanish Islamic architecture (compare FIGS. 10-11 and 10-12). Six roaring interlaced lions on

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12-13 Old Testament prophet (Jeremiah or Isaiah?), right side of the trumeau of the south portal (FIG. 12-11) of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, France, ca. 1115–1130.

This animated prophet displays the scroll recounting his vision. His position below the apparition of Christ as Last Judge is in keeping with the tradition of pairing Old and New Testament themes.

12-14 GISLEBERTUS, Christ, detail of *Last Judgment,* west tympanum (FIG. 12-1) of Saint-Lazare, Autun, France, ca. 1120–1135. Detail, 8′ 9″ high.

Christ presides over the separation of the blessed from the damned in Gislebertus's dramatic vision of the Last Judgment (FIG. 12-1), designed to terrify those guilty of sin and beckon them into the church.

the front of the trumeau greet worshipers as they enter the church. The notion of placing fearsome images at the gateways to important places is of very ancient origin (compare FIGS. 2-18A, 2-20, 4-19, 5-16, and 6-9). In the Middle Ages, lions were the church's ideal protectors because people believed that lions slept with their eyes open.

On the trumeau's right face is a prophet (FIG. 12-13)—identified by some scholars as Jeremiah, and as Isaiah by others—who displays a scroll bearing his prophetic vision. His position below the apparition of Christ as the apocalyptic judge (compare FIG. 12-14) is yet another instance of the pairing of Old and New Testament themes, in keeping with an iconographic tradition established in Early Christian times (see "Old Testament Subjects in Christian Art," page 242). The prophet's figure is very tall and thin, in the manner of the tympanum angels, and, like Matthew's angel, he executes a cross-legged step. The animation of the body reveals the passionate nature of the soul within. The flowing lines of the drapery folds ultimately derive from manuscript illumination (compare FIG. 12-16A) and here play gracefully around the elegant figure. The long, serpentine locks of hair and beard frame an arresting image of the dreaming mystic. The prophet seems entranced by his vision of what is to come, the light of ordinary day unseen by his wide eyes.

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The Crusades

In 1095, Pope Urban II (r. 1088–1099) delivered a stirring sermon at the Council of Clermont in which he called for an assault on the Holy Land:

> [Y]our brethren who live in the East are in urgent need of your help . . . [because] the Turks and Arabs have attacked them. . . . They have killed and captured many, and have destroyed the churches . . . I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds . . . to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends. . . . All who die by the way . . . shall have immediate remission of sins. . . . Let those who go not put off the journey, but rent their lands and collect money for their expenses . . . [and] eagerly set out on the way with God as their guide.*

Between 1095 and 1190, Christians launched three great Crusades from France. The *Crusades* ("taking of the Cross") were mass armed pilgrimages whose stated purpose was to wrest the Christian shrines of the Holy Land from Muslim control. Similar vows bound Crusaders and pilgrims. All those who set out for the Holy Land hoped not only to atone for sins and win salvation but also to glorify God and extend the power of the Church. The joint action of the papacy and the mostly French feudal lords in this type of holy war strengthened papal authority over the long run and created an image of Christian solidarity.

The symbolic embodiment of the joining of religious and secular forces in the Crusades was the Christian warrior—the fighting priest, or the priestly fighter. From the early medieval warrior evolved the Christian knight, who fought for the honor of God rather than in defense of his chieftain. The first and most typical of the crusading knights were the Knights Templar. After the Christian conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, they stationed themselves next to the Dome of the Rock (FIG. 10-2)—that is, on the site of Solomon's Temple, the source of their name. Their mission was to protect pilgrims visiting the recovered Christian shrines. Formally founded in 1118, the Knights Templar order received the blessing of Bernard of Clairvaux, who gave them a rule of organization based on that of his own Cistercians. Bernard justified their militancy by declaring that "the knight of Christ" is "glorified in slaying the infidel . . . because thereby Christ is glorified," and the Christian knight then wins salvation. The Cistercian abbot saw the Crusades as part of the general reform of the Church and as the defense of the supremacy of Christendom. He himself called for the Second Crusade in 1147 at Vézelay (FIG. 12-15). For the Muslims, however, the Crusaders were nothing more than violent invaders who slaughtered the population of Jerusalem (Jewish as well as Muslim) when they took the city in July 1099.

In the end, the Muslims expelled the Christian armies, and the Crusaders failed miserably in their attempt to regain the Holy Land. Today, there are few reminders of the Crusader occupation save for fortified castles such as the Krak des Chevaliers (FIG. 12-15A) near Homs in Syria. But in western Europe, the Crusades had a much greater impact by increasing the power and prestige of the towns. Italian port cities such as Pisa (FIG. 12-29) thrived on the commercial opportunities presented by the transportation of Crusaders overseas. Many communities purchased their charters from the barons who owned their land when the latter needed to finance their campaigns in the Holy Land. This gave rise to a middle class of merchants and artisans to rival the power of the feudal lords and the great monasteries—an economic and societal change of enormous consequence for the later history of Europe.

12-15A Krak des Chevaliers, Homs, 1142–1170.

*As recorded by Fulcher of Chartres (1059–ca. 1127). Translated by O. J. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal, quoted in Roberta Anderson and Dominic Aidan Bellenger, eds., *Medieval Worlds: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 88–90.

12-15 *Pentecost* and *Mission of the Apostles*, tympanum of the center portal of the narthex of La Madeleine, Vézelay, France, 1120–1132.

In the tympanum of the church most closely associated with the Crusades, light rays emanating from Christ's hands instill the Holy Spirit in the apostles, whose mission is to convert the world's heathens.

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Vézelay. At the same time that Gislebertus and his assistants were at work on the tympanum (FIGS. 12-1 and 12-14), nave (FIG. 12-15B), and north portal (FIG. 12-15C) of Saint-Lazare at Autun, a team of stonecarvers was decorating the nearby church of La Madeleine (Mary Magdalene; FIG. 12-15) at Vézelay. Vézelay is more closely associated with the Crusades (see "The Crusades," page 360) than any other church in Europe. Pope Urban II had intended to call for the launching of the First Crusade at Vézelay in 1095, but he delivered the sermon at Clermont instead. In 1147, at Vézelay, Bernard of Clairvaux called for the Second Crusade, and King Louis VII of France took up the cross there. The Magdalene church at Vézelay was also the place from which King Richard the Lionhearted of England and King Philip Augustus of France set out in 1190 on the Third Crusade.

12-15B GISLEBERTUS, *Suicide of Judas,* Autun, ca. 1120–1135.

12-15C GISLEBERTUS, *Eve,* Autun, ca. 1120–1135.

The major element of the sculptural program of La Madeleine at Vézelay is the tympanum (FIG. 12-15) of the central portal of the church's narthex, in which worshipers entering the church see a representation of the Pentecost and the mission of the apostles. As related in Acts 1:4–9, Christ foretold that the 12 apostles would receive the power of the Holy Spirit and become witnesses of the truth of the Gospels throughout the world. The light rays emanating from Christ's hands represent the instilling of the Holy Spirit in the apostles (Acts 2:1–42) at the Pentecost (the seventh Sunday after Easter). The apostles (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247), holding the Gospel books, receive their spiritual assignment to preach the Gospel to all nations. The Christ figure is a splendid linear design in which the drapery folds shoot out in rays, break into quick zigzag rhythms, and spin into whorls, wonderfully conveying the spiritual light and energy flowing from the Savior over and into the equally animated apostles. The overall composition, as well as the detailed treatment of the figures, contrast with the much more sedate representation of the Second Coming (FIG. 12-11) at Moissac. There, a grid of horizontal and vertical lines contains almost all the figures. The sharp differences between the two tympana highlight the regional diversity of Romanesque art, as well as the personal style of different master sculptors.

The world's heathen, the objects of the apostles' mission, appear on the Vézelay lintel below and in eight compartments around the tympanum. The portrayals of the yet-to-be-converted constitute a medieval anthropological encyclopedia. Present are the legendary giant-eared Panotii of India; Pygmies (who require ladders to mount horses); and a host of other races, some characterized by a dog's head, others by a pig's snout, and still others by flaming hair. The assembly of agitated figures also includes hunchbacks, mutes, the blind, and the lame. Humanity, still suffering, awaits the salvation to come. As at Moissac (FIG. 12-11), Autun (FIG. 12-1), and Saint-Trophîme (FIG. 12-12B) in Arles, the sculptured tympanum of the entrance portal established God's omnipotence and presented the Church as the road to salvation (see "The Rebirth of Large-Scale Sculpture," page 355).

Painting and Other Arts

Unlike the practices of placing vaults over naves and aisles and decorating building facades with large-scale stone reliefs, the art of painting needed no "revival" in the Romanesque period.

1 in.

12-16 Initial *L* and Saint Matthew, folio 10 recto of the *Codex Colbertinus,* probably from the abbey of Saint-Pierre, Moissac, France, ca. 1100. Tempera on vellum, 7 1/2″ × 4″. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Probably produced in the Moissac scriptorium, the *Codex Colbertinus* illuminations are stylistically similar to the contemporaneous cloister sculptures (FIG. 12-10A) of that Cluniac monastery.

Monasteries produced illuminated manuscripts in large numbers in the early Middle Ages, and the Roman tradition of mural painting had never died. But the quantity of preserved frescoes and illustrated books from the Romanesque era is unprecedented.

Codex Colbertinus. In addition to sponsoring the costliest sculptural programs of the Romanesque age, Cluniac monasteries produced many of the finest and most ornate illuminated manuscripts, including the *Codex Colbertinus* (FIG. 12-16) and the *Corbie Gospels* (FIG. 12-16A), both of which are closely related stylistically to the relief sculptures of Saint-Pierre at Moissac.

12-16A *Corbie Gospels,* ca. 1120.

The *Codex Colbertinus* is, in fact, probably the work of scribes and painters in the Moissac scriptorium, and it is contemporaneous with the column capitals and pier reliefs of Saint-Pierre's cloister (FIGS. 12-10 and 12-10A). The

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1 in.

12-17 Initial *R* with knight fighting dragons, folio 4 verso of the *Moralia in Job,* from Cîteaux, France, ca. 1115–1125. Ink and tempera on vellum, 1′ $1\frac{3}{4}$″ × $9\frac{1}{4}$″. Bibliothèque municipale, Dijon.

Ornamented initials date to the Hiberno-Saxon era, but this illuminator translated the theme into Romanesque terms. The duel between knight and dragons symbolized a monk's spiritual struggle.

major illuminations in the manuscript are the full pages featuring historiated initials and evangelist portraits. The opening page (FIG. 12-16) of the Gospel according to Saint Matthew includes both the large initial letter *L* of *Liber* ("book") and a generic portrait of the author. Matthew holds a book in his left hand and raises his right hand in a gesture of blessing. He stands frontally between a pair of columns supporting an arch. On one of the Moissac piers, Abbot Durandus (FIG. 12-10A) is similarly framed. The two figures are similar in other respects as well—for example, in the way both artists depicted the robed men with dangling feet.

The letter *L* has no equivalent in the Moissac sculptures, but the real and imaginary animals and birds with long, twisted necks that inhabit the initial have parallels in Saint-Pierre's cloister capitals. The intertwining forms attest to the long afterlife of the animal-and-interlace style of the illuminated books (FIG. 11-7) of the Hiberno-Saxon period.

Moralia in Job. Another major Romanesque scriptorium was at the abbey of Cîteaux, mother church of the Cistercian order. Just before Bernard of Clairvaux joined the monastery in 1112, the monks completed work on an illuminated copy of Saint Gregory's *Moralia in Job.* It is an example of Cistercian illumination that predates Bernard's passionate opposition to monastic figural art, which in 1134 resulted in a Cistercian ban on elaborate paintings in manuscripts as well as sculptural ornamentation in monasteries. In sharp contrast to the Cluniac monks at Moissac and other monasteries, the Cistercians prohibited full-page illustrations in their books, and even initial letters had to be nonfigurative and of a single color.

The historiated initial illustrated here (FIG. 12-17) clearly would have been in violation of Bernard's ban had it not been painted two decades before his prohibitions took effect. A knight, his squire, and two roaring dragons form an intricate letter *R,* the initial letter of the salutation *Reverentissimo.* This page is the opening of Gregory's letter to "the most revered" Leandro, bishop of Seville, Spain. The knight is a slender, regal figure who raises his shield and sword against the dragons, while the squire, crouching beneath him, runs a lance through one of the monsters. Although the clergy viewed the duel between knight and dragons as an allegory of the spiritual struggle of monks against the Devil for the salvation of souls, Bernard opposed this kind of illumination, just as he condemned carvings of monstrous creatures and "fighting soldiers" on cloister capitals (see "Bernard of Clairvaux," page 356).

Ornamented initials date to the Hiberno-Saxon period (FIG. 11-1), but in the *Moralia in Job,* the artist translated the theme into Romanesque terms. The page with the initial *R* may be a reliable picture of a medieval baron's costume. The typically French Romanesque banding of the torso and partitioning of the folds are evident, but the master painter deftly avoided stiffness and angularity. The partitioning here accentuates the knight's verticality and elegance and the thrusting action of his servant. The flowing sleeves add a spirited flourish to the swordsman's gesture. The knight, handsomely garbed, cavalierly wears no armor and calmly aims a single stroke, unmoved by the ferocious dragons lunging at him.

Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe. Although the art of fresco painting (see "Fresco," page 428) never died in early medieval Europe, the murals (not true frescoes, however) of the Benedictine abbey church of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe have no Carolingian or Ottonian parallels, because the paintings decorate the stone barrel vault of the church's nave (FIG. 12-18). Saint-Savin is a *hall church*—a church where the aisles are approximately the same height as the nave. The tall windows in the aisles of a hall church provide more illumination to the nave than do the smaller windows in churches having low aisles and tribunes. The abundant light streaming into the church may explain why the monks chose to decorate the nave's barrel vault with paintings. (They also painted the nave piers to imitate rich veined marble.)

The subjects of Saint-Savin's nave paintings all come from the Pentateuch—for example, *Tower of Babel* (FIG. 12-18, *right*), in which the Babylonian ziggurat is represented as a Romanesque tower with engaged columns being constructed in the presence of a haloed Christ-like God. New Testament themes appear in the transept, ambulatory, and chapels, where the painters also depicted the lives of Saint Savin and another local saint. The elongated, agitated, cross-legged figures have stylistic affinities both to the reliefs of southern French portals (FIG. 12-13) and to illuminated manuscripts such as the *Corbie Gospels* (FIG. 12-16A) and the *Moralia in Job* (FIG. 12-17).

Santa María de Mur. In the Romanesque period, northern Spain, home to the great pilgrimage church of Saint James (FIG. 12-6B) at Santiago de Compostela, was one of the most important regional artistic centers. In fact, Catalonia, in northeastern Spain, boasts more Romanesque mural paintings today than anywhere else. Especially impressive is the *Christ in Majesty* fresco (FIG. 12-19), now in Boston, that once filled the apse of Santa María de Mur, a monastery church not far from Lérida. The formality, symmetry, and placement of the figures are Byzantine (compare FIGS. 9-16 and

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12-18 **Nave (*left*; looking east) and detail (*above*) of *Tower of Babel* on the painted vault of the abbey church of Saint-Savin, Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, France, late 11th century.**

Saint-Savin is a hall church with aisles approximately the same height as the nave. The tall aisle windows provide ample illumination for the Old Testament paintings on the nave's barrel vault.

9-28), but the Spanish artist rejected Byzantine mosaic in favor of direct painting on plaster-coated walls.

The iconographic scheme in the semidome of the apse echoes the themes of the stone reliefs in the tympana of contemporaneous French (FIGS. 12-1 and 12-12B) and Spanish Romanesque church portals. The signs of the four evangelists flank Christ in a star-strewn mandorla. Seven lamps between Christ and the evangelists' signs symbolize the seven Christian communities where Saint John addressed his revelation of the Apocalypse at the beginning of his book (Rev. 1:4, 12, 20). Below stand apostles, paired off in formal frontality, as in the Monreale Cathedral apse (FIG. 9-27). The Spanish painter rendered the principal figures with partitioning of the drapery into volumes, here and there made tubular by local shading, and stiffened the irregular shapes of pliable cloth into geometric patterns. The overall effect is one of simple, strong, and even blunt directness of statement, reinforced by harsh, bright color, appropriate for a powerful icon.

Morgan Madonna. Despite the widespread use of stone relief sculptures to adorn church portals, resistance to the creation of statues in the round—in any material—continued in the Romanesque period. The avoidance of anything that might be construed as an idol was still the rule, in keeping with the Second Commandment. Freestanding statues of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints were still quite rare two centuries after Archbishop Gero commissioned a life-size painted wood figure of the crucified Christ (FIG. 11-30) for Cologne Cathedral. The veneration of relics, however, brought with it a demand for small-scale images of the holy family and saints to be placed on the chapel altars of the churches along the pilgrimage roads. Reliquaries in the form of saints (FIG. 12-2) or parts of saints (FIG. 12-28), tabletop crucifixes, and wood devotional figurines began to be produced in great numbers.

One popular type, a specialty of the workshops of Auvergne, France, was a painted wood statuette depicting the Virgin Mary

1 ft.

12-19 ***Christ in Majesty,*** **apse, Santa María de Mur, near Lérida, Spain, mid-12th century. Fresco, 24′ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.**

In this fresco, formerly in the apse of Santa María de Mur, Christ appears in a mandorla between the four evangelists' signs. The fresco resembles French and Spanish Romanesque tympanum reliefs.

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12-20 **Virgin and Child (*Morgan Madonna*), from Auvergne, France, second half of 12th century. Painted wood, 2′ 7″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1916).**

The veneration of relics created a demand for small-scale images of the holy family and saints to be placed on chapel altars. This painted wood statuette depicts the Virgin as the "throne of wisdom."

with the Christ Child in her lap. The *Morgan Madonna* (FIG. 12-20), so named because it once belonged to the American financier and collector J. Pierpont Morgan, is one example. The type, known as the *sedes sapientiae* (Latin, "throne of wisdom"), is a western European freestanding version of the Byzantine Theotokos theme popular in icons and mosaics (FIGS. 9-19 and 9-20). Christ holds a Bible in his left hand and raises his right arm in blessing (both hands are broken off). He is the embodiment of the divine wisdom contained in holy scripture. His seated mother is in turn the throne of wisdom because her lap is the Christ Child's throne. As in Byzantine art, both Madonna and Child sit rigidly upright and are strictly frontal, emotionless figures. But the intimate scale, the gesture of benediction, the once-bright coloring of the garments, and the soft modeling of the Virgin's face make this mother-and-son pair seem much less remote than its Byzantine counterparts.

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The Romanesque successors of the Ottonians were the Salians (r. 1027–1125), a dynasty of Franks. They ruled an empire corresponding roughly to present-day Germany and the Lombard region of northern Italy (MAP 12-1). Like their predecessors, the Salian emperors were important patrons of art and architecture, although the monasteries of the Holy Roman Empire, as elsewhere in Romanesque Europe, remained great centers of artistic production.

Architecture

Traditional histories of Romanesque art and architecture usually present France as the center of innovation and other regions as peripheral. But, especially in terms of the technology of constructing large buildings, the architects of the Holy Roman Empire seem to have led the way (see "How to Illuminate a Nave," page 365).

Speyer. Construction of Speyer Cathedral (FIGS. 12-21 and 12-22) in the German Rhineland, far from the pilgrimage routes of southern France and northern Spain, began in 1030. The church was the burial place of the Holy Roman emperors until the beginning of the 12th century, and funding for the building campaign came from imperial patrons, not traveling pilgrims and local landowners. Speyer, like all cathedrals, was also the seat (*cathedra* in Latin) of the powerful local bishop. In its earliest form, the church, begun by Conrad II (r. 1027–1039) when Speyer had a population of only 500, was a timber-roofed structure. When Henry IV (r. 1056–1105)

12-21 **East end of Speyer Cathedral, Speyer, Germany, ca. 1082–1105.**

Speyer Cathedral is the largest Romanesque church in the world. Its east end features twin 234-foot spires, blind windows and arches, and open arcuated galleries in the apse and transept wings.

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

How to Illuminate a Nave

The barrel-vaulted naves of Saint James (FIG. 12-6B) at Santiago de Compostela, Saint-Sernin (FIG. 12-7) at Toulouse, Cluny III (FIG. 12-8), and Notre-Dame (FIG. 12-10B) at Fontenay admirably met French and Spanish Romanesque architects' goals of making the house of the Lord beautiful and providing excellent acoustics for church services. In addition, they were relatively fireproof compared with timber-roofed structures such as Saint-Étienne (FIG. 12-3) at Vignory (see "Stone Vaulting in Romanesque Churches," page 354). But the barrel vaults often failed in one critical requirement: they did not provide adequate lighting for the nave.

Due to the great outward thrust that barrel vaults exert along their full length, even when pointed (FIGS. 12-8 and 12-10B) instead of semicircular, a clerestory is difficult to construct. (The Santiago de Compostela, Toulouse, and Fontenay designers did not even attempt to introduce a clerestory, although their counterparts at Cluny III succeeded.) In designing churches, the central aim of Romanesque architects in the Holy Roman Empire (and in Normandy and England; FIGS. 12-34 and 12-36) was to develop a masonry vault system that admitted light and was also aesthetically pleasing.

Covering the nave with groin vaults instead of barrel vaults became the solution. Ancient Roman builders had used the groin vault widely, because they realized that its concentration of thrusts at four supporting points enabled them to introduce clerestory windows (FIGS. 7-6, 7-66, and 7-74). Concrete, which could be poured into forms, where it solidified into a homogeneous mass (see "Roman Concrete Construction," page 186), made the gigantic Roman groin vaults possible. But the technique of mixing concrete had been forgotten in the Middle Ages.

The technical problems of building groin vaults of cut stone and heavy rubble, which have very little cohesive quality, at first limited their use to the covering of small areas, such as the individual bays of the aisles of the pilgrimage churches at Santiago de Compostela (FIG. 12-6B) and Toulouse (FIG. 12-7). During the 11th century, however, masons in the Holy Roman Empire at Speyer (FIGS. 12-21 and 12-22) and elsewhere, using cut stone blocks held together with mortar, developed a groin vault of impressive dimensions.

12-22 Interior of Speyer Cathedral (looking east), Speyer, Germany, begun 1030; nave vaults, ca. 1082–1105.

The imperial cathedral at Speyer is one of the earliest examples of the use of groin vaulting in a nave. Groin vaults made possible the insertion of large clerestory windows above the nave arcade.

rebuilt the cathedral between 1082 and 1105, his masons covered the nave (FIG. 12-22) with stone groin vaults. The large clerestory windows above the nave arcade provided ample light to the interior. Architectural historians disagree about where the first comprehensive use of groin vaulting occurred in Romanesque times, and nationalistic concerns sometimes color the debate. But no one doubts that the large groin vaults covering the nave of Speyer Cathedral represent one of the most daring and successful engineering experiments of the time. The nave is 45 feet wide, and the crowns of the vaults are 107 feet above the floor.

Speyer Cathedral employs an alternate-support system in the nave, as in the Ottonian churches of Saint Cyriakus (FIG. 11-23) at Gernrode and Saint Michael's (FIGS. 11-25 and 11-25A) at Hildesheim. At Speyer, however, the alternation continues all the way up into the vaults, with the nave's more richly molded compound piers marking the corners of the groin vaults. Speyer's interior shows the same striving for height and the same compartmentalized effect seen at Santiago de Compostela (FIG. 12-6B) and Toulouse (FIG. 12-7), but by virtue of the alternate-support system, the rhythm of the Speyer nave is a little more complex. Because each compartment has its own vault, the impression of a sequence of vertical spatial blocks is even more convincing.

The exterior (FIG. 12-21) of Speyer Cathedral, with its multiple towers reaching to the sky, reveals the heritage of Ottonian church design (compare FIGS. 11-22, 11-24, and 11-29A). Constructed of red sandstone ashlar blocks from Rhineland quarries, the cathedral is the largest Romanesque church in the world, befitting the grandiose ambitions of the church's imperial patrons. Speyer Cathedral's east end is noteworthy not only for its twin 234-foot spires echoing the pair on the westwork at the opposite end of the church but also for the pleasing and much-emulated combination of blind arcades and open arcuated galleries in the apse and two transept wings.

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12-23 Interior of Sant'Ambrogio (looking east), Milan, Italy, late 11th to early 12th century.

Sant'Ambrogio reveals the architectural ties between Lombardy and Germany. Each groin-vaulted nave bay corresponds to two aisle bays. The alternate-support system complements this modular plan.

12-24 Atrium of Sant'Ambrogio (looking east), Milan, Italy, late 11th to early 12th century.

With its atrium and low, broad proportions, Sant'Ambrogio recalls Early Christian basilicas, but two prominent bell towers flank the narthex. There is also an octagonal tower over the nave's east end.

Milan. After Charlemagne crushed the Lombards in 773, German kings ruled Lombardy, and the Rhineland and northern Italy cross-fertilized each other artistically. No scholarly agreement exists as to which source of artistic influence, the German or the Lombard, was dominant in the Romanesque age. The question, no doubt, will remain the subject of controversy until the construction date of Sant'Ambrogio (FIGS. 12-23 and 12-24) in Milan can be established unequivocally. The church, erected in honor of Saint Ambrose (d. 397), Milan's first bishop, is the central monument of Lombard Romanesque architecture. Some scholars think that the church was a prototype for Speyer Cathedral, but Sant'Ambrogio is a remarkable building whether or not it was a model for Speyer's builders.

The Milanese church has a nave (FIG. 12-23) and two aisles, but no transept. Each bay consists of a full square in the nave flanked by two small squares in each aisle, all covered with groin vaults. The main vaults are slightly domical, rising higher than the transverse arches. The windows in the octagonal dome over the last bay—probably here, as elsewhere, a reference to the dome of Heaven—provide the major light source for the otherwise rather dark interior. (The building lacks a clerestory.) The emphatic alternate-support system perfectly reflects the geometric regularity of the plan. The lighter pier moldings stop at the gallery level, and the heavier ones rise to support the main vaults. At Sant'Ambrogio, the compound piers even continue into the ponderous vaults, which have supporting arches, or *ribs,* along their groins. The groin vaults of Sant'Ambrogio are one of the first instances in the history of architecture of *rib vaulting,* a key characteristic of mature Romanesque and later Gothic churches (see "The Gothic Rib Vault," page 387).

Sant'Ambrogio is also noteworthy because it has an *atrium* (FIG. 12-24) in the Early Christian tradition (FIGS. 8-9 and 8-10), one of the last to be built, and a two-story narthex pierced by arches on both levels. Two *campaniles* (Italian, "bell towers") join the building on the west. The shorter one dates to the 11th century, and the taller north campanile is a 12th-century addition. Over the nave's east end is an octagonal tower that recalls the crossing towers of Ottonian churches (FIG. 11-24).

The regional diversity of Romanesque architecture quickly becomes evident by comparing the proportions of Sant'Ambrogio with those of Speyer Cathedral (FIGS. 12-21 and 12-22), Saint James (FIG. 12-6B) at Santiago de Compostela, and Saint-Sernin (FIGS. 12-5 and 12-7) at Toulouse. The Milanese building does not aspire to the soaring height of the French, Spanish, and German churches. Save for the later of the two towers, Sant'Ambrogio's proportions are low and broad and remain close to those of Early Christian basilicas. Italian architects, even those working within the orbit of the Holy Roman Empire, had firm roots in the venerable Early Christian style and never sought the verticality found in northern European architecture, not even during the Gothic period.

Painting and Other Arts

The number and variety of illuminated manuscripts dating to the Romanesque era attest to the great demand for illustrated religious tomes in abbeys throughout Europe. The extraordinarily productive scribes and painters who created these books were almost exclusively monks and nuns working in the scriptoria of those same isolated religious communities. Some of the best manuscripts, however, were produced for the nobility, as during the Carolingian and Ottonian eras.

Hildegard of Bingen. Among the most interesting German religious manuscripts is the *Scivias* (*Know the Ways [Scite vias] of God*) of Hildegard of Bingen. Hildegard was a nun who eventually became the abbess of the convent at Disibodenberg in the Rhineland (see "Romanesque Countesses, Queens, and Nuns," page 367). The manuscript, lost in 1945, exists today only in a facsimile (FIG. 12-25). The

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ART AND SOCIETY

Romanesque Countesses, Queens, and Nuns

Romanesque Europe was still a man's world, but women could and did have power and influence. Countess Matilda of Canossa (1046–1115), who ruled Tuscany after 1069, was sole heiress of vast holdings in northern Italy. She was a key figure in the political struggle between the popes and the German emperors who controlled Lombardy. With unflagging resolution, she defended the reforms of Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085) and at her death willed most of her lands to the papacy.

More famous and more powerful was Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122–1204), wife of Henry II of England. She married Henry after the annulment of her marriage to Louis VII, king of France. She was queen of France for 15 years and queen of England for 35 years. During that time she bore three daughters and five sons. Two became kings: Richard I (the Lionhearted) and John. She supported her sons when they rebelled against their father, for which Henry imprisoned her. Released at Henry's death, she lived on as dowager queen, managing England's government and King John's holdings in France.

Of quite different stamp was Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179), the most prominent nun of the 12th century and one of the greatest religious figures of the Middle Ages. Hildegard was born into an aristocratic family that owned large estates in the German Rhineland. At a very early age, she began to have visions. When she was eight, her parents placed her in the Benedictine *double monastery* (for monks and nuns) at Disibodenberg. She became a nun at 15. In 1141, God instructed Hildegard to disclose her visions to the world:

> It happened that, in the eleven hundred and forty-first year of the Incarnation of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, when I was forty-two years and seven months old, Heaven was opened and a fiery light of exceeding brilliance came and permeated my whole brain, and inflamed my whole heart and my whole breast, not like a burning but like a warming flame, as the sun warms anything its rays touch. And immediately I knew the meaning of the exposition of the Scriptures, namely the Psalter, the Gospel and the other catholic volumes of both the Old and the New Testaments. . . . I heard a voice from Heaven saying to me, "Cry out therefore, and write thus!"*

12-25 Hildegard reveals her visions, detail of a facsimile of a lost folio in the Rupertsberger *Scivias* by Hildegard of Bingen, from Trier or Bingen, Germany, ca. 1150–1179. Abbey of St. Hildegard, Rüdesheim/Eibingen.

Hildegard of Bingen, the most prominent nun of her time, experienced divine visions, shown here as five tongues of fire entering her brain. She also composed music and wrote scientific treatises.

Before then, Hildegard had revealed her visions only to close confidants at the monastery. One of them was the monk Volmar, and Hildegard chose to dictate her visions to him for posterity (FIG. 12-25). No less a figure than Bernard of Clairvaux certified in 1147 that her visions were authentic, and Archbishop Heinrich of Mainz joined in the endorsement. In 1148, the Cistercian pope Eugenius III (r. 1145–1153) formally authorized Hildegard "in the name of Christ and Saint Peter to publish all that she had learned from the Holy Spirit." At this time, Hildegard became the abbess of a new convent built for her near Bingen. As reports of Hildegard's visions spread, kings, popes, barons, and prelates sought her counsel. All of them were attracted by her spiritual insight into the Christian faith. In addition to her visionary works—the most important of which is the *Scivias*—Hildegard wrote two scientific treatises. *Physica* is a study of the natural world, and *Causae et curae* (*Causes and Cures*) is a medical encyclopedia. Hildegard also composed the music and wrote the lyrics of 77 songs, which appeared under the title *Symphonia.*

Hildegard was the most famous Romanesque nun, but she was by no means the only learned woman of her age. A younger contemporary, Herrad (d. 1195), abbess of Hohenburg, was also the author of an important medieval encyclopedia. Herrad's *Hortus deliciarum* (*Garden of Delights*) is a history of the world intended for instructing the nuns under her supervision, but it reached a much wider audience.

*Translated by Mother Columba Hart and Jane Bishop, in Elizabeth Spearing, ed., *Medieval Writings on Female Spirituality* (New York: Penguin, 2002), 9, 11.

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original probably was written and illuminated at the monastery of Saint Matthias at Trier between 1150 and Hildegard's death in 1179, but it is possible that Hildegard supervised production of the book at Bingen. The *Scivias* contains a record of Hildegard's vision of the divine order of the cosmos and of humankind's place in it. The vision came to her as a fiery light pouring into her brain from the open vault of Heaven.

On the opening page (FIG. 12-25) of the *Scivias,* Hildegard sits within the monastery walls, her feet resting on a footstool. The representation of Hildegard writing echoes those of the evangelists in the *Coronation Gospels* (FIG. 11-13) and *Ebbo Gospels* (FIG. 11-14). The *Scivias* page is a link in a chain of author portraits with roots in classical antiquity (FIG. 7-25). The Romanesque artist showed Hildegard experiencing her divine vision by depicting five long tongues of fire emanating from above and entering her brain, just as she describes the experience in the accompanying text. Using a wax tablet resting on her left knee, Hildegard immediately sets down what has been revealed to her. Nearby, the monk Volmar, Hildegard's confessor, stands ready to copy into a book everything she wrote. Here, in a singularly dramatic context, is a picture of the essential nature of ancient and medieval book manufacture—individual scribes copying and recopying texts by hand (compare FIG. 11-11). The most labor-intensive and costliest texts, such as Hildegard's *Scivias,* also were illuminated (see "Manuscript Illumination," page 252). They required the collaboration of skilled painters—for example, the Weissenau monk RUFILLUS, who placed a portrait of himself at work (FIG. 12-25A) in a *passional* (book of saints' lives).

12-25A
RUFILLUS, initial *R,* ca. 1170–1200.

Gospels of Henry the Lion. Until his cousin Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1152–1190) confiscated his vast landholdings, the Guelph nobleman Henry the Lion (1129–1195), duke of Saxony from 1142 to 1180 and duke of Bavaria from 1156 to 1180, was one of the most powerful figures in the Holy Roman Empire. Best known for his crusades against the Slavs and his founding of Munich, Henry was the builder of Brunswick Cathedral and a great patron of the arts. The *Gospels of Henry the Lion,* which he commissioned in 1188 for the high altar of the cathedral, contains 24 full-page paintings among its 50 illuminations. Produced at the monastery Henry established at Helmarshausen, his *Gospels* carry on the imperial tradition of the Ottonians (FIG. 11-32). One page (FIG. 12-26) commemorates Henry's marriage on February 1, 1168, to Matilda Plantagenet (1156–1189), daughter of King Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine—or, more precisely, the couple's spiritual coronation. From above, Christ presides over the bestowing of crowns, which are placed on the heads of Henry and Matilda by two hands emerging from Heaven. The duke and duchess hold jeweled crosses and wear rich robes. Flanking them are Henry's Guelph ancestors and English royalty. Among the saints witnessing the coronation is Thomas Becket. On the dedication page of the manuscript, the scribe describes Henry as "the descendant of Charlemagne. To him alone would England entrust Matilda." In the richness of its coloration and the complexity of its composition, Henry's coronation page has few equals in Romanesque manuscript painting.

Rainer of Huy. Among Henry the Lion's other commissions was an over-life-size bronze statue of a lion for his capital at Brunswick. Indeed, in the Romanesque era, skilled metalworkers were much in demand in the Holy Roman Empire. One whose name is recorded was RAINER OF HUY, a bronzeworker from the Meuse River region in Belgium, an area renowned for its metalwork. Art historians have attributed an 1118 bronze baptismal font (FIG. 12-27) to him. Made for Notre-Dame-des-Fonts in Liège, the bronze basin rests on the foreparts of a dozen oxen. The oxen refer to the "molten sea . . . on twelve oxen" cast in bronze for King Solomon's temple (1 Kings 7:23–25). The Old Testament story prefigured Jesus's baptism (medieval scholars equated the oxen with the 12 apostles), which is appropriately the central scene on the Romanesque font.

In his work, Rainer, like so many earlier artists in the Holy Roman Empire beginning in Carolingian times, revived the classical style and the classical spirit. His sculpted figures are softly rounded, with idealized bodies and faces and heavy, clinging drapery. Rainer even represented one figure (at the left in FIG. 12-27) in a three-quarter view from the rear, a popular motif in classical art. Some of the figures, including Jesus himself, are undressed, which is also common in Greco-Roman art, whereas nudity is very rare in the art of the Middle Ages. Adam and Eve (FIGS. 8-8, 11-27, 12-15C, and 12-31) are exceptions, but medieval artists usually depicted the first man and woman as embarrassed by their nudity, the opposite of the high value the classical world placed on the beauty of the human body.

1 in.

12-26 **Coronation of Henry and Matilda, folio 171 verso of the *Gospels of Henry the Lion,* from the Benedictine abbey at Helmarshausen, Germany, 1188. Tempera on parchment, 9″ × 6″. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel.**

Two hands from Heaven crown Henry, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, and Matilda, daughter of Henry II of England, in the presence of Guelph and English ancestors and of saints, including Thomas Becket.

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12-27 Rainer of Huy, *Baptism of Christ,* **baptismal font from Notre-Dame-des-Fonts, Liège, Belgium, 1118. Bronze, 2′ 1″ high. Saint-Barthélémy, Liège.**

In the work of Rainer of Huy, the classical style and the classical spirit lived on in the Holy Roman Empire. His Liège baptismal font features idealized figures and even a nude representation of Jesus.

Saint Alexander. The reliquaries of Saint Faith (fig. 12-2) and of Saint Alexander (fig. 12-28), a hallowed pope (Alexander II, r. 1061–1073), are among the most sumptuous of the Romanesque age, a time when churches vied to possess the most important relics and often expended large sums on their containers (see "The Veneration of Relics," page 349). Made in 1145 for Abbot Wibald of Stavelot in Belgium, Saint Alexander's reliquary takes the form of an almost-life-size head, fashioned in beaten (repoussé) silver with bronze gilding for the hair. The idealized head resembles portraits of youthful Roman emperors such as Augustus (fig. I-10) and Constantine (fig. 7-78), and the Romanesque metalworker may have used an ancient sculpture as a model. The saint wears a collar of jewels and enamel plaques around his neck. Enamels and gems also adorn the box on which the head is mounted. The reliquary rests on four bronze dragons—mythical animals of the kind populating Romanesque cloister capitals. Not surprisingly, Bernard of Clairvaux was as critical of lavish church furnishings like the reliquaries of Saints Faith and Alexander as he was of Romanesque cloister sculpture:

> [Men's] eyes are fixed on relics covered with gold and purses are opened. The thoroughly beautiful image of some male or female saint is exhibited and that saint is believed to be the more holy the more highly colored the image is. People rush to kiss it, they are invited to donate, and they admire the beautiful more than they venerate the sacred. . . . O vanity of vanities, but no more vain than insane! The Church . . . dresses its stones in gold and it abandons its children naked. It serves the eyes of the rich at the expense of the poor.[4]

The central plaque on the front of the Stavelot reliquary depicts Pope Alexander, who was *canonized* (declared a saint) after his death. Saints Eventius and Theodolus flank him. The nine plaques on the other three sides represent female allegorical figures—Wisdom, Piety, and Humility among them. Although a local artist produced these enamels in the Meuse River region, the models were surely Byzantine. Saint Alexander's reliquary underscores the multiple sources of Romanesque art, as well as its stylistic diversity. Not since antiquity had people journeyed as extensively as they did in the Romanesque period, and artists regularly saw works of wide geographic origin. Abbot Wibald himself exemplified the well-traveled 12th-century clergyman. He was abbot of Montecassino in southern Italy and took part in the Second Crusade. Frederick Barbarossa sent him to Constantinople to arrange Frederick's wedding to the niece of the Byzantine emperor Manuel Comnenus. (Two centuries before, another German emperor, Otto II, married the Byzantine princess Theophanu, who promoted Byzantine style in the Holy Roman Empire; see "Theophanu," page 342.)

12-28 **Head reliquary of Saint Alexander, from the abbey church, Stavelot, Belgium, 1145. Silver repoussé (partly gilt), gilt bronze, gems, pearls, and enamel, 1′ 5½″ high. Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.**

The Stavelot reliquary is typical in its use of costly materials. The combination of an idealized classical head with Byzantine-style enamels underscores the stylistic diversity of Romanesque art.

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ITALY

Nowhere is the regional diversity of Romanesque art and architecture more readily apparent than in Italy, where the ancient Roman and Early Christian heritage was strongest. Although Tuscany—the ancient Etruscan heartland (MAP 6-1)—and other regions south of Lombardy were part of the territory of the Salian emperors, Italy south of Milan represented a distinct artistic zone during the Romanesque period.

Architecture and Architectural Sculpture

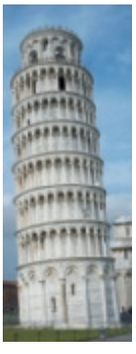
Italian Romanesque architects adhered closely to the Early Christian basilican type of church, and consequently designed buildings that were for the most part structurally less experimental than those erected in Germany and Lombardy.

12-29 Cathedral complex (looking northeast), Pisa, Italy; cathedral begun 1063; baptistery begun 1153; campanile (FIG. 12-29A) begun 1174.

Pisa's cathedral more closely resembles Early Christian basilicas than structurally more experimental French and German Romanesque churches. Separate bell towers and baptisteries are Italian features.

Pisa. The cathedral complex (FIG. 12-29) at Pisa dramatically testifies to the prosperity the busy maritime city enjoyed. The spoils of a naval victory over the Saracens off Palermo in Sicily in 1062 provided the funds for the Pisan building program. The cathedral, its freestanding bell tower, and the baptistery, where infants and converts were initiated into the Christian community, present a rare opportunity to study a coherent group of three Romanesque buildings. Save for the upper portion of the baptistery, with its remodeled Gothic exterior, the three structures are stylistically homogeneous.

Construction of Pisa Cathedral began first—in 1063, the same year that work began on San Marco (FIG. 9-26) in Venice, another powerful maritime city. The cathedral is large, with a nave and four aisles, and is one of the most impressive and majestic Romanesque churches. The Pisans, according to a document of the time, wanted their bishop's church not only to be a monument to the glory of God but also to bring credit to the city. At first glance, Pisa Cathedral resembles an Early Christian basilica with a timber roof, columnar arcade, and clerestory. But the broadly projecting transept with apses, the crossing dome, and the facade's multiple arcaded galleries distinguish it as Romanesque. So too does the rich marble *incrustation* (wall decoration consisting of bright panels of different colors, as in the Pantheon's interior, FIG. 7-51). The cathedral's campanile, detached in the standard Italian fashion, is Pisa's famous Leaning Tower (FIG. 12-29A). Graceful arcaded galleries mark the tower's stages and repeat the cathedral facade's motif, effectively relating the round campanile to its mother building.



12-29A Leaning Tower, Pisa, begun 1174.

12-30 Baptistery of San Giovanni (looking northwest), Florence, Italy, dedicated 1059.

The Florentine baptistery is a domed octagon descended from Roman and Early Christian central-plan buildings. The distinctive Tuscan Romanesque marble paneling stems from Roman wall designs.

Florence. The public understandably thinks of Florence as a Renaissance city (MAP 21-1), but it was already an important independent city-state in the Romanesque period. The gem of

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Florentine Romanesque architecture is the baptistery (FIG. 12-30) of San Giovanni (Saint John), the city's patron saint. Pope Nicholas II (r. 1059–1061) dedicated the building in 1059. It thus predates Pisa's baptistery (FIG. 12-29, *left*), but construction of the Florentine baptistery continued into the next century. Both baptisteries face their city's cathedral. Freestanding baptisteries are unusual, and these Tuscan examples reflect the significance the Florentines and Pisans attached to baptismal rites. On the day of a newborn child's anointment, the citizenry gathered in the baptistery to welcome a new member into their community. Baptisteries therefore were important civic, as well as religious, structures. Some of the most renowned artists of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance provided the Florentine and Pisan baptisteries with pulpits (FIG. 14-2), bronze doors (FIGS. 14-20, 21-2, 21-3, 21-9, and 21-10), and mosaics.

The simple and serene classicism of San Giovanni's design recalls ancient Roman architecture. The baptistery stands in a direct line of descent from the Pantheon (FIGS. 7-49 and 7-51); imperial mausolea (such as Diocletian's; FIG. 7-73, *center right*); the Early Christian Santa Costanza (FIGS. 8-12 and 8-13) and Anastasis Rotunda (FIG. 8-8C); the Byzantine San Vitale (FIGS. 9-1 and 9-10); and other Roman and Christian central-plan structures, including Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel (FIGS. 11-17 and 11-18) at Aachen. The distinctive Tuscan Romanesque marble incrustation adorning the walls of Florence's baptistery and the slightly later church of San Miniato al Monte (FIGS. 12-30A and 12-30B) stems ultimately from Roman wall designs (FIGS. 7-17 and 7-51). (The ancient tradition of decorating walls with frescoes also survived in Romanesque Italy—for example, at Sant'Angelo in Formis, FIG. 12-30C.) The simple oblong and arcuated panels of the baptistery assert the building's structural lines and its elevation levels. In plan, San Giovanni is a domed octagon, wrapped on the exterior by an elegant arcade, three arches to a bay. It has three entrances, one each on the north, south, and east sides. On the west side, an oblong sanctuary replaces the original semicircular apse. The domical vault is some 90 feet in diameter, its construction a feat remarkable for its time.

12-30A Façade, San Miniato al Monte, Florence, begun ca. 1062.

12-30B Nave, San Miniato al Monte, Florence, ca. 1062–1090.

12-30C Sant'Angelo in Formis, near Capua, ca. 1085.

Modena. Although Italian Romanesque churches are far more conservative structurally than their counterparts in France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire, church officials in all regions adorned the facades of their buildings with stone sculpture. In fact, one of the first examples of fully developed narrative relief sculpture in Romanesque art is the marble frieze (FIG. 12-31) on the facade of Modena Cathedral in northern Italy. Carved around 1110, it represents scenes from Genesis set against an architectural backdrop of a type common on Roman and Early Christian sarcophagi, which were plentiful in the region. The segment illustrated here, *Creation and Temptation of Adam and Eve* (Gen. 2, 3:1–8), repeats the theme employed almost exactly a century earlier on Bishop Bernward's bronze doors (FIGS. 11-26 and 11-27) at Hildesheim. At Modena, as at Saint Michael's and Saint-Lazare at Autun (FIG. 12-15C), the faithful entered the Lord's house with a reminder of Original Sin and the suggestion that the only path to salvation is through Christ.

12-31 WILIGELMO, *Creation and Temptation of Adam and Eve,* detail of the frieze on the west facade, Modena Cathedral, Modena, Italy, ca. 1110. Marble, 3′ high.

For Modena's cathedral, Wiligelmo represented scenes from Genesis against an architectural backdrop of a type common on Roman and Early Christian sarcophagi, which were plentiful in the area.

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On the Modena frieze, Christ is at the far left, framed by a mandorla held up by angels—a variation on the motif of the Saint-Sernin ambulatory relief (FIG. 12-9; compare FIG. 12-9A and the Autun tympanum, FIG. 12-14). The creation of Adam, then Eve, and the serpent's temptation of Eve are to the right. The relief carving is high, and some parts are almost entirely in the round. The frieze is the work of a master craftsman whose name, WILIGELMO, appears in an inscription on another relief on the facade. There he boasts, "Among sculptors, your work shines forth, Wiligelmo." The inscription is also an indication of how proud Wiligelmo's patrons were to obtain the services of such an accomplished sculptor for their city's cathedral, as doubtless were Gislebertus's patrons at Autun (FIGS. 12-1 and 12-14), who also displayed the sculptor's name on their church's facade.

Fidenza. The reawakening of interest in stone sculpture in the round also is evident in northern Italy, where the sculptor BENEDETTO ANTELAMI was active in the last quarter of the 12th century. Several reliefs by his hand exist, including Parma Cathedral's pulpit and the portals of that city's baptistery. But his most unusual works are the two life-size marble statues of biblical figures he carved for the west facade of Fidenza Cathedral. Antelami's *King David* (FIG. 12-32) seems confined within his niche. His elbows are kept close to his body. Absent is the weight shift that is the hallmark of classical statuary, yet the sculptor's conception of this prophet is unmistakably rooted in Greco-Roman art. Comparison of the Fidenza *David* with the prophet on the Moissac trumeau (FIG. 12-13), who also displays an unfurled scroll, reveals how much the Italian sculptor freed his figure from its architectural setting. Other sculptors did not immediately emulate Antelami's classical approach to portraying figures in stone. But the idea of placing freestanding statues in niches would be taken up again in Italy by Early Renaissance sculptors (FIGS. 21-4, 21-5, and 21-6).

12-32 **BENEDETTO ANTELAMI, *King David,* statue in a niche on the west facade of Fidenza Cathedral, Fidenza, Italy, ca. 1180–1190.**

Benedetto Antelami's *King David* on the facade of Fidenza Cathedral is a rare example of life-size freestanding statuary in the Romanesque period. The style is unmistakably rooted in Greco-Roman art.

NORMANDY AND ENGLAND

After their conversion to Christianity in the early 10th century, the Vikings (FIGS. 11-4 and 11-4A) settled on the northern coast of France in present-day Normandy. Almost at once, they proved themselves not only aggressive warriors but also skilled administrators and builders, active in Sicily (FIGS. 9-26C and 9-27) as well as in northern Europe.

Architecture

The Normans quickly developed a distinctive Romanesque architectural style that became the major source of French Gothic architecture.

Caen. Most critics consider the abbey church of Saint-Étienne at Caen the masterpiece of Norman Romanesque architecture. Begun by William of Normandy (William the Conqueror; FIGS. 12-40 and 12-41) in 1067, work must have advanced rapidly, because the Normans buried the duke in the church in 1087. Saint-Étienne's west facade (FIG. 12-33) is a striking design rooted in the tradition of Carolingian and Ottonian westworks (compare FIGS. 11-21, 11-22, and 11-29A), but it reveals a new unified organizational scheme. Four large buttresses divide the facade into three bays corresponding to the nave and aisles. Above the buttresses, the towers also display a triple division and a progressively greater piercing of their walls from lower to upper stages. (The culminating spires are a Gothic addition.) The three-part composition extends throughout the facade, both vertically and horizontally, organizing it into a close-knit, well-integrated composition consistent with the careful and methodical planning of the entire structure.

The original design of Saint-Étienne called for a timber roof, as originally at Speyer Cathedral. But the Caen nave (FIG. 12-34) has compound piers with simple engaged half-columns alternating with piers with half-columns attached to pilasters. When the Normans decided to install groin vaults around 1115, the existing alternating compound piers in the nave proved a good match. Those piers soar all the way to the vaults' springing. Their branching ribs divide the large square-vault compartments into six sections—a *sexpartite vault* (FIG. 12-35). The vaults rise high enough to provide room for clerestory windows. The resulting three-story elevation, with its large arched openings, enables ample light to reach the interior (see "How to Illuminate a Nave," page 365). It also makes the nave

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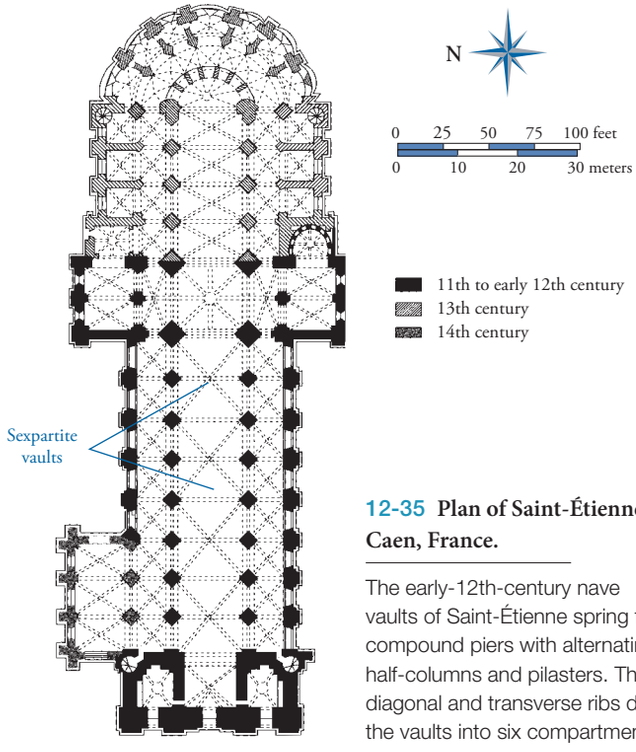
12-33 West facade of Saint-Étienne, Caen, France, begun 1067.

The division of Saint-Étienne's facade into three parts corresponding to the nave and aisles reflects the methodical planning of the entire structure. The towers also have three sections.

appear taller than it is. As in the Milanese church of Sant'Ambrogio (FIG. 12-23), the Norman building has rib vaults. The diagonal and transverse ribs form a structural skeleton that partially supports the still fairly massive paneling between them. But despite the heavy masonry, Saint-Étienne's large windows and reduced interior wall surface give the nave a light and airy quality unusual in the Romanesque period.

12-34 Interior of Saint-Étienne (looking east), Caen, France, vaulted ca. 1115–1120.

The groin vaults of Saint-Étienne make clerestory windows possible. The three-story elevation with its large arched openings provides ample light and makes the nave appear taller than it is.



12-35 Plan of Saint-Étienne, Caen, France.

The early-12th-century nave vaults of Saint-Étienne spring from compound piers with alternating half-columns and pilasters. The diagonal and transverse ribs divide the vaults into six compartments.

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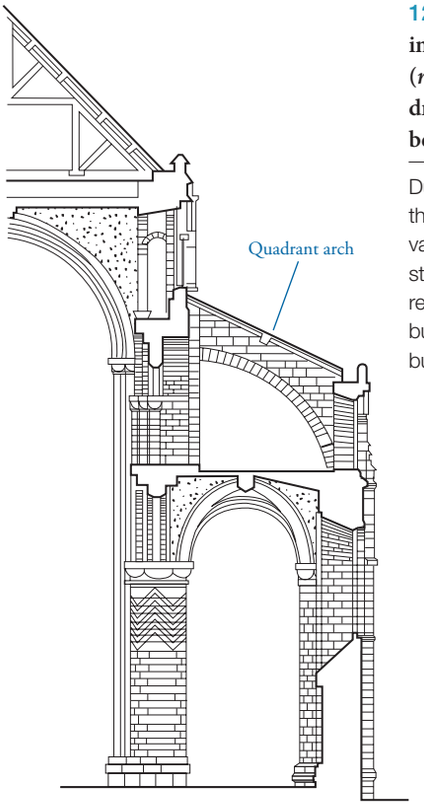
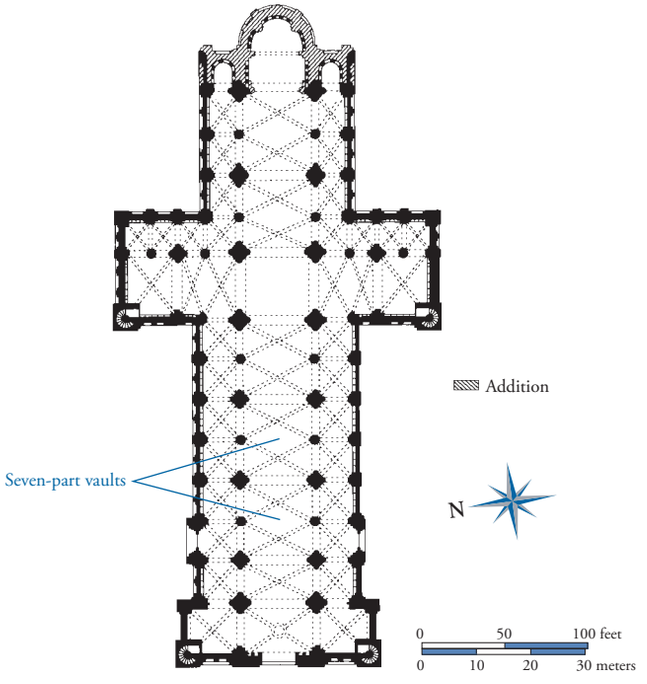


12-36 Interior (*left*; looking east) and lateral section (*right*) of Durham Cathedral, Durham, England, begun ca. 1093.

Durham Cathedral boasts the first examples of rib groin vaults placed over a three-story nave. The builders replaced groin vaults in the tribune with quadrant arches as buttresses of the nave vaults.



12-37 Plan of Durham Cathedral, Durham, England (after Kenneth John Conant).

Durham Cathedral is typically English in its long, slender proportions. In the nave, simple pillars alternate with compound piers that support the transverse arches of the seven-part groin vaults.

Durham. William of Normandy's conquest of Anglo-Saxon England in 1066 began a new epoch in English history. In architecture, it signaled the importation of Norman Romanesque building and design methods. Durham Cathedral (FIGS. 12-36 and 12-37) sits majestically on a cliff overlooking the Wear River in northern England, the centerpiece of a monastery, church, and fortified-castle complex on the Scottish frontier. Unlike Speyer Cathedral and Saint-Étienne, Durham Cathedral, begun around 1093—before the remodeling of the Caen church—was a vaulted structure from the outset. Consequently, the pattern of the ribs of the nave's groin vaults corresponds perfectly to the design of the arcade below. Each seven-part nave vault covers two bays. Large, simple pillars ornamented with abstract designs (diamond, chevron, and cable patterns, all originally painted) alternate with compound piers that carry the transverse arches of the vaults. The pier-vault relationship scarcely could be more visible or the building's structural rationale better expressed.

The bold surface patterning of the pillars in the Durham nave is a reminder that the raising of imposing stone buildings such as the Romanesque churches of England and Normandy required more than just the talents of master designers. A corps of expert masons had to transform rough stone blocks into the precise shapes necessary for their specific place in the church's fabric. Although thousands of simple quadrangular blocks make up the great walls of these buildings, the stonecutters also had to produce large numbers of blocks of far more complex shapes. To cover the nave and aisles, the masons had to carve blocks with concave faces to conform to the curve of the vault. Also required were blocks with projecting moldings for the ribs, blocks with convex surfaces for the pillars or with multiple profiles for the compound piers, and so forth. It was an immense undertaking, and it is no wonder that medieval building campaigns often lasted for decades.

Durham Cathedral's plan (FIG. 12-37) is typically English in its long, slender proportions. It does not employ the modular scheme with the same care and logic seen at Caen. But in other ways, this English church is even more innovative than the French church.

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The Durham builders employed the earliest known example of a rib groin vault placed over a three-story nave. In the nave's western parts, completed before 1130, the rib vaults have pointed arches, bringing together for the first time two key elements that determined the structural evolution of Gothic architecture (see "The Gothic Rib Vault," page 387). Also of great significance is the way the English builders buttressed the nave vaults. The lateral section (FIG. 12-36, *right*) exposes the simple *quadrant arches* (arches whose curve extends for one quarter of a circle's circumference) that take the place of groin vaults in the Durham tribune. The structural descendants of these quadrant arches are the *flying buttresses* that are another hallmark of the mature Gothic solution to church construction (see "High Gothic Cathedrals," page 389, and FIG. 13-11).

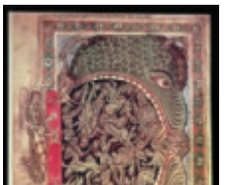
Painting and Other Arts

Many of the finest illustrated manuscripts of the Romanesque age were the work of monks in English scriptoria, following in the tradition of Hiberno-Saxon book production.

1 in.

Bury Bible. Produced at the Bury Saint Edmunds abbey in England around 1135, the *Bury Bible* (FIG. 12-38) exemplifies the luxurious illumination common to the large Bibles produced in wealthy Romanesque abbeys not subject to the Cistercian restrictions on painted manuscripts. These costly books lent prestige to monasteries that could afford them (see "Medieval Books," page 324). The artist responsible for the *Bury Bible* is known: MASTER HUGO, who was also a sculptor and metalworker. With Gislebertus (FIG. 12-1), Bernardus Gelduinus (FIG. 12-9), Rufillus (FIG. 12-25A), Rainer of Huy (FIG. 12-27), Wiligelmo (FIG. 12-31), and Benedetto Antelami (FIG. 12-32), Hugo was one of the small but growing number of Romanesque artists who signed their works or whose names others recorded. In the 12th century, artists—illuminators as well as sculptors—increasingly began to identify themselves. Although most medieval artists remained anonymous, the contrast of the Romanesque period with the early Middle Ages is striking.

Hugo apparently was a secular artist, one of the emerging class of professional artists and artisans who depended for their livelihood on commissions from well-endowed monasteries. These artists resided in towns rather than within secluded abbey walls, and they traveled frequently to find work. They were the exception, however, and most Romanesque scribes and illuminators continued to be monks and nuns working anonymously in the service of God. The Benedictine rule, for example, specified that "artisans in the monastery . . . are to practice their craft with all humility, but only with the abbot's permission. If one of them becomes puffed up by his skillfulness in his craft, . . . he is to be removed from practicing his craft and not allowed to resume it unless, after manifesting his humility, he is so ordered by the abbot."[5] Some monks, however, produced illuminated volumes not for use in the abbey but on royal commission—for example, the *Winchester Psalter* (FIG. 12-38A).



12-38A *Winchester Psalter,* ca. 1145–1155.

One page (FIG. 12-38) of the *Bury Bible* shows two scenes from Deuteronomy framed by symmetrical leaf motifs in softly glowing harmonized colors. In the upper register, Master Hugo painted *Moses Expounding the Law,* in which he represented the prophet with horns, consistent with Saint Jerome's translation of the Hebrew word that also means "rays" (compare Michelangelo's similar conception of the Hebrew prophet, FIG. 22-14). The lower panel portrays Moses pointing out the clean and unclean beasts. The gestures are slow and gentle and have quiet dignity. The figures of Moses and Aaron seem to glide. This presentation is quite different

12-38 MASTER HUGO, ***Moses Expounding the Law,*** **folio 94 recto of the *Bury Bible,* from Bury Saint Edmunds, England, ca. 1135. Ink and tempera on vellum, 1′ 8″ × 1′ 2″. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.**

Master Hugo was a rare Romanesque lay artist, one of the emerging class of professional artists and artisans who depended for their livelihood on commissions from wealthy monasteries.

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1 in.

12-39 Eadwine the Scribe(?), Eadwine the Scribe at work, folio 283 verso of the *Eadwine Psalter,* from Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, England, ca. 1160–1170. Ink and tempera on vellum, 1′ 8 1/4″ × 1′ 4 1/4″. Trinity College, Cambridge.

Although he humbly offered his book as a gift to God, the English monk Eadwine added an inscription to his portrait declaring himself "the prince of scribes" whose fame would endure forever.

from the abrupt emphasis and jerky movement seen in earlier Romanesque paintings. The movements of the figures appear more integrated and smooth. Yet patterning remains in the multiple divisions of the draped limbs, the lightly shaded volumes connected with sinuous lines and ladderlike folds. Hugo still thought of the drapery and the body as somehow the same. The frame has a quite definite limiting function, and the painter carefully fit the figures within it.

Eadwine Psalter. The *Eadwine Psalter* is the masterpiece of an English monk known as Eadwine the Scribe. It contains 165 illustrations, many of them variations of those in the Carolingian *Utrecht Psalter* (figs. 11-14A and 11-15). The last page (fig. 12-39), however, presents a rare picture of a Romanesque artist at work (compare fig. 12-25A). The style of the Eadwine portrait resembles that of the *Bury Bible,* but although the patterning is still firm (notably in the cowl and the thigh), the drapery falls more softly and follows the movements of the body beneath it. Here, the abstract patterning seen in many Romanesque painted and sculpted garments yielded slightly, but clearly, to more naturalistic representation. The Romanesque artist's instinct for decorating the surface remained, however, as is apparent in the gown's whorls and spirals. Significantly, the artist painted those interior lines very lightly so that they would not conflict with the functional lines containing them.

The "portrait" of Eadwine—it is probably a generic type and not a specific likeness—is in the long tradition of author portraits in ancient and medieval art (figs. 7-25, 11-8, 11-13, 11-14, and 12-25), although the true author of the *Eadwine Psalter* is King David. Eadwine exaggerated his importance by likening himself to an evangelist writing his Gospel and by including an inscription within the inner frame identifying himself and proclaiming *scriptorum princeps ego* ("I am the prince of scribes"). He declares that the excellence of his work will cause his fame to endure forever, and consequently he can offer his book as an acceptable gift to God. Eadwine may have been concerned for his fame, as were other Romanesque sculptors and painters who signed their works, but these artists, whether clergy or laity, were as yet unaware of the concepts of "fine art" and "fine artist." To them, their work existed not for its own sake but for God's. Nonetheless, works such as this one are an early sign of a new attitude toward the role of the artist in society that presages the reemergence in the Renaissance of the classical notion of individual artistic genius.

Bayeux Tapestry. The most famous work of English Romanesque art is neither a book nor Christian in subject. The so-called *Bayeux Tapestry* (figs. 12-40 and 12-41) is unique in medieval art. It is an embroidered fabric—not, in fact, a woven tapestry—made of wool sewn on linen (see "Embroidery and Tapestry," page 377). Closely related to Romanesque manuscript illumination, its borders contain the kinds of real and imaginary animals found in contemporaneous books, and an explanatory Latin text sewn in thread accompanies many of the pictures.

Some 20 inches high and about 230 feet long, the *Bayeux Tapestry* is a continuous, friezelike pictorial narrative of a crucial moment in England's history and of the events leading up to it. The Norman defeat of the Anglo-Saxons at Hastings in 1066 brought England under the control of the Normans, uniting all of England and much of France under one rule. The dukes of Normandy became the kings of England. Commissioned by Bishop Odo, the half brother of the conquering Duke William, the embroidery may have been sewn by women at the Norman court. Many art historians, however, believe that it was the work of English stitchers in Kent, where Odo was earl after the Norman conquest. Odo donated the work to Bayeux Cathedral (hence its nickname), but it is uncertain whether it was originally intended

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Embroidery and Tapestry

The most famous embroidery of the Middle Ages is, ironically, known as the *Bayeux Tapestry* (FIGS. 12-40 and 12-41). Embroidery and tapestry are related—but different—means of decorating textiles. *Tapestry* designs are woven on a loom as part of the fabric. *Embroidery* patterns are sewn onto fabrics with threads.

The needleworkers who fashioned the *Bayeux Tapestry* were either Norman or English women. They employed eight colors of dyed wool yarn—two varieties of blue, three shades of green, yellow, buff, and terracotta red—and two kinds of stitches. In *stem stitching,* short overlapping strands of thread form jagged lines. *Laid-and-couched work* creates solid blocks of color. In the latter technique, the needleworker first lays down a series of parallel and then of cross stitches. Finally, the stitcher tacks down the crosshatched threads using *couching* (knotting).

On the *Bayeux Tapestry,* the embroiderers left the natural linen color exposed for the background, human flesh, building walls, and other "colorless" design elements. Stem stitches define the contours of figures and buildings and delineate interior details, such as facial features, body armor, and roof tiles. The clothing, animal bodies, and other solid areas are laid-and-couched work.

1 in.

12-40 Funeral procession to Westminster Abbey, detail of the *Bayeux Tapestry,* from Bayeux Cathedral, Bayeux, France, ca. 1070–1080. Embroidered wool on linen, 1′ 8″ high (entire length of fabric 229′ 8″). Centre Guillaume le Conquérant, Bayeux.

The *Bayeux Tapestry* is really an embroidery. The needleworkers employed eight colors of dyed wool yarn and sewed the threads onto linen using both stem stitching and laid-and-couched work.

for display in the church's nave, where the theme would have been a curious choice.

The events that precipitated the Norman invasion of England are well documented. In 1066, Edward the Confessor (r. 1042–1066), the Anglo-Saxon king of England, died. The Normans believed that Edward had recognized William of Normandy as his rightful heir. But the crown went to Harold, earl of Wessex, the king's Anglo-Saxon brother-in-law, who had sworn an oath of allegiance to William. The betrayed Normans, descendants of the seafaring Vikings, boarded their ships, crossed the English Channel, and crushed Harold's forces.

Illustrated here are two episodes of the epic tale as represented in the *Bayeux Tapestry.* The first detail (FIG. 12-40) depicts King Edward's funeral procession. The hand of God points the way to the church in London where he was buried—Westminster Abbey, consecrated on December 28, 1065, just a few days before Edward's death. The church was one of the first Romanesque buildings erected in England, and the embroiderers took pains to record its main features, including the lofty crossing tower and the long nave with tribunes. There, William was crowned king of England on Christmas Day, 1066. (The coronation ceremony for every English monarch since then also has taken place in Westminster Abbey.)

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1 in.

12-41 Battle of Hastings, detail of the *Bayeux Tapestry,* from Bayeux Cathedral, Bayeux, France, ca. 1070–1080. Embroidered wool on linen, 1′ 8″ high (entire length of fabric 229′ 8″). Centre Guillaume le Conquérant, Bayeux.

The *Bayeux Tapestry* is unique in medieval art. Like the scroll-like frieze of the Column of Trajan (FIG. 7-45) and other historical narratives in Roman art, it depicts contemporaneous events in full detail.

The second detail (FIG. 12-41) shows the Battle of Hastings in progress. The Norman cavalry cuts down the English defenders. Filling the lower border are the dead and wounded, although the upper register continues the animal motifs of the rest of the embroidery. The Romanesque artists co-opted some of the characteristic motifs of Greco-Roman battle scenes—for example, the horses with twisted necks and contorted bodies (compare FIG. 5-70)—but rendered the figures in the Romanesque manner. Linear patterning and flat color replaced classical three-dimensional volume and modeling in light and dark hues.

The *Bayeux Tapestry* stands apart from all other Romanesque artworks in depicting in full detail an event at a time shortly after it occurred, recalling the historical narratives of ancient Roman art. Art historians have often likened the Norman embroidery to the scroll-like frieze of the Column of Trajan (FIG. 7-45). Like the Roman account, the story told on the textile is the conqueror's version of history, a proclamation of national pride.

As in the ancient frieze, the narrative is not confined to battlefield successes. It is a complete chronicle of events. Included are the preparations for war, with scenes depicting the felling and splitting of trees for ship construction, the loading of equipment onto the vessels, the cooking and serving of meals, and so forth. In this respect, the *Bayeux Tapestry* is the most *Roman*-esque work of Romanesque art.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Romanesque Europe

France and Northern Spain

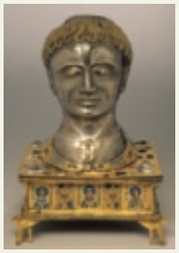
- *Romanesque* takes its name from the Roman-like barrel and groin vaults based on round arches employed in many European churches built between 1050 and 1200. Romanesque vaults, however, are made of stone, not concrete. The largest Romanesque church was at Cluny in France.
- Numerous churches sprang up along the pilgrimage roads leading to the shrine of Saint James at Santiago de Compostela in northwestern Spain. These churches were large enough to accommodate the huge crowds of pilgrims who came to view the sacred relics displayed in the radiating chapels off the ambulatory and transept.
- The Romanesque period also brought the revival of large-scale stone relief sculpture in cloisters and especially in church portals, where, as at Autun, scenes of Christ as Last Judge often greeted the faithful as they entered what the clergy considered the doorway to the road to salvation.
- The leading patrons of Romanesque sculpture and painting were the monks of the Cluniac order. By contrast, the Cistercians, under the leadership of Bernard of Clairvaux, condemned figural art in both churches and religious books.

Abbey church, Cluny, 1088–1130

Saint-Lazare, Autun, ca. 1120–1135

Holy Roman Empire

- In the Romanesque period, the Salian dynasty (r. 1027–1125) ruled an empire corresponding roughly to present-day Germany and northern Italy. Henry the Lion (1129–1195), duke of Saxony and Bavaria, was also a major art patron.
- Architects in the Holy Roman Empire built structurally innovative churches. Speyer Cathedral and Sant'Ambrogio in Milan are two of the earliest examples of the use of groin vaults in naves.
- In Belgium, sculptors excelled in metalwork, producing costly reliquaries of silver, jewels, and enamel, such as that containing the remains of Pope Alexander II. Rainer of Huy, one of several Romanesque artists whose name is known, cast a baptismal font in a single piece.



Reliquary of Saint Alexander, Stavelot, 1145

Italy

- The regional diversity of Romanesque art and architecture is especially evident in Italy, where the heritage of ancient Rome and Early Christianity was strongest.
- Romanesque churches and baptisteries in Pisa and Florence have timber roofs, in contrast to the vaulted interiors of northern European buildings. The exteriors often feature marble paneling of different colors. Church campaniles were usually freestanding, as were baptisteries, which took the form of independent central-plan buildings facing the cathedral.

Baptistery, Florence, dedicated 1059

Normandy and England

- After their conversion to Christianity in the early 10th century, the Vikings settled on the northern coast of France. From there, Duke William of Normandy crossed the channel and conquered England in 1066. The *Bayeux Tapestry* chronicles that war—a unique example of contemporaneous historical narrative art in the Middle Ages.
- Norman and English Romanesque architects introduced new features to church design that later greatly influenced French Gothic architecture. Saint-Étienne at Caen and Durham Cathedral are the earliest examples of the use of rib groin vaults over a three-story (arcade-tribune-clerestory) nave. The Durham builders also experimented with quadrant arches in the tribune to buttress the nave vaults.

Durham Cathedral, begun ca. 1093

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▼**13-1a** Gothic architecture was born at Saint-Denis, the burial place of the martyr saint who brought Christianity to Gaul. The church's east end was dedicated by Abbot Suger, the founding spirit of the Gothic style.

▲**13-1b** The figural sculptures of Saint-Denis's west facade are largely destroyed, but a few fragments are preserved, including this head of an Old Testament prophet, usually identified as Moses.

13-1 **Abbey church, Saint-Denis, France, remodeled beginning in 1135; east end dedicated in 1144.**

▲**13-1c** In the ambulatory and radiating chapels dedicated in 1144, exceptionally lightweight vaults spring from slender columns. Colored-glass windows transform natural light into divine light.

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GOTHIC EUROPE NORTH OF THE ALPS 13

FRAMING THE ERA

The Birth of Gothic

On June 11, 1144, King Louis VII of France, Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine, five archbishops, and other dignitaries attended the dedication by Abbot Suger of the new choir of the abbey church of Saint-Denis (FIG. 13-1). Saint-Denis was the official church of the French monarchy and the burial place of Saint Dionysius (Denis in French), the missionary who brought Christianity to Gaul and died a martyr's death there in the third century. Architectural historians pinpoint the birth of the style that later came to be called *Gothic* to 1144 and identify Suger as its founding spirit.

Although later Gothic churches would reach far greater heights, both literally and figuratively, most of the essential elements of the new architectural style are present at Saint-Denis. The west facade, for example, which welcomes worshipers into the church, is very different in character from its Romanesque predecessors. The unknown designer introduced a large round window over the central portal and punctured the rest of the wall surfaces to a greater degree, creating a lighter effect by breaking up the facade with a larger number of voids. Figural sculpture (unfortunately mostly destroyed during the French Revolution of the late 18th century) adorned all three portals, and narrative reliefs decorated the three tympana (the Last Judgment in the central tympanum, episodes from the life of Saint Denis in the flanking portals). The most innovative aspect of the portals, however, was the introduction of figures attached to the columns in the jambs, the first step toward the revival of freestanding statuary in the later Middle Ages.

More remarkable still is the articulation of the church's east end, where exceptionally lightweight vaults spring from slender columns in the ambulatory and radiating chapels, replacing the thick walls that separated Romanesque chapels. The lightness of the vaults also enabled the builders to open up the outer walls with colored-glass windows that, in the minds of contemporary observers, transformed natural light into divine light.

Born at Saint-Denis in the region around Paris called the Île-de-France, Gothic architecture is one of the towering achievements in the history of world architecture, and it was so recognized at the time. The Gothic style quickly came to be called *opus francigenum* ("French work") or, more simply, *opus modernum* ("modern work"), and Gothic churches were admired and emulated throughout Europe as stone and glass images of the City of God, the Heavenly Jerusalem. The extraordinary technological and aesthetic achievement that Gothic architecture represents was the unique product of an era of economic prosperity and deep spirituality, but the Gothic style lives on in countless chapels, academic buildings, and residence halls on college campuses today.

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"GOTHIC"

Just as the term *Romanesque* never appears in 11th- and 12th-century documents, the adjective *Gothic* was never used by those who witnessed the erection of opus modernum churches during the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries. But unlike "Romanesque," "Gothic" is not the invention of modern architectural historians. It owes its origin to Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574; see "Giorgio Vasari's *Lives*," page 648), who employed the term for the first time in his *Introduction to the Three Arts of Design* (1550). Vasari attributed late medieval art and architecture to the Goths, whom he regarded as responsible for both the downfall of Rome and the dissolution of the classical style in art and architecture. Vasari's assessment of "Gothic" art was quite negative. In his treatise, he called Gothic art "monstrous and barbarous," echoing a view already voiced a century earlier by the influential Renaissance artist Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378–1455), who in his *Commentaries* described the Middle Ages as a period of decline. "Gothic," like "medieval" (that is, the era between the "good art" of classical antiquity and the Renaissance revival of the classical style), is an unfortunate if unavoidable label completely out of sync with both late medieval and modern views of the Gothic era as one of the high points in the history of Western art and architecture.

MAP 13-1 Europe around 1200.

The great artistic innovations of the Gothic age were, as in the Romanesque period, made possible by the widespread prosperity and favorable climate that Europe enjoyed in the 12th and 13th centuries. This was a time of profound change in European society. The focus of both intellectual and religious life shifted definitively from monasteries in the countryside to rapidly expanding cities. In these new urban centers, prosperous merchants made their homes and formed *guilds* (professional associations), scholars founded the first modern universities, and vernacular literature (written in the local spoken languages rather than in Latin), especially courtly romances, exploded in popularity. Although the papacy was at the height of its power, and Christian knights still waged Crusades against the Muslims, the independent nation-states of modern Europe were beginning to take shape.

In fact, many regional variants existed within European Gothic, just as distinct regional styles characterized the Romanesque period. Therefore, this chapter deals only with contemporaneous developments in three major regions north of the Alps—France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire (MAP 13-1). The art and architecture of 13th- and 14th-century Italy are the subject of Chapter 14. The Gothic style spread beyond these areas, however, reaching, for example, Eastern Europe and Scandinavia.

FRANCE

What contemporaries called opus francigenum was born in the Île-de-France, and the earliest manifestation of the new style appeared a few miles north of Paris at the abbey of Saint-Denis (see "The Birth of Gothic," page 381). The story of Gothic art and architecture told here therefore also begins in northern France.

Architecture, Sculpture, and Stained Glass

Saint-Denis. According to legend, after his execution on Montmartre (Martyr's Hill) in Paris, Saint Dionysius, the Christian martyr who was the city's first bishop, miraculously stood up and marched to his grave north of Paris carrying his severed head in his

GOTHIC EUROPE

1140–1194	1194–1300	1300–1500
Early Gothic	**High Gothic**	**Late Gothic**
■ Abbot Suger begins rebuilding the French royal abbey church at Saint-Denis with stained-glass windows and rib vaults on pointed arches ■ At Saint-Denis and Chartres Cathedral, jamb statues of Old Testament kings and queens adorn all three portals of the west facade ■ The builders of Laon Cathedral insert a triforium as the fourth story in the nave elevation	■ The rebuilt Chartres Cathedral sets the pattern for High Gothic churches: four-part nave vaults braced by external flying buttresses, three-story elevation (arcade, triforium, clerestory), and stained-glass windows in place of heavy masonry ■ At Chartres and Reims in France, at Naumburg in Germany, and elsewhere, statues become more independent of their architectural setting ■ Manuscript illumination moves from monastic scriptoria to urban lay workshops, especially in Paris	■ The Flamboyant style in France and the Perpendicular style in England emphasize surface embellishment over structural clarity. Characteristic features are delicate webs of flamelike tracery and fan vaults with pendants resembling stalactites ■ The humanization of holy figures in statuary continues, especially in Germany, where sculptors dramatically record the suffering of Jesus

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Abbot Suger and the Rebuilding of Saint-Denis

Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis (ca. 1081–1151) rose from humble parentage to become the right-hand man of both Louis VI (r. 1108–1137) and Louis VII (r. 1137–1180). When the latter, accompanied by Queen Eleanor, left Paris to join the Second Crusade (1147–1149), Suger served as regent of France. From his youth, Suger wrote, he had dreamed of the possibility of embellishing Saint-Denis (FIG. 13-1), the church in which most French monarchs since Merovingian times had been buried. Within 15 years of becoming abbot of Saint-Denis, Suger began rebuilding the abbey's Carolingian basilica. In his time, the French monarchy's power, except for scattered holdings, extended over an area not much larger than Paris and its environs, but the kings had pretensions to rule all of France. Suger aimed to increase the prestige of both his abbey and the monarchy by rebuilding France's royal church in grand fashion.

Suger wrote three treatises about his activities as abbot. Together they furnish a uniquely rich and detailed description of the role of an abbot as a patron of art and architecture. In one important passage, he enumerated the special qualities of the new east end (FIGS. 13-2 and 13-3) dedicated in 1144:

> [I]t was cunningly provided that—through the upper columns and central arches which were to be placed upon the lower ones built in the crypt—the central nave of the old [Carolingian church] should be equalized, by means of geometrical and arithmetical instruments, with the central nave of the new addition; and, likewise, that the dimensions of the old side-aisles should be equalized with the dimensions of the new side-aisles, except for that elegant and praiseworthy extension in [the form of] a circular string of chapels, by virtue of which the whole [church] would shine with the wonderful and uninterrupted light of most luminous windows, pervading the interior beauty.*

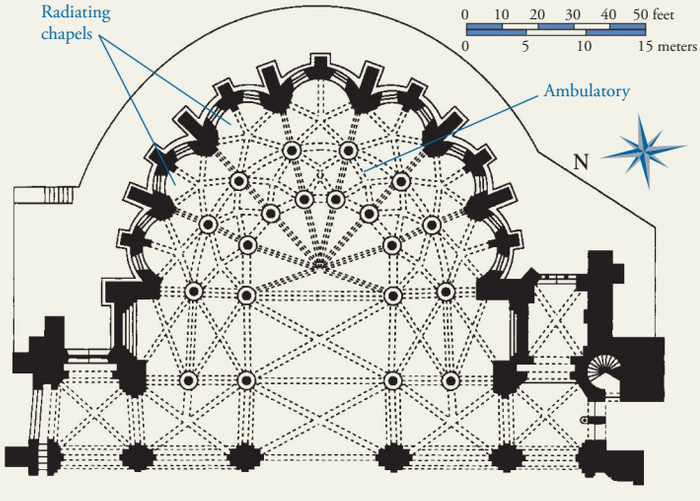
The abbot's brief discussion of Saint-Denis's new ambulatory and chapels is key to understanding Early Gothic (ca. 1140–1194) French architecture. Suger wrote at much greater length, however, about his church's glorious gem-studded and gold furnishings. Here, for example, is his description of the *altar frontal* (the decorated panel on the front of the altar) in the choir:

> Into this panel, which stands in front of [Saint Denis's] most sacred body, we have put . . . about forty-two marks of gold [and] a multifarious wealth of precious gems, hyacinths, rubies, sapphires, emeralds and topazes, and also an array of different large pearls.†

The costly furnishings and the light-filled space caused Suger to "delight in the beauty of the house of God" and "called [him] away from external cares." The new church made him feel as if he were "dwelling . . . in some strange region of the universe which neither exists entirely in the slime of the earth nor entirely in the purity of Heaven." In Suger's eyes, his splendid new church, permeated with light and outfitted with precious gems and gold, was a way station on the road to Paradise, which "transported [him] from this inferior to that higher world."§ He regarded a lavish investment in art as a spiritual aid, not as an undesirable distraction for the pious monk, as did Bernard of Clairvaux (see "Bernard of Clairvaux," page 356). Suger's forceful justification of art in the church was very much in accord with the spirit of the Gothic age, which witnessed the proliferation of costly stained-glass windows and painted stone sculptures in the cathedrals of France in particular and in Europe more generally.

13-2 Ambulatory and radiating chapels (looking northeast), abbey church, Saint-Denis, France, 1140–1144.

Abbot Suger's remodeling of Saint-Denis marked the beginning of Gothic architecture. Rib vaults with pointed arches spring from slender columns. Stained-glass windows admit divine lux nova.



13-3 Plan of the east end, abbey church, Saint-Denis, France, 1140–1144 (after Sumner Crosby).

The innovative plan of the east end of Saint-Denis dates to Abbot Suger's lifetime. By using exceptionally light rib vaults, the builders were able to eliminate the walls between the radiating chapels.

*Translated by Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and Its Art Treasures,* 2d ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 101.
†Ibid., 55.
§Ibid., 65.

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hands. In the seventh century, a Benedictine community of monks settled on the site of the saint's burial and founded an abbey there that they named Saint-Denis in honor of Dionysius. Two centuries later, the monks constructed a basilica at Saint-Denis, which housed the saint's tomb and those of nearly all the French kings dating back to the sixth century, as well as the crimson battle flag said to have belonged to Charlemagne. The Carolingian basilica became France's royal church, the very symbol of the monarchy—just as Speyer Cathedral (FIGS. 12-21 and 12-22) was the burial place of the German rulers of the Holy Roman Empire.

Abbot Suger. By 1122, when Suger, one of the Saint-Denis abbey's monks, became abbot of Saint-Denis, the old church was in disrepair and had become too small to accommodate the growing number of pilgrims who came to see the tomb of the saint and those of the French kings. Suger also believed that the basilica was of insufficient grandeur to serve as the official church of the French monarchy. Therefore, around 1135, the abbot began a major campaign to rebuild the church. He started by erecting a new west facade (FIG. 13-1). In his account of the building campaign (see "Abbot Suger and the Rebuilding of Saint-Denis," page 383), Suger mentioned that he imported masons and craftsmen from different regions to execute his vision of a grandiose new church for the patron saint of France. Indeed, the church's facade combines the tripartite design of Norman Romanesque churches, such as Saint-Étienne (FIG. 12-33) at Caen, with the richly sculptured portals of the early-12th-century churches of Burgundy (for example, Autun and Vézelay, FIGS. 12-1 and 12-15) and the "pilgrimage churches" of southwestern France (for example, Moissac, FIG. 12-11).

As at Caen, pier buttresses divide the Saint-Denis facade into three sections corresponding to the church's nave and flanking aisles. (There are also three stories in the lower facade and three in the towers. Three is a sacred number in Christian theology—the Trinity of God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit.) But for Suger's facade, the designer introduced a large *rose window* over the central portal, which is wider and taller than the aisle portals, and also punctured much of the rest of the wall surface, creating a lighter effect than that of the typical Romanesque facade.

In contrast to the carved decoration of Moissac, Autun, and most other Romanesque facades, at Saint-Denis figural sculpture adorned all three portals across the front of the church. Narrative reliefs decorated the three tympana and the archivolts. Most notably, the jambs featured figures of Old Testament kings, queens, and prophets (FIG. 13-3A) attached to columns. These *jamb statues* referred to the royal lineage of Christ but also to the kings and queens of France, not surprising for the official church of the French monarchy and the burial site of its kings. Unfortunately, Suger's statues were in large part destroyed during an 18th-century remodeling and later by vandalism during the French Revolution against the hereditary monarchy, but they set the pattern for Gothic sculpture in the Île-de-France for the next century. Old engravings record the facade's appearance, which closely approximated that of the slightly later Royal Portal (FIGS. 13-5 and 13-6) of Chartres Cathedral.

13-3A Moses, west facade, Saint-Denis, ca. 1137–1140.

Work began on the east end (FIGS. 13-2 and 13-3) of Saint-Denis in 1140. Because the French considered the old church a relic in its own right, the new choir had to conform to the dimensions of the crypt below it. Nevertheless, the remodeled east end of Saint-Denis (Suger died before he could transform the nave) represented a sharp departure from past practice. Innovative rib vaults resting on pointed arches (see "The Gothic Rib Vault," page 387) cover the ambulatory and chapels. These pioneering, exceptionally lightweight vaults spring from slender columns in the ambulatory and from the thin masonry walls framing the chapels. The lightness of the vaults enabled the builders to eliminate the walls between the chapels as well as open up the outer walls with *stained-glass* windows (see "Stained-Glass Windows," page 392). Suger and his contemporaries marveled at the "wonderful and uninterrupted light" pouring in through the "most luminous windows." The abbot called the colored light *lux nova* ("new light"). Saint-Denis's pointed-arch vaulting and stained-glass windows, both of which had precedents in the Romanesque era, became hallmarks of French Gothic architecture.

13-4 West facade of Chartres Cathedral, Chartres, France, ca. 1145–1155.

The Early Gothic west facade was all that remained of Chartres Cathedral after the 1194 fire. The design still has much in common with Romanesque facades. The rose window is an example of plate tracery.

Royal Portal, Chartres. The innovative idea of placing jamb statues in the portals of the Saint-Denis abbey church was adopted immediately afterward at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres, also in the Île-de-France. Work on the west facade (FIG. 13-4)

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13-5 Royal Portal, west facade, Chartres Cathedral, Chartres, France, ca. 1145–1155.

The sculptures of the Royal Portal proclaim the majesty and power of Christ. The tympana depict, from left to right, Christ's ascension, the Second Coming, and the infant Jesus in the lap of the Virgin Mary.

began around 1145, very likely employing some of the same stonemasons and sculptors who worked at Saint-Denis. Like the Saint-Denis facade (FIG. 13-1), the west front of Chartres retains the fortress-like look of many Romanesque churches, but features a large rose window and a greater number of openings in the solid masonry wall as well as extensive figural sculpture in its triple entrance. Chartres's Royal Portal (FIG. 13-5; so named because of the figures of kings and queens flanking its three doorways, as at Saint-Denis) constitutes the most complete surviving ensemble of Early Gothic sculpture. Thierry of Chartres, chancellor of the Cathedral School of Chartres from 1141 until his death 10 years later, may have conceived the complex iconographical program. The archivolts of the right portal, for example, depict the seven female personifications of the liberal arts with the learned men of antiquity at their feet. The figures celebrate the revival of classical scholarship in the 12th century and symbolize human knowledge, which Thierry and other leading intellectuals of the era believed led to true faith (see "Paris, the New Center of Medieval Learning," page 388).

The sculptures of the Royal Portal proclaim the majesty and power of Christ. To unite the three doorways both visually and thematically, the sculptors carved episodes from the lives of the Virgin (Notre Dame, "Our Lady") and Christ on the capitals, which form a kind of frieze linking one entrance to the next (FIG. 13-5). Christ's ascension into Heaven appears in the tympanum of the left portal. All around, in the archivolts, are the signs of the zodiac and scenes representing the various labors of the months of the year. They are symbols of the cosmic and earthly worlds. The Second Coming of Christ is the subject of the central tympanum, as at Moissac (FIG. 12-11). The signs of the four evangelists, the 24 elders of the Apocalypse, and the 12 apostles appear around Christ or on the lintel. In the tympanum of the right portal, Christ appears in the lap of the Virgin Mary. Scenes of the Savior's childhood fill the lintel below, where Jesus appears on an altar, connecting the sculptures at the church entrance with the symbolic sacrifice of the Eucharist within.

The Virgin in Gothic France. The depiction of Mary in the right tympanum recalls Byzantine representations of the Theotokos (FIGS. 9-19 and 9-20), as well as the Romanesque "throne of wisdom" (FIG. 12-20). But the Virgin appears more frequently on the Chartres facade than she does in the sculptural programs of any Romanesque church portal. At Chartres, Mary assumes a central role, a position she maintained throughout the Gothic period, during which time her cult achieved its greatest popularity. As the mother of the Savior, she stood compassionately between the Last Judge and the horrors of Hell, interceding for all her faithful (compare FIG. 13-39B). Worshipers in the later 12th and 13th centuries sang hymns to the Virgin and dedicated great cathedrals to her. Soldiers carried her image into battle on banners, and Mary's name joined Saint Denis's as part of the French kings' battle cry. The Virgin became the spiritual lady of chivalry, and the Christian knight dedicated his life to her. The severity of Romanesque themes stressing the Last Judgment yielded to the gentleness of Gothic art, in which Mary is the kindly queen of Heaven.

Jamb Statues. Statues of Old Testament kings and queens (FIG. 13-6) occupy the jambs flanking each doorway of the Royal Portal. They are the royal ancestors of Christ and, both figuratively and literally, support the New Testament figures above the doorways. They wear 12th-century clothes, and medieval observers may have

13-6 Jamb statues of Old Testament figures on the right side of the central doorway of the Royal Portal (FIG. 13-5), Chartres Cathedral, Chartres, France, ca. 1145–1155.

The biblical kings and queens of the Royal Portal are the royal ancestors of Christ. These Early Gothic jamb statues display the first signs of a new interest in naturalism in European sculpture.

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regarded them as images of the kings and queens of France. (This was the motivation for vandalizing the comparable figures at Saint-Denis during the French Revolution; compare FIG. 13-3A.) The figures stand rigidly upright with their elbows held close against their torsos. The linear folds of their garments—inherited from the Romanesque style, along with the elongated proportions—generally echo the vertical lines of their column shafts. In this respect, Gothic jamb statues differ significantly from classical *caryatids* (compare FIGS. 5-17 and 5-54). The Gothic figures are *attached* to columns. The classical statues *replaced* the columns. The Chartres (and Saint-Denis) jamb statues are therefore technically high reliefs. Nonetheless, the statues of the kings and queens stand out from the plane of the wall and display signs of a new interest in naturalism on the part of medieval sculptors, noticeable particularly in the heads, where kindly human faces replace the masklike features of most Romanesque figures. At Chartres, a personalization of appearance began that led first to idealized images of the perfect Christian and finally, by 1400, to the portraiture of specific individuals. The sculptors of the Royal Portal figures initiated an era of artistic concern with personality and individuality.

Laon Cathedral. Both Chartres Cathedral and the abbey church of Saint-Denis had lengthy construction histories, and only small portions of those structures date to the Early Gothic period. Laon Cathedral (FIGS. 13-7 and 13-8), however, begun about 1190 and finished shortly after 1200, provides a comprehensive picture of French church architecture of the second half of the 12th century. Characteristically, the Laon design retains some features of earlier Romanesque churches, notably the alternate-support system of the nave arcade (above the piers, alternating bundles of three and five shafts frame the aisle bays) and large sexpartite rib vaults, as at Caen (FIG. 12-34). Significantly, however, Laon's rib vaults all rest on pointed arches, a rare occurrence in the Romanesque era and a feature that became one of the essential elements of Early Gothic architecture (see "The Gothic Rib Vault," page 387). An important new feature of the Laon nave is the *triforium*: the band of arcades below the clerestory (FIGS. 13-7 and 13-15*a*). The triforium occupies the space corresponding to the exterior strip of wall covered by the sloping timber roof above the galleries. The insertion of the triforium into the Romanesque three-story nave elevation reflected a growing desire to break up all continuous wall surfaces. The new horizontal zone produced the characteristic four-story Early Gothic interior elevation: nave arcade, tribune gallery, triforium, and clerestory with single *lancets* (tall, narrow windows ending in pointed arches).

Laon Cathedral's west facade (FIG. 13-8) signals an even more pronounced departure from the Romanesque style still lingering at Saint-Denis (FIG. 13-1) and Chartres (FIG. 13-4). Typically Gothic are the huge central rose window, the deep porches

13-7 Interior of Laon Cathedral (looking northeast), Laon, France, begun ca. 1190.

The insertion of a triforium at Laon broke up the nave wall and produced the characteristic four-story Early Gothic nave elevation (FIG. 13-15*a*): arcade, tribune gallery, triforium, and clerestory.

13-8 West facade of Laon Cathedral, Laon, France, begun ca. 1190.

The huge central rose window, the deep porches in front of the doorways, and the open structure of the towers distinguish Laon Cathedral's Early Gothic facade from Romanesque church facades.

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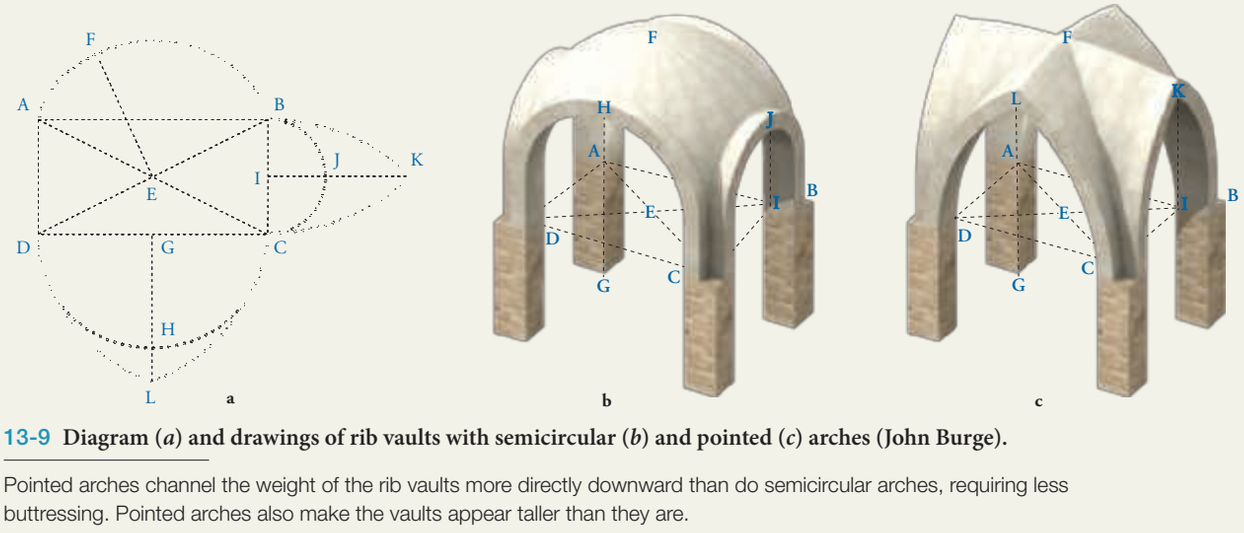
The Gothic Rib Vault

The ancestors of the Gothic *rib vault* are the Romanesque vaults found at Caen (FIG. 12-34), Durham (FIG. 12-36, *left*), and elsewhere. The rib vault's distinguishing features are the crossed, or diagonal, arches under its groins. These arches form the *armature,* or skeletal framework, for constructing the vault. Gothic vaults (for example, FIGS. 13-2, 13-7, and 13-21) generally have thinner *vaulting webs* (the masonry between the ribs) than found in typical Romanesque vaults. But the chief difference between the two types of vaults is the *pointed arch,* an integral part of the Gothic skeletal armature. The first wide use of pointed (or *ogival*) arches was in Sasanian architecture (FIG. 2-29), and Islamic builders later adopted them. French Romanesque architects (FIGS. 12-10B and 12-11) probably borrowed the form from Muslim Spain or, less likely, Norman Sicily and passed it to their Gothic successors. Pointed arches enabled Gothic builders to make the crowns of all the vaults approximately the same level, regardless of the space to be vaulted. Romanesque architects could not achieve this with semicircular arches.

The drawings in FIG. **13-9** illustrate this key difference. In FIG. 13-9*a,* the rectangle *ABCD* is an oblong nave bay to be vaulted. *AC* and *DB* are the diagonal ribs; *AB* and *DC,* the transverse arches; and *AD* and *BC,* the nave arcade's arches. If the architect uses semicircular arches (*AFB, BJC,* and *DHC*), their radii and, therefore, their heights (*EF, IJ,* and *GH*) will be different, because the width of a semicircular arch determines its height. The result will be a vault (FIG. 13-9*b*) with higher transverse arches (*DHC*) than the arcade's arches (*CJB*). The vault's crown (*F*) will be still higher. If the builder uses pointed arches (FIG. 13-9*c*), the transverse (*DLC*) and arcade (*BKC*) arches can have the same heights (*GL* and *IK* in FIG. 13-9*a*). The result will be a Gothic rib vault where the points of the arches (*L* and *K*) are at the same level as the vault's crown (*F*).

A major advantage of the Gothic vault is its flexibility, which enables the vaulting of compartments of varying shapes, as at Saint-Denis (FIGS. 13-1b, 13-2, and 13-3). Pointed arches also channel the weight of the vaults more directly downward than do semicircular arches. The vaults therefore require less buttressing to hold them in place, in turn making it possible for the stonemasons to open up the walls and place large windows beneath the arches. Because pointed arches also lead the eyes upward, they make the vaults appear taller than they are. In FIG. 13-9, the crown (*F*) of both the Romanesque (*b*) and Gothic (*c*) vaults is the same height from the pavement, but the Gothic vault seems taller. Both the physical and visual properties of rib vaults with pointed arches aided Gothic builders in their quest for soaring height in church interiors (FIG. 13-15).



13-9 Diagram (*a*) and drawings of rib vaults with semicircular (*b*) and pointed (*c*) arches (John Burge).

Pointed arches channel the weight of the rib vaults more directly downward than do semicircular arches, requiring less buttressing. Pointed arches also make the vaults appear taller than they are.

in front of the doorways, and the open structure of the towers. A comparison of the facades of Laon Cathedral and Saint-Étienne (FIG. 12-33) at Caen reveals a much deeper penetration of the wall mass in the later building. At Laon, as in Gothic architecture generally, the operating principle was to reduce sheer mass and replace it with intricately framed voids.

Notre-Dame, Paris. About 1130, Louis VI moved his official residence to Paris, spurring much commercial activity and a great building boom, including the erection of a modern cathedral worthy of the new intellectual capital of Europe (see "Paris, the New Center of Medieval Learning," page 388).

Notre-Dame (FIG. 13-10) occupies a picturesque site on an island in the Seine River called the Île-de-la-Cité. The Gothic church, which replaced a large Merovingian basilica, has a complicated building history. The choir and transept were in place by 1182, the nave by about 1225, and the facade not until 1250 to 1260. Sexpartite vaults cover the nave, as at Laon. The original elevation (the builders modified the design as work progressed) had four stories, but the scheme (FIG. 13-15*b*) differed from Laon's (FIG. 13-15*a*). In each bay, in place of the triforium over the gallery, was a stained-glass *oculus* (small round window), opening up the wall below the clerestory lancet. As a result, windows filled two of the four stories, further reducing the masonry area.

The innovative architectural device that made this possible was the *flying buttress,* an external buttress that springs from the lower roofs over the aisles and ambulatory and counters the outward thrust of the nave vaults. Gothic builders had introduced flying buttresses as early as 1150 in a few smaller churches, but at Notre-Dame in Paris, they circle a great urban cathedral. The internal

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ART AND SOCIETY

Paris, the New Center of Medieval Learning

A few years before the formal consecration of the altar of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame (FIG. 13-10) in Paris, Philip II Augustus (r. 1180–1223) succeeded to the throne. Philip brought the feudal barons under his control and expanded the royal domains to include Normandy in the north and most of Languedoc in the south, laying the foundation for the modern nation of France. Renowned as "the maker of Paris," he gave the city its walls, paved its streets, and built the palace of the Louvre (now one of the world's great museums) to house the royal family.

One result of the urbanization of Paris that had enormous consequences for the later history of Europe was the emergence of cities as the centers of scholarship and teaching, displacing monasteries in this role. Although Rome remained the religious center of Western Christendom, the Île-de-France and Paris in particular became its intellectual capital as well as the leading artistic center of the Gothic world. The University of Paris attracted the best minds from all over Europe. Virtually every thinker of note in the Gothic age at some point studied or taught in Paris.

Even in the Romanesque period, Paris was a center of learning. Its Cathedral School professors, known as Schoolmen, developed the philosophy called *Scholasticism.* The greatest of the early Schoolmen was Peter Abelard (1079–1142), a champion of logical reasoning. Abelard and his contemporaries had been introduced to the writings of the Greek philosopher Aristotle through the Arabic scholars of Islamic Spain. Abelard applied Aristotle's system of rational inquiry to the interpretation of religious belief. Until the 12th century, both clergy and laymen considered truth the exclusive property of divine revelation as given in the holy scriptures. But the Schoolmen, using Aristotle's method, sought to demonstrate that reason alone could lead to certain truths. Their goal was to prove the central articles of Christian faith by argument (*disputatio*). In Scholastic argument, the Schoolmen stated a possibility, then cited an authoritative view in objection, next reconciled the positions, and, finally, offered a reply to each of the rejected original arguments.

One of Abelard's greatest critics was Bernard of Clairvaux (see "Bernard of Clairvaux," page 356), who believed that Scholasticism was equivalent to questioning Christian dogma. Although Bernard succeeded in 1140 in having the Church officially condemn Abelard's doctrines, the Schoolmen's philosophy developed systematically until it became the dominant Western philosophy of the late Middle Ages. By the 13th century, the Schoolmen of Paris already had organized as a professional guild of master scholars, separate from the numerous Church schools overseen by the bishop of Paris. The structure of the Parisian guild served as the model for many other European universities.

The greatest advocate of Abelard's Scholasticism was Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), an Italian Dominican friar who was declared a saint in 1323. Aquinas settled in Paris in 1244. There, the German theologian Albertus Magnus (d. 1280) instructed him in Aristotelian philosophy. Aquinas went on to become an influential teacher at the University of Paris. His most famous work, *Summa Theologica* (*Compendium of Theology*; left unfinished at his death), is a model of the Scholastic approach to knowledge. Aquinas divided his treatise into books, the books into questions, the questions into articles, each article into objections with contradictions and responses, and, finally, answers to the objections. He set forth five ways to prove the existence of God by rational argument. Aquinas's work remains the foundation of contemporary Catholic teaching.

13-10 Notre-Dame (looking northwest), Paris, France, begun 1163; nave and flying buttresses, ca. 1180–1200; remodeled after 1225.

King Philip II initiated a building boom in Paris, which quickly became the intellectual capital of Europe. Notre-Dame in Paris was the first great cathedral built using flying buttresses.

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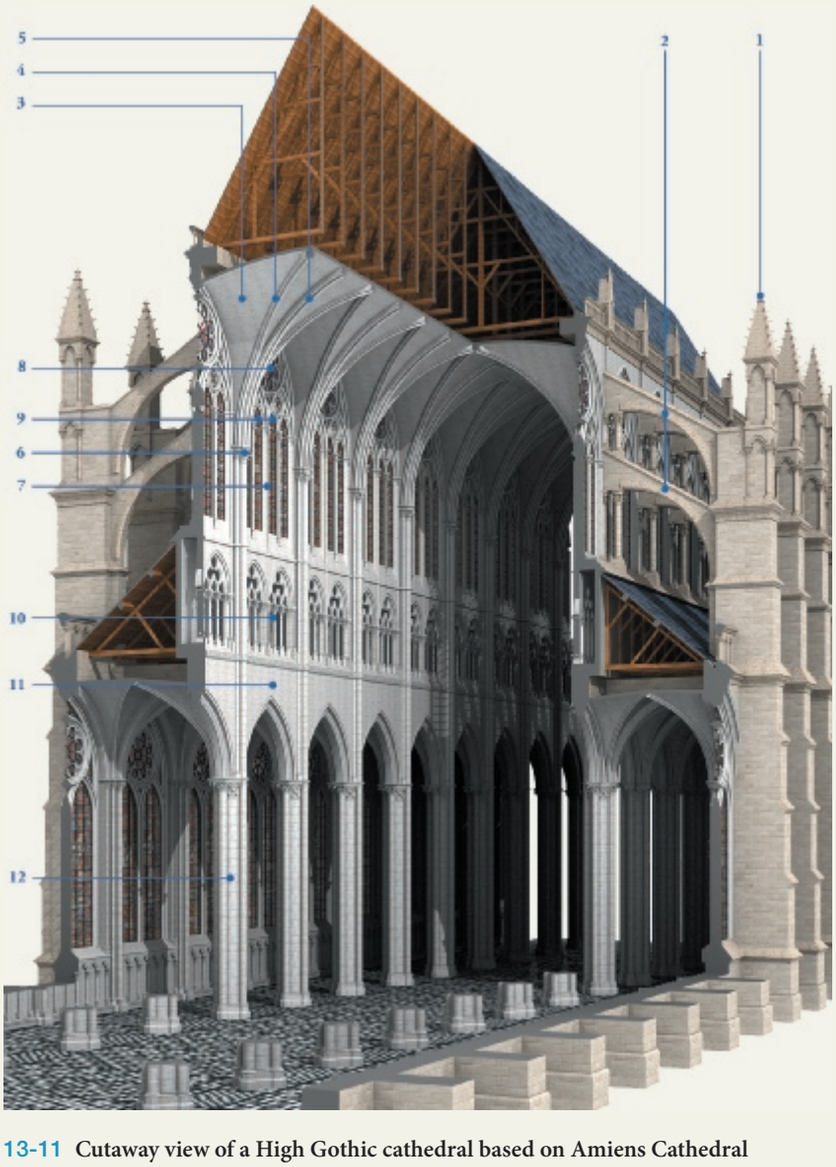
High Gothic Cathedrals

The great cathedrals erected throughout Europe in the later 12th and 13th centuries are the enduring symbols of the Gothic age. They are eloquent testimonies to the extraordinary skill of the architects, engineers, carpenters, masons, sculptors, glassworkers, and metalsmiths who constructed and embellished them. Most of the architectural components of Gothic cathedrals appeared in earlier structures, but Gothic architects combined them in new ways. The essential ingredients of their formula for constructing churches in the opus modernum style were rib vaults with pointed arches, flying buttresses, and huge colored-glass windows. These three features and the most important other terms used in describing Gothic buildings are listed and defined here and illustrated in FIG. 13-11.

- ***Pinnacle*** (FIG. 13-11, no. 1) A sharply pointed ornament capping the piers or flying buttresses; also used on cathedral facades.
- ***Flying buttresses*** (2) Masonry struts that transfer the thrust of the nave vaults across the roofs of the side aisles and ambulatory to a tall pier rising above the church's exterior wall.
- ***Vaulting web*** (3) The masonry blocks (the *web*) filling the area between the ribs of a groin vault.
- ***Diagonal rib*** (4) In plan, one of the ribs forming the X of a groin vault. In FIG. 13-9, the diagonal ribs are the lines *AC* and *DB*.
- ***Transverse rib*** (5) A rib crossing the nave or aisle at a 90-degree angle (lines *AB* and *DC* in FIG. 13-9).
- ***Springing*** (6) The lowest stone of an arch; in Gothic vaulting, the lowest stone of a diagonal or transverse rib.
- ***Clerestory*** (7) The windows below the vaults in the nave elevation's uppermost level. By using flying buttresses and rib vaults with pointed arches, Gothic architects could build huge clerestory windows and fill them with stained glass held in place by ornamental stonework called *tracery.*
- ***Oculus*** (8) A small round window.
- ***Lancet*** (9) A tall, narrow window crowned by a pointed arch.
- ***Triforium*** (10) The story in the nave elevation consisting of arcades, usually *blind arcades* but occasionally filled with stained glass.
- ***Nave arcade*** (11) The series of arches supported by piers separating the nave from the side aisles.
- ***Compound pier (cluster pier) with shafts (responds)*** (12) A pier with a group, or cluster, of attached shafts, or responds, extending to the springing of the vaults.



13-11 Cutaway view of a High Gothic cathedral based on Amiens Cathedral (FIGS. 13-15*d* and 13-20) (John Burge).

The major elements of the High Gothic formula for constructing a church in the opus modernum style are rib vaults with pointed arches, flying buttresses, and stained-glass windows.

quadrant arches (FIG. 12-36, *right*) beneath the aisle roofs at Durham, also employed at Laon, perform a similar function and may be regarded as precedents for exposed Gothic flying buttresses. The combination of precisely positioned flying buttresses and rib vaults with pointed arches was the ideal solution to the problem of constructing lofty naves with huge windows (see "High Gothic Cathedrals," above, and FIG. 13-11).

Chartres after 1194. Churches burned frequently in the Middle Ages (see "The Burning of Canterbury Cathedral," page 353), and church officials often had to raise money unexpectedly for new building campaigns. In contrast to monastic churches, which usually were small and often could be completed quickly, urban cathedrals had construction histories that frequently extended over decades and sometimes centuries, and required a large workforce

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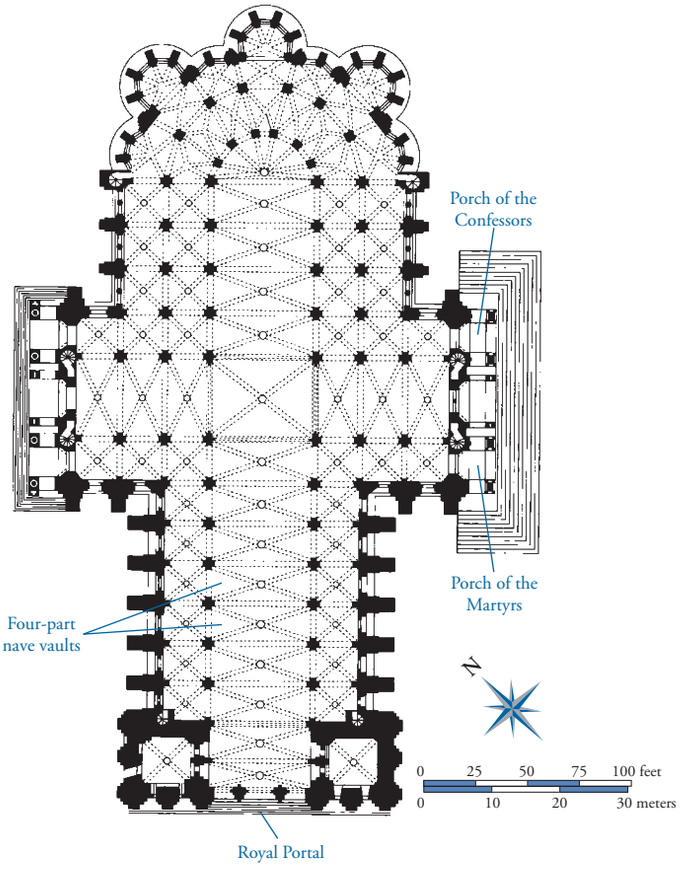
13-12 Aerial view of Chartres Cathedral (looking northwest), Chartres, France, as rebuilt after 1194.

Architectural historians consider the rebuilt Chartres Cathedral the earliest example of High Gothic architecture. The sculptures of its two transept porches are also prime examples of High Gothic style.



13-13 Plan of Chartres Cathedral, Chartres, France, as rebuilt after the 1194 fire (after Paul Frankl).

The Chartres plan—in which one square (instead of two) in each aisle flanks a single rectangular unit in the nave with a four-part vault—became the norm for High Gothic church architecture.

of quarriers, masons, sculptors, glaziers, and metalsmiths. Financing for building projects depended largely on taxation and donations, and sometimes the clergy offered *indulgences* (pardons for sins committed) to those who helped underwrite the enormous cost of erecting a large urban cathedral. A shortfall of funds often caused an interruption in the building program. Unforeseen events, such as wars, famines, or plagues, or friction between the town and cathedral authorities would also often halt construction, which then might not resume for years. At Reims in 1323, the townspeople revolted against their heavy tax burden and stormed the bishop's residence, driving him out of the city and suspending work on the cathedral for three years. A notable exception to the rule was the rebuilding of Chartres Cathedral (FIG. 13-12) after the devastating fire of 1194, which took a relatively short 27 years.

Chartres Cathedral's mid-12th-century west facade (FIG. 13-4) and the masonry of the crypt to the east were the only sections left standing after the 1194 conflagration. The crypt housed the most precious relic of Chartres—the mantle of the Virgin, which miraculously survived the fire. For reasons of piety and economy, the builders used the crypt for the foundation of the new structure. The retention of the crypt and west facade determined the new church's dimensions but not its plan or elevation. Architectural historians generally consider the post-1194 Chartres Cathedral the first High Gothic (1194–1300) building.

The Chartres plan (FIG. 13-13) reveals a new kind of organization. Rectangular nave bays replaced the square bays with sexpartite vaults and the alternate-support system, still present in Early Gothic churches such as Laon Cathedral (FIG. 13-7). The new system, in which a single square in each aisle (rather than two, as before) flanks a single rectangular unit in the nave, became the High Gothic norm.

A change in vault design and the abandonment of the alternate-support system usually accompanied this new bay arrangement. The High Gothic nave vault, which covered only one bay and therefore could be braced more easily than its Early Gothic predecessor, had only four parts. The combined visual effect of these changes was to unify the interior (FIG. 13-14), because the nave now consisted of a sequence of identical units. The level crowns of the successive nave vaults, which pointed arches made possible, enhanced this effect.

Another key features of the 1194 Chartres Cathedral, as in the earlier Paris Cathedral (FIG. 13-10), was the incorporation of flying buttresses. These external buttresses enabled the builders to eliminate the tribune above the aisle, which had partially braced Romanesque and Early Gothic naves (compare FIG. 13-15*c* with FIGS. 13-15*a* and 13-15*b*). The new High Gothic three-story nave elevation consisted of arcade, triforium, and clerestory with greatly enlarged windows. The Chartres windows are almost as tall as the main arcade and consist of double lancets with a single crowning oculus. The strategic placement of flying buttresses made possible a nave elevation in which the voids take up more space than the solid masonry.

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13-14 Interior of Chartres Cathedral (looking east), Chartres, France, begun 1194.

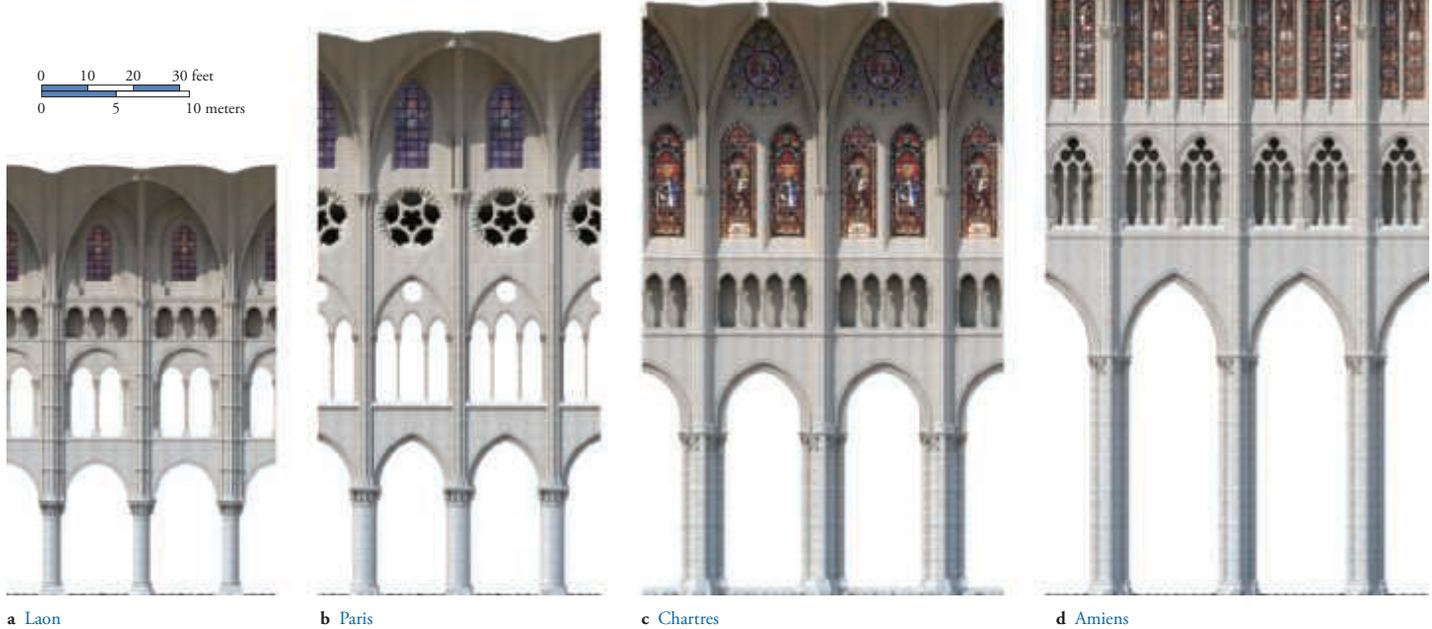
Chartres Cathedral established the High Gothic model also in its three-story elevation consisting of nave arcade, triforium, and clerestory with stained-glass windows almost as tall as the main arcade.

Chartres Stained Glass. Despite the vastly increased size of its clerestory windows, the Chartres nave (FIG. 13-14) is not drenched with light. This seeming contradiction is the result of the use of colored glass for the windows instead of clear glass. The purpose of the Chartres stained-glass windows was not to illuminate the interior with bright sunlight but to transform natural light into Suger's mystical lux nova (see "Stained-Glass Windows," page 392). Chartres Cathedral retains almost the full complement of its original stained glass, paid for by workers' guilds (FIG. 13-16) and royalty (FIG. 13-18) alike. Although the tinted windows have a dimming effect, they transform the character of the church's interior in dramatic fashion. Gothic buildings that no longer have their original stained-glass windows give a false impression of what their designers intended.

One Chartres window that survived the fire of 1194 is the tall single lancet called *Notre Dame de la Belle Verrière*

13-15 Nave elevations of four French Gothic cathedrals at the same scale (John Burge).

Gothic naves evolved from a four-story elevation (arcade, tribune gallery, triforium, clerestory) to a three-story elevation (without tribune). The height of the vaults also increased dramatically.



a Laon
height of nave, 80′; width of nave, 37′6″; ratio, 2.13:1

b Paris
height of nave, 115′; width of nave, 40′; ratio, 2.88:1

c Chartres
height of nave, 120′; width of nave, 45′6″; ratio, 2.64:1

d Amiens
height of nave, 144′; width of nave, 48′; ratio, 3.00:1

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Stained-Glass Windows

Stained-glass windows, although not a Gothic invention, are almost synonymous with Gothic architecture. No other age produced windows of such rich color and beauty. The technology of manufacturing colored glass is very old, however. Egyptian artists excelled at fashioning colorful glass objects for both home and tomb, and archaeologists have uncovered thousands of colored-glass artifacts at Greco-Roman sites. But Gothic artists used stained glass in new ways. In earlier eras, the clergy introduced color and religious iconography into church interiors mainly with mural paintings and mosaics, often with magnificent effect. Stained-glass windows differ from mosaics and frescoes in one all-important respect. They do not conceal walls. They replace them. Moreover, they transmit rather than reflect light, filtering and transforming natural sunlight.

Abbot Suger called this colored light lux nova (see "Abbot Suger," page 383). Suger's contemporary, Hugh of Saint-Victor (1096–1141), a prominent Parisian theologian, also commented on the mystical quality of stained-glass windows: "Stained-glass windows are the Holy Scriptures . . . and since their brilliance lets the splendor of the True Light pass into the church, they enlighten those inside."* William Durandus (ca. 1230–1296), bishop of Mende in southern France, expressed a similar sentiment at the end of the 13th century: "The glass windows in a church are Holy Scriptures, which expel the wind and the rain, that is, all things hurtful, but transmit the light of the True Sun, that is, God, into the hearts of the faithful."†

According to Suger, the 12th-century stained-glass windows of Saint-Denis (FIG. 13-2) were "painted by the exquisite hands of many masters from different regions,"§ proving that the art was well established at that time. In fact, colored-glass windows appeared in some churches as early as the fourth century, and several sophisticated Romanesque examples of figural stained-glass windows survive.

The manufacture of these windows was costly and labor-intensive. A German Benedictine monk named Theophilus recorded the full process around 1100. First, the master designer drew the exact composition of the planned window on a wood panel, indicating all the linear details and noting the colors for each section. Glassblowers provided flat sheets of glass of different colors to *glaziers* (glassworkers), who cut the windowpanes to the required size and shape with special iron shears. Glaziers produced an even greater range of colors by *flashing* (fusing one layer of colored glass to another). Next, painters added details such as faces, hands, hair, and clothing in enamel by tracing the master design on the wood panel through the colored glass. Then they heated the painted glass to fuse the enamel to the surface. Next, the glaziers "leaded" the various fragments of glass—that is, they joined them by strips of lead called *cames.* The *leading* not only held the pieces together but also separated the colors to heighten the effect of the design as a whole. The distinctive character of Romanesque and Gothic stained-glass windows is largely the result of this combination of fine linear details with broad, flat expanses of color framed by black lead. Finally, the glaziers strengthened the completed window with an armature of iron bands, which in the 12th century formed a grid over the entire design (FIG. 13-17). In the 13th century, the bands followed the outlines of the medallions and of the surrounding areas (FIGS. **13-16**, 13-18, and 13-26).

The form of the stone frames for the stained-glass windows also evolved. At Saint-Denis (FIG. 13-1) and Laon (FIG. 13-8), and on Chartres Cathedral's 12th-century west facade (FIG. 13-4), *plate tracery* holds the rose window in place. The glass fills only the "punched holes" in the heavy ornamental stonework. *Bar tracery*, a later development, used first at Reims (FIGS. 13-24 and 13-24A), is much more slender. The stained-glass windows of the Chartres transepts (FIG. 13-18) and on the facades of the cathedrals of Amiens (FIG. 13-22) and Reims fill almost the entire opening, and the stonework is unobtrusive, resembling delicate leading more than masonry wall.

*Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Speculum de mysteriis ecclesiae,* sermon 2.
†William Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum,* 1.1.24. Translated by John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb, *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments* (Leeds: T. W. Green, 1843), 28.
§Translated by Erwin Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis and Its Art Treasures,* 2d ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 73.

13-16 Stonemasons and sculptors, detail of a stained-glass window in the northernmost radiating chapel in the ambulatory, Chartres Cathedral, Chartres, France, ca. 1200–1220.

Glaziers made stained-glass windows by fusing layers of colored glass, joining the pieces with lead strips, and painting the details in enamel. The windows transformed natural light into divine light.

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(*Our Lady of the Beautiful Window,* FIG. 13-17). The central section with a red background, which depicts the Virgin Mary enthroned with the Christ Child in her lap, dates to about 1170. High Gothic glaziers added framing angels seen against a blue ground (not included in FIG. 13-17) when they reinstalled the window in the south aisle of the 13th-century choir. Mary is here the beautiful young queen of Heaven, haloed, crowned, and accompanied by the dove of the Holy Spirit. Comparing this Virgin and Child with the enthroned Theotokos and Child (FIG. 9-20) of Hagia Sophia highlights not only the greater severity and aloofness of the Byzantine image but also the sharp difference between the light-reflecting mosaic medium and Gothic light-filtering stained glass. Gothic and Byzantine builders used light to transform the material world into the spiritual, but in opposite ways. In Gothic architecture, light entered from outside the building through a screen of stone-set colored glass. In Byzantine architecture, light reflected off myriad glass tesserae set into the thick masonry wall.

Chartres Cathedral's 13th-century Gothic windows are even more spectacular than the *Belle Verrière* because the introduction of flying buttresses made it possible for builders to plan from the outset on filling entire walls with stained glass. The north transept's immense rose window (approximately 43 feet in diameter) and tall lancets (FIG. 13-18) were the gift of Queen Blanche of Castile (FIG. 13-32) around 1220. The royal motifs of yellow castles on a red ground and yellow *fleur-de-lis*—three-petaled iris flowers (compare FIG. 25-24), France's royal floral emblem—on a blue ground fill the eight narrow windows in the rose's lower *spandrels*. The iconography is also fitting for a queen. The enthroned Virgin and Child appear in the *roundel* at the center of the rose, which resembles a gem-studded book cover or cloisonné brooch. Around her are four doves of the Holy Spirit and eight angels. Twelve square panels contain images of Old Testament kings, including David and Solomon (at the 12 and 1 o'clock positions, respectively). These are the royal ancestors of Christ. Isaiah (11:1–3) had prophesied that the Messiah would come from the family of the patriarch Jesse, father of David. The genealogical "tree of Jesse" is a familiar motif in medieval art. Below, in the lancets, are Saint Anne and the baby Virgin (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). Flanking them are four of Christ's Old Testament ancestors (Melchizedek, David, Solomon, and Aaron), echoing the royal genealogy of the rose but at a larger scale. Many Gothic

13-17 Virgin and Child and angels (*Notre Dame de la Belle Verrière*), detail of a window in the south wall of the choir of Chartres Cathedral, Chartres, France, ca. 1170. Stained glass, 12′ 9″ high.

This stained-glass window miraculously survived the devastating Chartres fire of 1194. It has an armature of iron bands forming a grid over the entire design, an Early Gothic characteristic.

13-18 Rose window and lancets, north transept, Chartres Cathedral, Chartres, France, ca. 1220. Stained glass, rose window 43′ in diameter.

Immense stained-glass rose and lancet windows, held in place by an intricate armature of bar tracery, fill almost the entire facade wall of the High Gothic north transept of Chartres Cathedral.

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13-19 Saint Theodore, jamb statue in the left portal of the Porch of the Martyrs, south transept, Chartres Cathedral, Chartres, France, ca. 1230.

Although the statue of Theodore is still attached to a column, the setting no longer determines its pose. The High Gothic sculptor portrayed the saint in a contrapposto stance, as in classical statuary.

stained-glass windows also present narrative scenes, and their iconographical programs are often more complex than those of the sculptured church portals. (The representation of masons and sculptors at work in FIG. 13-16, for example, is the lowest section of a lancet dedicated to the life of Caraunus—Chéron in French—a legendary local sixth-century martyr who was probably the patron saint of the Chartres stonemasons' guild.)

Almost the entire mass of wall opens up into stained glass, held in place by an intricate stone armature of bar tracery and filling the church with lux nova that changes in hue and intensity with the hours. Here, the Gothic passion for luminous colored light led to a most daring and successful attempt to subtract all superfluous material bulk just short of destabilizing the structure. That this vast, complex fabric of stone-set glass has maintained its structural integrity for almost 800 years attests to the Gothic builders' engineering genius.

Chartres South Transept. The sculptures adorning the portals of the two Chartres transepts erected after the 1194 fire are also prime examples of the new High Gothic spirit. Unlike the Early Gothic portals of its west facade (compare FIGS. 13-4 and 13-12), the Chartres transept portals project forcefully from the church, following the innovative form of the west facade portals of Laon (FIG. 13-8) and Paris (FIG. 13-10) Cathedrals. Similarly, the jamb statues of saints (FIGS. 13-19 and 13-19A) in the transepts, which date from 1220 to 1230, are more independent from the architectural framework. The figures still stand in front of the jamb columns, but are carved separately from them. The architectural setting does not determine their poses as much as it did on the west portals (FIG. 13-6).

13-19A
Porch of the Confessors, Chartres, ca. 1220–1230.

The masterpiece of the south transept is the figure of Saint Theodore (FIG. 13-19), the martyred warrior on the left jamb of the left portal (the Porch of the Martyrs). The statue embodies the great changes that French sculpture had undergone since the Royal Portal jamb figures of the mid-12th century. The High Gothic sculptor portrayed Theodore as the ideal Christian knight, clothing him in the cloak and chain-mail armor of 13th-century Crusaders. The handsome, long-haired youth holds his spear firmly in his right hand and rests his left hand on his shield. He turns his head to the left and swings out his hip to the right. The body's resulting torsion and pronounced sway recall ancient Greek statuary, especially the contrapposto stance of Polykleitos's *Spear Bearer* (FIG. 5-41). The stylistic transformation that occurred in 13th-century French Gothic sculpture echoes the revolutionary developments in ancient Greek sculpture during the transition from the Archaic to the Classical style and could appropriately be described as a second "Classical revolution."

Amiens Cathedral. Chartres Cathedral is one of the most influential buildings in the history of architecture. Its builders set a pattern that many other Gothic architects followed, even if they refined the details. Construction of Amiens Cathedral began in 1220 while work was still in progress at Chartres. The architects were ROBERT DE LUZARCHES, THOMAS DE CORMONT, and RENAUD DE CORMONT. The survival of the names of these and other Gothic architects no doubt reflects the enormous prestige that accrued to all associated with the great cathedrals of the Gothic age. The Amiens builders finished the cathedral's nave (FIG. 13-20) by 1236 and the radiating chapels by 1247, but work on the choir (FIG. 13-21) continued until almost 1270. The Amiens elevation (FIGS. 13-15*d* and 13-20) derived from the High Gothic formula of Chartres (FIGS. 13-14 and 13-15*c*). Amiens Cathedral's proportions are more slender, however, and the number and complexity of the lancet windows in both its clerestory and its triforium are greater. The whole design reflects the Amiens builders' confident use of the complete High Gothic structural vocabulary: the rectangular-bay system, the four-part rib vault, and an external buttressing system that made possible the almost complete elimination of heavy masses and thick weight-bearing walls. At Amiens, the concept of skeletal architecture reached full maturity. The remaining stretches of wall seem to serve no purpose other than to provide a weather screen for the interior.

Amiens Cathedral is one of the most impressive examples of French Gothic architects' obsession with constructing ever-taller naves. Using their new skeletal frames of stone, French builders attempted goals almost beyond limit, pushing to new heights with increasingly slender supports. The nave vaults at Laon rise to a height of about 80 feet; at Paris, 115 feet; and at Chartres, 120 feet. Those at Amiens are 144 feet above the floor (FIG. 13-20). The most daring quest for exceptional height occurred at Beauvais (FIG. I-3), where the choir vaults are 157 feet high—but the builders never completed the cathedral. The Beauvais vaults are unstable and require additional buttressing today.

At Amiens, the lines of the vault ribs converge at the colonnettes and speed down the shell-like walls to the compound piers. Almost every part of the superstructure has its corresponding element below. The overall effect is of effortless strength, of a buoyant lightness not normally associated with stone architecture. Viewed directly from below, the choir vaults (FIG. 13-21) resemble a canopy, tentlike and suspended from bundled masts. The light flooding in from the clerestory makes the vaults seem even more insubstantial. The effect recalls another great building, one utterly

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13-20 **Robert de Luzarches, Thomas de Cormont, and Renaud de Cormont, interior of Amiens Cathedral (looking east), Amiens, France, begun 1220.**

The concept of skeletal architecture reached full maturity in the nave and choir of Amiens Cathedral. The four-part nave vaults on pointed arches rise an astounding 144 feet above the floor (FIG. 13-15*d*).

different from Amiens but where light also plays a defining role: Hagia Sophia (FIG. 9-8) in Constantinople. The designers of Amiens Cathedral, too, reduced the building's physical mass through structural ingenuity and daring, but in the High Gothic basilica, unlike the domed Byzantine church, light further dematerializes what remains.

Work began on the Amiens west facade (FIG. 13-22) at the same time as the nave (1220). Its lower parts reflect the influence of Laon Cathedral (FIG. 13-8) in the spacing of the funnel-like, gable-covered portals. At Amiens, however, the builders punctured the upper parts of the facade to an even greater degree. The deep piercing of walls and towers left few areas for decoration, but sculptors covered the remaining surfaces with a network of colonnettes, arches, pinnacles, rosettes, and other decorative stonework that visually screens and nearly dissolves the structure's solid core. Sculpture also extends to the areas above the portals, especially the band of statues (the *kings' gallery*) running the full width of the facade directly below the rose window (with 15th-century tracery). The uneven towers were later additions. The shorter one dates from the 14th century, the taller one from the 15th century.

13-21 **Robert de Luzarches, Thomas de Cormont, and Renaud de Cormont, vaults, clerestory, and triforium of the choir of Amiens Cathedral, Amiens, France, begun 1220.**

The Amiens choir vaults resemble a canopy on bundled masts. The light entering from the clerestory and triforium creates a buoyant lightness not normally associated with stone architecture.

13-22 **Robert de Luzarches, Thomas de Cormont, and Renaud de Cormont, west facade of Amiens Cathedral, Amiens, France, begun 1220.**

The deep piercing of the Amiens facade left few surfaces for decoration, but sculptors covered the remaining ones with colonnettes, pinnacles, and rosettes that nearly dissolve the structure's masonry.

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13-23 Christ (*Beau Dieu*), trumeau statue of the central doorway of the west facade, Amiens Cathedral, Amiens, France, ca. 1220–1235.

The *Beau Dieu* blesses all who enter Amiens Cathedral. He tramples a lion and a dragon symbolizing the evil forces in the world. This benevolent Gothic Christ gives Christian worshipers hope in salvation.

Beau Dieu. Greeting worshipers as they enter the cathedral is the statue on the central doorway's trumeau that the French call the *Beau Dieu* (*Beautiful God*; FIG. 13-23). The High Gothic sculptor fully modeled Christ's figure, enveloping his body with massive drapery folds cascading from his waist. Compared with the kings and queens (FIG. 13-6) of the Royal Portal, the *Beau Dieu* is almost independent of its architectural setting. Nonetheless, the statue is still attached to the trumeau, and the sculptor placed an architectural canopy over Christ's head. The canopy mimics the east end of a 13th-century cathedral with a series of radiating chapels boasting elegant lancet windows in the latest Gothic style. Above the *Beau Dieu* is the great central tympanum with the representation of Christ as Last Judge. The trumeau Christ does not strike terror into sinners, however. Instead, he blesses those who enter the church and tramples a lion and a dragon symbolizing the evil forces in the world. This image of Christ gives humankind hope in salvation. The Amiens *Beau Dieu* exemplifies the bearded, benevolent Gothic image of Christ that replaced the youthful Early Christian Christ (FIGS. 8-8A and 8-8B) and the stern Byzantine Pantocrator (FIG. 9-23) as the preferred representation of the Savior in later European art. The handsome figure's quiet grace and grandeur also contrast sharply with the emotional intensity of the twisting Romanesque prophet (FIG. 12-13) carved in relief on the Moissac trumeau.

Reims Cathedral. Construction of Reims Cathedral in the heart of France's Champagne wine district began about a decade before work commenced at Amiens. Dedicated to the Virgin Mary, Reims Cathedral occupies a special place in the history of France as well as in the history of architecture. Since 496 it has been the site of all French kings' coronations. The architects were JEAN D'ORBAIS, JEAN LE LOUP, GAUCHER DE REIMS, and BERNARD DE SOISSONS. The last two were primarily responsible for the west facade (FIG. 13-24), where they carried the High Gothic style of Amiens still further, both architecturally and sculpturally. The Amiens and Reims facades, although similar, display some significant differences. The kings' gallery of statues at Reims is *above* the great rose window, and the figures stand in taller and more ornate frames. In fact, the builders "stretched" every detail of the facade. The openings in the towers and those to the left and right of the rose window are taller, narrower, and more intricately decorated, and they more closely resemble the elegant lancets of the clerestory within (FIG. 13-24A). A pointed arch also frames the rose window itself, and the pinnacles over the portals are taller and more elaborate than those at Amiens. Most striking, however, is the treatment of the tympana over the doorways, where the builders inserted stained-glass windows instead of the stone relief sculptures

13-24 JEAN D'ORBAIS, JEAN LE LOUP, GAUCHER DE REIMS, and BERNARD DE SOISSONS, west facade of Reims Cathedral, Reims, France, ca. 1211–1290.

Reims Cathedral's facade reveals High Gothic architects' desire to replace heavy masonry with intricately framed voids. Stained-glass windows, not stone reliefs, fill the three tympana.

13-24A Interior of Reims Cathedral, begun 1211.

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13-25 ***Annunciation*** **and** ***Visitation,*** **jamb statues on the right side of the central doorway of the west facade of Reims Cathedral, Reims, France, ca. 1230–1255.**

Several sculptors working in diverse styles carved the Reims jamb figures, but all resemble free-standing statues, with bodies and arms in motion. The biblical figures gesture and engage in dialogue.

that adorned earlier facades. The contrast with Romanesque heavy masonry construction (FIG. 12-33) is extreme. No less noteworthy, however, is the rapid transformation of the Gothic facade since the 12th-century designs of Saint-Denis (FIG. 13-1) and Chartres (FIG. 13-4) and even Laon (FIG. 13-8).

Reims Cathedral is also a prime example of the High Gothic style in sculpture. The statues and reliefs of the west facade celebrate the Virgin Mary. Above the central gable, Mary is crowned as queen of Heaven. On the trumeau, she is the youthful Mother of God above reliefs depicting Original Sin. (Many medieval theologians considered Mary the new Eve, who, through her son, Jesus, the new Adam, can guide the way to redemption.) The jamb statues to Mary's left and right relate episodes from the infancy cycle (see "The Life of Jesus in Art," pages 244–245), including the Annunciation and Visitation (FIG. 13-25). The statues appear completely detached from their architectural background because the sculptors shrank the supporting columns into insignificance. The columns in no way restrict the free and easy movements of the full-bodied figures. These 13th-century jamb statues contrast strikingly with those of the Early Gothic Royal Portal (FIG. 13-6), where the background columns occupy a volume equal to that of the figures.

The Reims statues also vividly illustrate how long it frequently took to complete the sculptural ornamentation of a large Gothic cathedral. Sculptural projects of this magnitude normally required decades to complete and entailed hiring many sculptors, often working in diverse styles. Art historians believe that three different sculptors carved the four statues in FIG. 13-25 at different times during the quarter century from 1230 to 1255. The Visitation group (*right*) is the work of one of the many artists of the era—in Germany and Italy as well as France—who must have studied classical statuary. Reims was an ancient Roman city. The heads of both Mary and Saint Elizabeth resemble Roman portraits, and the rich folds of the garments they wear also recall Roman sculpted figures (FIG. 7-60). The Gothic statues closely approximate the classical naturalistic style, and feature postures in which the swaying of the hips is much more pronounced than in the Chartres Saint Theodore (FIG. 13-19). The right legs of the Reims figures bend, and the knees press through the rippling folds of the garments. The sculptor also set the holy figures' arms in motion. Mary and Elizabeth look at each other and engage in a dialogue using gestures. In the Reims Visitation group, the formerly isolated Gothic jamb statues became actors in a biblical narrative.

The statues in the Annunciation group (FIG. 13-25, *left*) also stand free from their architectural setting, but they are products of different workshops. Mary is a slender figure with severe drapery. This artist preferred broad expanses of fabric to the multiplicity of folds of the Visitation Mary. The angel Gabriel, the latest of the four statues, exhibits the elegant style of the Parisian court at the middle of the 13th century (compare FIG. 13-34). Gabriel has a much more elongated body and is far more animated than his neighbors. He pivots gracefully, almost as if dancing, and smiles broadly. Like a courtier, Gabriel exudes charm. Mary, in contrast, is serious and introspective and does not respond overtly to the news the angel has brought.

Sainte-Chapelle. The stained-glass windows inserted into the portal tympana of Reims Cathedral exemplify the wall-dissolving High Gothic architectural style. The architect of Sainte-Chapelle

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ART AND SOCIETY

Louis IX, the Saintly King

The royal patron behind the Parisian Rayonnant court style (FIG. 13-26) of Gothic art and architecture was King Louis IX (1215–1270; r. 1226–1270), grandson of Philip Augustus (see "Paris, the New Center of Medieval Learning," page 388). Louis inherited the throne when he was only 12 years old, so until he reached adulthood 6 years later, his mother, Blanche of Castile (FIG. 13-32), granddaughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine (see "Romanesque Countesses, Queens, and Nuns," page 367), served as France's regent.

The French regarded Louis as the ideal king. In 1297, only 27 years after Louis's death, Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294–1303) declared the king a saint. In his own time, Louis was revered for his piety, justice, truthfulness, and charity. His almsgiving and his donations to religious foundations were extravagant. He especially favored the *mendicant* (begging) orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans (see "Mendicant Orders," page 423), because he admired their poverty, piety, and self-sacrificing disregard of material things.

Louis launched two unsuccessful Crusades (see "The Crusades," page 360), the Seventh (1248–1254, when in her son's absence, Blanche was again French regent) and the Eighth (1270). He died in Tunisia during the latter. As a crusading knight who lost his life in the service of the Church, Louis personified the chivalric virtues of courage, loyalty, and self-sacrifice. Saint Louis united in his person the best qualities of the Christian knight, the benevolent monarch, and the holy man. He became the model of medieval Christian kingship.

Louis's political accomplishments were also noteworthy. He subdued the unruly French barons, and between 1243 and 1314, no one seriously challenged the crown. He negotiated a treaty with King Henry III (r. 1216–1272) of England, France's traditional enemy. Such was Louis's reputation for integrity and just dealing that he served as arbiter in at least a dozen international disputes. So successful was he as peacekeeper that despite civil wars through most of the 13th century, international peace prevailed.

Under Saint Louis, medieval France was at its most prosperous, and its art and Rayonnant architecture were admired and imitated throughout Europe.

13-26 Interior of the upper chapel (looking southeast), Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, France, 1243–1248.

At Louis IX's Sainte-Chapelle, the architect succeeded in dissolving the walls to such an extent that 6,450 square feet of stained glass account for more than three-quarters of the Rayonnant Gothic structure.

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in Paris extended this style to an entire building (FIG. 13-26). Louis IX (see "Louis IX, the Saintly King," above) built the chapel on the Île-de-la-Cité near Notre-Dame as a repository for the crown of thorns and other relics of Christ's passion that he had purchased in 1239 from his cousin Baldwin II (r. 1228–1261), the Latin emperor of Constantinople. Sainte-Chapelle is a masterpiece of the architectural style Louis favored—the High Gothic *Rayonnant* ("radiant") style, which dominated the second half of the 13th century. The chapel's architect carried the dissolution of walls and the reduction of the bulk of the supports to the point that some 6,450 square feet of stained glass make up more than three-quarters of the structure. The supporting elements are hardly more than large *mullions* (vertical stone bars). The emphasis is on the extreme slenderness of the architectural forms and on linearity in general. Although the building required restoration in the 19th century (after suffering damage during the French Revolution), it retains most of its original 13th-century stained glass. Sainte-Chapelle's enormous windows filter the light and fill the interior with an unearthly rose-violet atmosphere. Approximately 49 feet high and 15 feet wide, they were the largest designed up to their time.

Virgin of Paris. The "court style" of Sainte-Chapelle has its pictorial parallel in the mannered elegance of the roughly contemporaneous Gabriel of the Reims Annunciation group (FIG. 13-25, *left*), but the style long outlived Saint Louis and his royal artists and architects. An example of the court style in Late Gothic (ca. 1300–1500) sculpture is the early-14th-century statue known as the *Virgin of Paris* (FIG. 13-27) because of its location in Paris Cathedral (FIG. 13-10). The sculptor portrayed Mary in an exaggerated S-curve posture typical of Late Gothic sculpture. She is a worldly queen and wears a heavy, gem-encrusted crown. The princely Christ Child reaches toward his young mother. The tender, anecdotal characterization of mother and son seen here is a later manifestation of the humanization of the portrayal of religious figures in Gothic sculpture that began at Chartres

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13-27 Virgin and Child (*Virgin of Paris*), Notre-Dame, Paris, France, early 14th century.

Late Gothic sculpture is elegant and mannered. Here, the solemnity of Early and High Gothic religious figures gave way to a tender, anecdotal portrayal of Mary and Jesus as royal mother and son.

and developed especially in Germany (FIGS. 13-49 and 13-52). The tone of Late Gothic statuary is very different from the solemnity of most High Gothic figures, just as Late Classical Greek statues of the Olympian gods (compare FIG. 13-27 with FIG. 5-63) differ from High Classical depictions.

Saint-Maclou, Rouen. French Late Gothic architecture also represents a departure from the norms of High Gothic. The transition from Rayonnant architecture to the so-called *Flamboyant* style (named for the flamelike appearance of its pointed bar tracery) occurred in the 14th century. The new manner reached its florid maturity nearly a century later in Rouen, the capital of Normandy, in the church of Saint-Maclou (FIG. 13-28). The church is intimate in scale (only about 75 feet high and 180 feet long) compared with the grandiose 13th-century cathedrals, and its facade contrasts sharply with the High Gothic style (FIGS. 13-22 and 13-24). The five portals (two of them false doors) are not aligned but form a convex arc. Ornate gables crown the doorways, pierced through and filled with wiry, "flickering" Flamboyant tracery. Made up of curves and countercurves forming brittle decorative webs, the ornate Late Gothic tracery masks the building's structure. The transparency of the pinnacles over the doorways enables visitors to see the central rose window and the flying buttresses, even though they are set well back from the facade. The overlapping of all features, pierced as they are, confuses the structural lines and produces a bewildering complexity of views that is the hallmark of the Flamboyant style.

13-28 West facade of Saint-Maclou, Rouen, France, ca. 1500–1514.

Saint-Maclou is the masterpiece of Late Gothic Flamboyant architecture. Its ornate tracery of curves and countercurves forms brittle decorative webs that mask the small church's structure.

Carcassonne. The Gothic period may have been the age of the great cathedrals, but widespread prosperity also stimulated the construction of major secular buildings such as town halls, palaces, and private residences. In a time of frequent warfare, the feudal barons often constructed fortified castles in places that enemies could not easily reach. Sometimes thick defensive wall circuits or *ramparts* enclosed entire late medieval towns, such as Carcassonne (FIG. 13-29) in Languedoc in southern France. In time, however, purely defensive wars became obsolete due to the invention of artillery and improvements in siege craft. The fortress era gradually passed, and throughout Europe, once-mighty ramparts fell into ruin.

Carcassonne, once the regional center of resistance to the northern forces of royal France, is the best-preserved example of a Gothic fortified town. Heavily restored in the 19th century by EUGÈNE VIOLLET-LE-DUC (1814–1879; the architect responsible also for the restoration of Paris Cathedral, FIG. 13-10), Carcassonne occupies a site on a hill bounded by the Aude River. Fortified since Roman times, it has Visigothic walls dating from the 6th century, reinforced in the 12th century. *Battlements* (low parapets) with *crenellations* (composed of alternating solid *merlons* and open *crenels*) protected guards patrolling the stone ring surrounding the town. Carcassonne might have been forced to surrender, but could not easily be taken by storm. Within the town's double walls was a fortified castle (FIG. 13-29, *right*) with a massive

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A SECOND OPINION

Gothic Cathedrals and Gothic Cities

The southern French walled city of Carcassonne (FIG. 13-29) can serve to underscore that the traditional approach to the study of Gothic cathedrals is deceiving. Rather than isolated and self-contained religious shrines, Gothic churches, especially the bishop's church, were integral components of their cities. Architectural historians are increasingly shifting their focus from individual buildings to the overall urban environment, although, unlike Gothic churches, no Gothic city is preserved in anything like its original form. However, a great deal is known about the general character of Gothic cities and the role of the cathedral in the urban environment.

Gothic cathedrals, in vivid contrast to the oratories of earlier medieval monasteries, were not sharply segregated from the secular world. Quite the contrary. Some, like Salisbury Cathedral (FIG. 13-40), stood majestically on vast green lawns, but most stood at the intersection of major streets in their respective cities, often with houses and shops crowding them on every side. As a rule, the cathedral was the largest and most richly ornamented building in a Gothic city, but civic and guild halls (FIG. 13-30), hospitals, and even palatial private residences (FIG. 13-31) competed with the bishop's church for attention—and in some cases for the claim to being the tallest structure in the city.

Secular life even extended into what is usually thought of as an inviolable sacred sanctuary. The Gothic cathedral was by no means exclusively a place of worship. Meetings of civic councils were so commonly held in the nave and aisles of spacious cathedrals that many towns never felt the need to erect administrative buildings. Cathedrals often were the place where lawsuits and other judicial proceedings were held. Reims Cathedral (FIG. 13-24) in France and Westminster Abbey (FIGS. 12-40 and 13-45) in England were where all French and English monarchs were crowned. It was not unusual for merchants to conduct business in cathedrals. At Chartres (FIG. 13-14), for example, wine merchants set up their stalls in the nave and later in the crypt of the cathedral dedicated to the Virgin. In the Gothic cathedral, the spiritual and secular worlds met and merged.

13-29 Aerial view of the fortified town of Carcassonne (looking west), France. Bastions and towers, 12th to 13th centuries, restored by EUGÈNE VIOLLET-LE-DUC in the 19th century.

Carcassonne provides a rare glimpse of what was once a familiar sight in Gothic France: a tight complex of castle, cathedral, and town with a crenellated and towered wall circuit for defense.

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attached *keep,* a secure tower that could serve as a place of last refuge. Balancing that center of secular power was the bishop's seat, the Cathedral of Saint-Nazaire (FIG. 13-29, *left*). The small church, built between 1269 and 1329, was possibly the work of an architect brought in from northern France. In any case, Saint-Nazaire's builders were certainly familiar with the latest developments in architecture in the Île-de-France. Today, Carcassonne provides a rare glimpse of what was once a familiar sight in Gothic France: a tightly contained complex of castle, cathedral, and town within towered walls (see "Gothic Cathedrals and Gothic Cities," above).

Guild Hall, Bruges. One of the many signs of the growing urbanization of life in the late Middle Ages was the erection of monumental meeting halls and warehouses for the increasing number of craft guilds being formed throughout Europe. An early example is the imposing market and guild hall (FIG. 13-30) of the clothmakers of Bruges, begun in 1230. Situated in the city's major square, the hall testifies to the important role of artisans and merchants in Gothic Europe. The design combines features of military construction (the corner watchtowers with their crenellations) and ecclesiastical architecture (lancet windows with crowning oculi). The uppermost, octagonal portion of the tower with its flying buttresses and pinnacles dates to the 15th century, but even the original two-story tower is taller than the rest of the building. Lofty towers, a common feature of late medieval guild and town halls, were designed to compete for attention and prestige with the towers of city cathedrals (compare FIGS. 14-16 and 14-19B).

House of Jacques Coeur. The new class of wealthy merchants who rose to prominence throughout Europe in the late Middle

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13-30 Hall of the cloth guild (looking south), Bruges, Belgium, begun 1230.

The Bruges cloth guild's meeting hall is an early example of a new type of secular architecture in the late Middle Ages. Its lofty tower competed for attention with the towers of the cathedral.

Ages may not have accumulated fortunes equaling those of the hereditary royalty and nobility, but they still wielded enormous power and influence. The career of the French financier Jacques Coeur (1395–1456) illustrates the ways that enterprising private citizens could win—and quickly lose—wealth and power. Coeur had banking houses in every city of France and many cities abroad. He employed more than 300 agents and competed with the great trading republics of Italy. His merchant ships filled the Mediterranean, and with the papacy's permission, he imported spices and textiles from Muslim lands to the east. He was the treasurer of King Charles VII (r. 1422–1461) of France and a friend of Pope Nicholas V (r. 1447–1455). In 1451, however, his enemies framed him on an absurd charge of having poisoned Agnès Sorel (1422–1450), the king's mistress. The judges who sentenced Coeur to prison and confiscated his vast wealth and property were among those who owed him money. Coeur escaped in 1454 and made his way to Rome, where the pope warmly received him. He died of fever while leading a fleet of papal war galleys in the eastern Mediterranean.

Jacques Coeur's great townhouse still stands in his native city of Bourges. Built between 1443 and 1451 (with special permission to encroach upon the town ramparts), it is the best-preserved example of Late Gothic domestic architecture. The house's plan is irregular, with the units arranged around an open courtyard (FIG. 13-31). The service areas (maintenance shops, storage rooms, servants' quarters, and baths—a rare luxury in any home until the 20th century) occupy the ground level. The upper stories house the great hall and auxiliary rooms used for offices and family living rooms. Over the main entrance is a private chapel. One of the towers served as a treasury. The exterior and interior facades have steep pyramidal roofs of different heights. Decorative details include Flamboyant tracery and large pointed-arch stained-glass windows. An elegant canopied niche facing the street once housed a royal equestrian statue. A comparable statue of Coeur on horseback dominated the facade opening onto the interior courtyard. Jacques Coeur's house is both a splendid example of Late Gothic architecture and a monumental symbol of the period's new secular spirit.

13-31 Inner facade and courtyard of the house of Jacques Coeur, Bourges, France, 1443–1451.

The townhouse of the wealthy Bourges financier Jacques Coeur is the leading example of Late Gothic domestic architecture and a symbol of the period's new secular spirit. The home features elaborate tracery.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Gothic Book Production

The Florentine poet Dante Alighieri (1265–1321) referred to Paris in his *Divine Comedy* (ca. 1310–1320) as the city famed for the art of illumination.* During the Gothic period, book production shifted from monastic scriptoria to urban workshops of professional artists—and Paris boasted the most and best. These new for-profit secular businesses sold their products to the royal family, scholars, and prosperous merchants. The Parisian shops were the forerunners of modern publishing houses.

Not surprisingly, some of the finest extant Gothic books belonged to the French monarchy (FIGS. 13-32, 13-34, 13-35, 13-36, and 13-36A). Louis IX in particular was an avid collector of both secular and religious books. He and his royal predecessors and successors amassed a vast library that is today the core of France's national library.

One of the many books the royal family commissioned is a moralized Bible now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. *Moralized Bibles* are heavily illustrated, each page pairing paintings of Old and New Testament episodes with explanations of their moral significance. Louis's mother, Blanche of Castile, ordered the Morgan Bible during her regency (1226–1234) for her teenage son. The dedication page (FIG. 13-32) has a costly gold background and depicts Blanche and Louis enthroned beneath triple-lobed arches and miniature cityscapes. The latter are comparable to the architectural canopies above the heads of contemporaneous French portal statues (FIGS. 13-19 and 13-23). With vivid gestures, Blanche instructs the young Louis, underscoring her superior position. (The prominence of Mary as queen of Heaven in Gothic art parallels the rising influence of secular queens in Gothic Europe.) Below Blanche and Louis are a monk and a professional lay scribe. The older clergyman instructs the scribe, who already has divided his page into two columns of four roundels each, a format often used for the paired illustrations of moralized Bibles. The inspiration for such pages filled with circular frames was probably the roundels of stained-glass windows, such as those of Louis's own Sainte-Chapelle (FIG. 13-26).

The picture of Gothic book production on the dedication page of Blanche of Castile's Bible is a very abbreviated one, as is the view of a Spanish monastic scriptorium discussed earlier (FIG. 11-11). Indeed, the manufacturing processes used in the professional workshops of 13th-century Paris and the monastery of 10th-century Tábara did not differ significantly. Book production involved many steps and required numerous specialized artists, scribes, and assistants of varying skill levels. The Benedictine abbot Johannes Trithemius (1462–1516) described the way books were still made in his day in his treatise *In Praise of Scribes*:

> If you do not know how to write, you still can assist the scribes in various ways. One of you can correct what another has written. Another can add the rubrics [headings] to the corrected text. A third can add initials and signs of division. Still another can arrange the leaves and attach the binding. Another of you can prepare the covers, the leather, the buckles and clasps. All sorts of assistance can be offered the scribe to help him pursue his work without interruption. He needs many things which can be prepared by others: parchment cut, flattened and ruled for script, ready ink and pens. You will always find something with which to help the scribe.†

Preparation of the illuminated pages also involved several hands. Some artists, for example, specialized in painting borders or initials. Only the workshop head or one of the most advanced assistants would paint the main figural scenes. Given this division of labor and the assembly-line nature of Gothic book production, it is astonishing how uniform the style is on a single page, as well as from page to page, in most illuminated manuscripts. One Parisian book of special interest in this regard is the *Belleville Breviary* (FIG. 13-36), which gives the name of the workshop head, Jean Pucelle, and those of some of his assistants in a memorandum at the end of the manuscript recording the payment they received for their work. Inscriptions in other Gothic illuminated books regularly state the production costs—the prices paid for materials, especially gold, and for the execution of initials, figures, flowery script, and other embellishments. By this time, however, although the cost of materials was still the major factor determining a book's price, individual skill and "brand name" also played a significant role. In the Gothic age, urban workshops of professional scribes and painters ended the centuries-old monopoly of the Church in book production.

13-32 Blanche of Castile, Louis IX, and two monks, dedication page (folio 8 recto) of a moralized Bible, from Paris, France, 1226–1234. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 1′ 3″ × 10½″. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

The dedication page of this royal book depicts Saint Louis, his mother and French regent Blanche of Castile, a monk, and a lay scribe at work on the paired illustrations of a moralized Bible.

*Dante, *Divine Comedy,* Purgatory, 11.81.

†Translated by Roland Behrendt, *Johannes Trithemius, In Praise of Scribes: De laude scriptorum* (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1974), 71.

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Book Illumination and Luxury Arts

Paris's claim as the intellectual center of Gothic Europe (see "Paris," page 388) did not rest solely on the stature of its university faculty and the reputation of its architects, masons, sculptors, and glaziers. The city was also a renowned center for the production of fine books, such as the Bible (FIG. 13-32) that once belonged to Blanche of Castille (see "Gothic Book Production," page 402).

God as Creator. Another Bible produced in Paris during the 1220s features a magnificent frontispiece: *God as Creator of the World* (FIG. 13-33). Above the illustration, the scribe wrote (in French rather than Latin): "Here God creates heaven and earth, the sun and moon, and all the elements." The painter depicted God in the process of creating the world, shaping the universe with the aid of a compass. Within the perfect circle already created are the spherical sun and moon and the unformed matter that will become the earth once God applies the same geometric principles to it. In contrast to the biblical account of creation, in which God created the sun, moon, and stars after the earth had been formed, and made the world by sheer force of will and a simple "Let there be" command, this Gothic Bible portrays God systematically creating the universe using geometrical principles.

Indeed, geometry played an important symbolic as well as practical role in Gothic art and architecture. Gothic artists, architects, and theologians alike thought that the triangle, for example, embodied the Trinity of God the Father, Christ, and the Holy Spirit. The circle, which has neither a beginning nor an end, symbolized the eternity of the one God. The book of Revelation (21:12–21) describes the Heavenly Jerusalem as a walled city in the form of a perfect square with 12 gates. When Gothic architects based their designs on the art of geometry, building their forms out of abstract shapes laden with symbolic meaning, they believed they were working according to the divinely established laws of nature.

Psalter of Saint Louis. The gold backgrounds of the frontispieces of Blanche of Castille's Bible and of the *God as Creator* Bible are unusual and have no parallel in the figural decoration of Gothic stained-glass windows. But the radiance of stained glass probably inspired the glowing color of other 13th-century Parisian illuminated manuscripts. In some cases, masters in the same urban workshop produced both glass and books. Many art historians believe that the *Psalter of Saint Louis* (FIG. 13-34) is one of several books produced in Paris for Louis IX by artists associated with those who made the stained glass for his Sainte-Chapelle (FIG. 13-26). Certainly, the painted architectural setting in Louis's book of psalms

13-33 *God as Creator of the World,* **folio 1 verso of a moralized Bible, from Paris, France, ca. 1220–1230. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 1′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″ × $8\frac{1}{4}$″. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.**

Paris boasted renowned workshops for the production of illuminated manuscripts. In this book, the artist portrayed God in the process of creating the universe using a Gothic builder's compass.

13-34 *Abraham and the Three Angels,* **folio 7 verso of the *Psalter of Saint Louis,* from Paris, France, 1253–1270. Ink, tempera, and gold leaf on vellum, 5″ × $3\frac{1}{2}$″. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.**

The architectural settings in the *Psalter of Saint Louis* reflect the lightness and transparency of Rayonnant royal buildings such as Sainte-Chapelle (FIG. 13-26). The colors emulate stained glass.

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reflects the pierced screenlike lightness and transparency of royal Rayonnant buildings such as Sainte-Chapelle. The intense colors, especially the blues, emulate stained glass, and the lines in the borders resemble leading. The gables, pierced by rose windows with bar tracery, are standard Rayonnant architectural features.

The page from the *Psalter of Saint Louis* shown here, *Abraham and the Three Angels* (FIG. 13-34), illustrates the Old Testament story that Christians believe prefigures the Trinity (see "Old Testament Subjects in Christian Art," page 242). Two episodes appear on the same page, separated by the tree of Mamre mentioned in the Bible. At the left, Abraham greets the three angels. In the other scene, he entertains them while his wife, Sarah, peers at them from a tent. The figures' delicate features and the linear wavy strands of their hair have parallels in Blanche of Castile's Bible (FIG. 13-32), as well as in Parisian stained glass. The elegant proportions, facial expressions, theatrical gestures, and swaying poses are characteristic of the Parisian court style admired throughout Europe. Compare, for example, the angel in the left foreground with the Gabriel statue (FIG. 13-25, *left*) of the Reims Annunciation group.

Breviary of Philippe le Bel. As did a few Romanesque painters (FIGS. 12-25A, 12-38, and 12-39), some Gothic manuscript illuminators signed their work. The names of others appear in royal accounts of payments made and similar official documents. One of the artists who produced books for the French court was MASTER HONORÉ, whose Parisian workshop was on the street known today as rue Boutebrie. Honoré illuminated a *breviary* (see "Medieval Books," page 324) for Philippe le Bel (Philip the Fair, r. 1285–1314) in 1296. On the page illustrated here (FIG. 13-35), Honoré painted two Old Testament scenes involving David. In the upper panel, Samuel anoints the youthful David (compare FIG. 8-2). Below, while King Saul looks on, David prepares to aim his slingshot at his most famous opponent, the giant Goliath (who already touches the wound on his forehead). Immediately to the right, David slays Goliath with his sword.

1 in.

13-35 MASTER HONORÉ, *Samuel Anointing David* and *Battle of David and Goliath,* folio 7 verso of the *Breviary of Philippe le Bel,* from Paris, France, 1296. Ink and tempera on vellum, $7\frac{7}{8}'' \times 4\frac{7}{8}''$. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Master Honoré was one of the Parisian lay artists who produced books for the French monarchy. His figures are noteworthy for their sculptural volume and the play of light and shade on their bodies.

1 in.

13-36 JEAN PUCELLE, *David before Saul,* folio 24 verso of the *Belleville Breviary,* from Paris, France, ca. 1325. Ink and tempera on vellum, $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Pucelle's fully modeled figures in architectural settings rendered in convincing perspective reveal his study of contemporaneous painting in Italy. He was also a close observer of plants and fauna.

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Master Honoré's linear treatment of hair, his figures' delicate hands and gestures, and their elegant swaying postures are typical of Parisian painting of the time. This painter, however, was much more interested than most of his colleagues in giving his figures sculptural volume and showing the play of light on their bodies. Nonetheless, Honoré showed little concern for locating his figures in space. The Goliath panel in Philippe's breviary has a textilelike decorative background, and the feet of the artist's figures regularly overlap the border. Although Master Honoré explored naturalism in figure painting, he still approached the art of book illumination as a decorator of two-dimensional pages. He did not embrace the classical notion that a painting should be an illusionistic window into a three-dimensional world.

Belleville Breviary. David and Saul also are the subjects of a miniature painting at the top left of an elaborately decorated text page (FIG. 13-36) in the *Belleville Breviary,* which JEAN PUCELLE of Paris painted around 1325. In this manuscript and the Book of Hours (FIG. 13-36A) he illuminated for Queen Jeanne d'Evreux (1310–1371), wife of Charles IV (r. 1322–1328), Pucelle outdid Honoré and other French artists by placing his fully modeled figures in three-dimensional architectural settings rendered in convincing perspective. For example, he painted Saul as a weighty figure seated on a throne seen in three-quarter view, and he meticulously depicted the receding coffers of the barrel vault over the young David's head. Similar "stage sets" already had become commonplace in Italian painting, and art historians believe that Pucelle visited Italy and studied Duccio di Buoninsegna's work (FIGS. 14-1, 14-11, 14-11A, and 14-12) in Siena. Pucelle's (or an assistant's) renditions of plants, a bird, butterflies, a dragonfly, a fish, a snail, and a monkey also reveal a keen interest in and close observation of the natural world. Nonetheless, in the *Belleville Breviary,* the text still dominates the figures, and the artist (and his patron) delighted in ornamental flourishes, fancy initial letters, and abstract patterns. In that respect, comparisons with panel paintings such as Duccio's are inappropriate. Pucelle's breviary remains firmly in the tradition of book illumination.

13-36A PUCELLE, *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux,* ca. 1325–1328.

13-37 VILLARD DE HONNECOURT, figures based on geometric shapes, folio 18 verso of a sketchbook, from Paris, France, ca. 1220–1235. Ink on vellum, $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 6''$. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

On this page from his private sketchbook, the 13th-century master mason Villard de Honnecourt sought to demonstrate that simple geometric shapes are the basis of both natural forms and buildings.

Villard de Honnecourt. One of the most intriguing Parisian manuscripts preserved today was not a book sold to the royal family or, in fact, to any customer. It was instead a personal sketchbook compiled by VILLARD DE HONNECOURT, an early 13th-century master mason. The pages of drawings include plans of choirs with radiating chapels and sketches of church towers, lifting devices, a sawmill, stained-glass windows, and other subjects of obvious interest to architects and masons. Also sprinkled liberally throughout the pages are pictures of religious and worldly figures as well as animals, some realistic and others purely fantastic. On the page reproduced here (FIG. 13-37), Villard demonstrated the value of the "art of geometry" to artists, showing how both natural forms and buildings are based on simple geometric shapes such as the square, circle, and triangle (compare FIG. 13-33). Even when he claimed that he drew his animals from nature, Villard composed his figures around a skeleton not of bones but of abstract geometric forms. Geometry was, in Villard's words, "strong help in drawing figures." He also added a cautionary note for others to read: "In these four leaves are some figures from the discipline of geometry. But to become familiar with it [the art of geometry], it is necessary to pay careful attention. Whoever wishes to know about [it] must work at each one."[1]

Virgin of Jeanne d'Evreux. In addition to commissioning illuminated manuscripts, the royal family also patronized goldsmiths, silversmiths, and other artists specializing in the production of luxury works in metal and enamel for churches, palaces, and private homes. Especially popular were statuettes of sacred figures, which the wealthy purchased either for private devotion or as gifts to churches. The Virgin Mary was a favored subject, reflecting her increased prominence in the iconography of Gothic portal sculpture.

Perhaps the finest of these costly statuettes is the large silver-gilt figurine known as the *Virgin of Jeanne d'Evreux.* The French queen donated this image of the Virgin and Child to the royal abbey church of Saint-Denis in 1339. Mary stands on a rectangular

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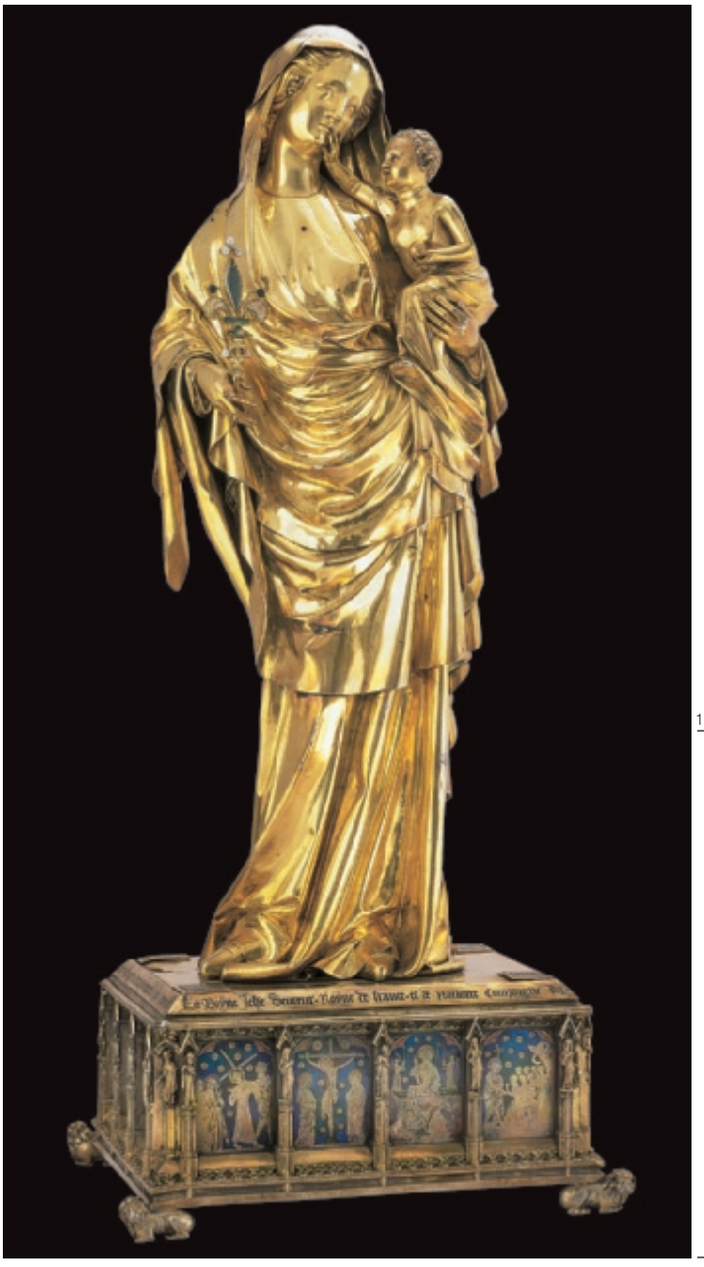

13-38 ***Virgin of Jeanne d'Evreux,*** **from the abbey church of Saint-Denis, France, 1339. Silver gilt and enamel, 2′ 3½″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.**

Queen Jeanne d'Evreux donated this costly reliquary-statuette to the royal abbey of Saint-Denis (FIG. 13-1). The intimate human characterization of the holy figures recalls that of the *Virgin of Paris* (FIG. 13-27).

base decorated with enamel scenes of Christ's passion (FIG. 13-38). (Some art historians think the enamels are Jean Pucelle's work.) But no hint of grief about her son's future appears in the beautiful young Mary's face. The Christ Child, also without a care in the world, playfully reaches for his mother. The elegant proportions of the two figures, Mary's emphatic swaying posture, the heavy drapery folds, and the intimate human characterization of mother and son are also features of the roughly contemporaneous *Virgin of Paris* (FIG. 13-27). The sculptor of large stone statues and the royal silversmith working at small scale approached the representation of the Virgin and Child in a similar fashion. In both instances, Mary appears not only as the mother of Christ but also as the queen of Heaven. The Saint-Denis Mary originally had a crown on her head, and the scepter she holds is in the form of the fleur-de-lis (compare FIG. 13-18). The statuette also served as a reliquary. The Virgin's scepter contained hairs believed to come from Mary's head.

Castle of Love. Gothic artists produced luxurious objects for secular as well as religious contexts. Sometimes they decorated these costly pieces with stories of courtly love inspired by the romantic literature of the day, such as the account of Lancelot and Queen Guinevere, wife of King Arthur of Camelot. The French poet Chrétien de Troyes recorded their love affair in the late 12th century.

An interesting object of this type is a woman's jewelry box adorned with ivory relief panels. The theme of the panel illustrated here (FIG. 13-39) is related to the allegorical poem *Romance of the Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris, written around 1225 to 1235 and completed by Jean de Meung between 1275 and 1280. At the left, the sculptor carved the allegory of the siege of the Castle of Love. Gothic knights attempt to capture love's fortress by shooting flowers from their bows and hurling baskets of roses over the walls from catapults. Among the castle's defenders is Cupid, who aims

13-39 ***Castle of Love,*** **lid of a jewelry box, from Paris, France, ca. 1330–1350. Ivory and iron, 4½″ × 9¾″. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.**

French Gothic artists also created luxurious objects for homes. Adorning this jewelry casket are ivory reliefs inspired by the romantic literature of the day. Knights joust and storm the Castle of Love.

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his arrow at one of the knights while a comrade scales the walls on a ladder. In the lid's central sections, two knights joust on horseback. Several maidens survey the contest from a balcony and cheer the knights on as trumpets blare. A youth in the crowd holds a hunting falcon. The sport was a favorite pastime of the leisure class in the late Middle Ages. At the right, the victorious knight receives his prize (a bouquet of roses) from a chastely dressed maiden on horseback. The scenes on the sides of the box include the legend of the unicorn—a white horse with a single ivory horn, a medieval allegory of female virtue. Only a virgin could attract the rare animal, and any woman who could do so thereby demonstrated her moral purity. Although religious themes monopolized artistic production for churches in the Gothic age, secular themes figured prominently in private contexts. Unfortunately, very few examples of the latter survive.

OPUS FRANCIGENUM OUTSIDE FRANCE

In 1269, the prior (deputy abbot) of the church of Saint Peter at Wimpfen im Tal in the German Rhineland hired "a very experienced architect who had recently come from the city of Paris" to rebuild his monastery church.[2] The architect reconstructed the church *opere francigeno* ("in the French manner")—that is, in the Gothic style, the opus modernum, of the Île-de-France (see "The Birth of Gothic," page 381). A French architect may also have designed the Cathedral of Santa María (FIG. 13-39A) at Léon in northern Spain, begun in 1254. In the Czech Republic, Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague, begun in 1344, closely emulates French Gothic architecture. The spread of the Gothic style had begun almost as soon as the "modern style" emerged in northern France, but in the second half of the 13th century, the French Gothic style became dominant throughout the Continent. European architecture did not, however, turn Gothic all at once or even uniformly. Almost everywhere, patrons and builders modified the court style of the Île-de-France according to local preferences. Because the old Romanesque traditions lingered on in many places, each area, marrying its local Romanesque design to the new style, developed its own brand of Gothic architecture.

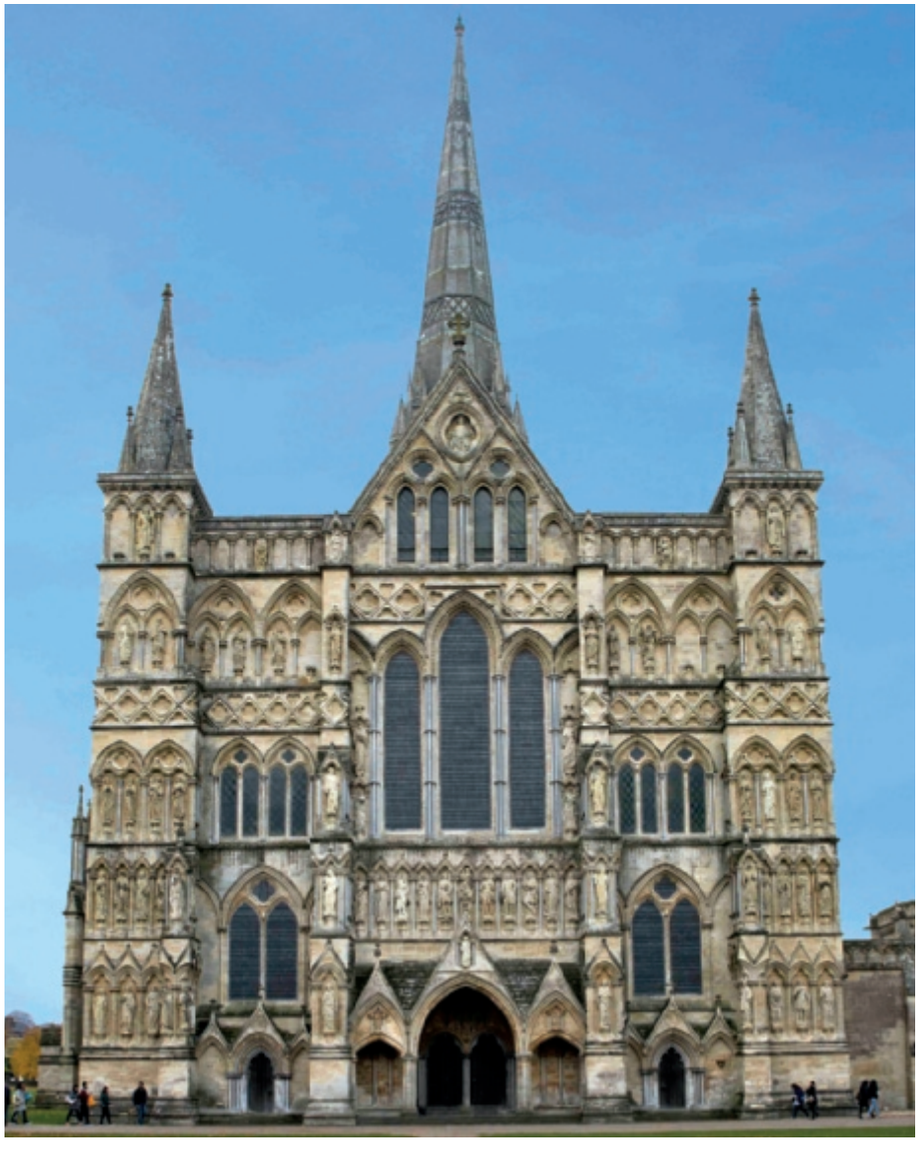
13-39A Santa María, Léon, begun 1254.

England

The influence of French Gothic artistic and architectural styles in England began with William the Conqueror and the Norman invasion of 1066 (FIG. 12-41) and continued in the Gothic period. But just as the Romanesque architecture of Normandy and England has a distinctive character, so too do English artworks (for example, RICHARD DE BELLO'S *mappamundi* in Hereford Cathedral, FIG. 13-39B) and buildings. English Gothic churches, such as the cathedrals at Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, and Gloucester, cannot be mistaken for French ones.

13-39B Mappamundi of Henry III, ca. 1277–1289.

Salisbury Cathedral. The English Gothic style reflects an aesthetic sensibility quite different from French Gothic in emphasizing linear pattern and horizontality instead of structural logic and verticality. Salisbury Cathedral (FIG. 13-40), begun in 1220—the same year that work started on Amiens Cathedral (FIG. 13-22)—embodies these essential characteristics. The building campaign lasted about 40 years. The two cathedrals, both dedicated to the Virgin Mary, are thus also almost exactly contemporaneous, and the differences between them are revealing. Although



13-40 West facade of Salisbury Cathedral, Salisbury, England, 1220–1265.

Exhibiting the distinctive regional features of English Gothic architecture, Salisbury Cathedral has a squat facade that is wider than the building behind it. The architect used flying buttresses sparingly.

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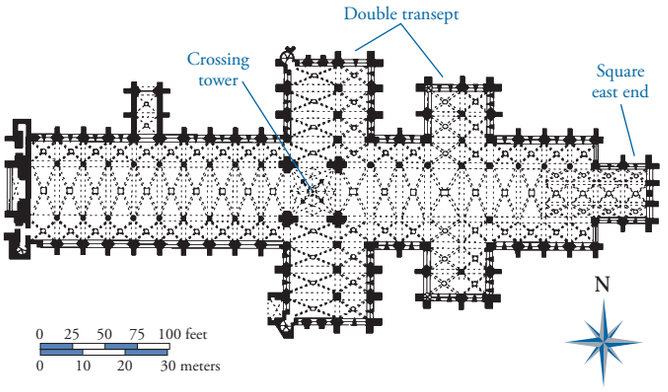
13-40A Bishop Poore, Salisbury Cathedral, 1868–1869.

Salisbury's facade incorporates some of the superficial motifs of French Gothic architecture—for example, lancet windows and blind arcades with pointed arches as well as statuary in shallow niches (FIG. 13-40A)—it presents a striking contrast to French High Gothic designs (FIGS. 13-22 and 13-24). The English facade is a squat screen in front of the nave, wider than the building behind it. The architect did not seek to match the soaring height of French facades or try to make the facade correspond to the three-part division of the interior (nave and two aisles). Salisbury's height is also modest compared with that of Amiens and Reims. Because height was not a decisive factor in the English building, the architect used flying buttresses sparingly.

Equally distinctive is Salisbury Cathedral's long rectilinear plan (FIG. 13-41), with its double transept and square eastern end. The latter feature was characteristic of Cistercian (FIG. 12-10B) and English churches since Romanesque times. The interior (FIG. 13-42)—although Gothic in its three-story elevation, pointed arches, four-part rib vaults, compound piers, and the tracery of the triforium—conspicuously departs from the French Gothic style. The pier colonnettes stop at the springing of the nave arches and do not connect with the vault ribs (compare FIGS. 13-20, 13-21, and 13-24A). Instead, the vault ribs rise from *corbels* in the triforium, producing a strong horizontal emphasis. Underscoring this horizontality is the rich color contrast between the light stone of the walls and vaults and the dark marble (from the Isle of Purbeck in southeastern England) used for the triforium moldings and corbels, compound pier responds, and other details. In short, French Gothic architecture may have inspired the design of Salisbury Cathedral, but its builders transformed the French style in accordance with English taste.



13-41 Plan of Salisbury Cathedral, Salisbury, England, 1220–1258.

The long rectilinear plan of Salisbury Cathedral, with its double transept and square eastern end, is typically English. The four-part rib vaults of the nave follow the Chartres model (FIG. 13-13).

Wells Cathedral. The elaboration of architectural pattern for its own sake had long been a distinguishing feature of English architecture. The decorative motifs on the Romanesque piers of Durham Cathedral (FIG. 12-36, *left*) are an early example. An especially interesting example is found in the nave (FIG. 13-43) of Wells Cathedral, where William Joy solved a structural problem in a unique and aesthetically pleasing way (see "The Scissors Arches of Wells Cathedral," page 409).

Exeter and Gloucester. The pier, wall, and vault elements, still relatively simple at Salisbury, became increasingly complex in the 14th century in what

13-42 Interior of Salisbury Cathedral (looking east), Salisbury, England, 1220–1258.

Salisbury Cathedral's interior differs from contemporaneous French Gothic designs in the strong horizontal emphasis of its three-story elevation and the use of dark Purbeck marble for moldings.

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The Scissors Arches of Wells Cathedral

Begun earlier than the nave of Salisbury Cathedral (FIG. 13-42), Wells Cathedral's 67-foot-tall nave (FIG. 13-43), built between 1192 and 1230 by ADAM LOCK, is also an outstanding example of the Early English Gothic architectural style. (The later facade, FIG. 13-43A, is the work of THOMAS NORREYS.) As in Salisbury, the design closely reflects developments in France, but has the distinctive "look" of English naves with moldings that divide the elevation into three horizontal bands—nave arcade, triforium (without tracery), and clerestory—capped by four-part rib vaults with pointed arches.

13-43A West facade, Wells Cathedral, begun ca. 1230.

The present form of the nave is almost unaltered from the 13th century, with one important exception. Between 1314 and 1322, the cathedral's crossing tower was heightened, adding unwelcome pressure to the piers below. The church authorities feared that the tower would collapse. To avert that outcome, in 1338 master mason WILLIAM JOY buttressed the piers at the crossing by inserting what are known as *scissors arches* across the width of the nave and on the two adjacent sides where the nave intersects the transept. The scissors arches that Joy designed consist of a wide pointed arch somewhat taller than the nave arcade, topped by an inverted arch beneath the vault ribs. He also inserted oculi in the spandrels between the two arches, lightening the scissors both visually and literally. The introduction of these elegant curvilinear forms enhanced the beauty of the nave while solving the structural problem of preventing the collapse of the central spire.

13-43 ADAM LOCK, nave of Wells Cathedral (looking east), Wells, England, 1192–1230; scissors arches added by WILLIAM JOY, 1338.

To avert the collapse of the tower erected in the early 14th century over the crossing of the nave and transept of Wells Cathedral, Joy designed structurally sound and aesthetically pleasing scissors arches.

architectural historians call the *Decorated* style—exemplified by the nave of Exeter Cathedral (FIG. 13-43B), designed by THOMAS OF WITNEY—culminating in the *Perpendicular* style, a masterpiece of which is the choir (FIG. 13-44) of Gloucester Cathedral. The latter church was originally constructed in the late 11th century, but its choir was remodeled about a century after Salisbury under Edward III (r. 1327–1377), who also installed a Pependicular-style tomb (FIG. 13-44A) in the church in honor of his father, Edward II (r. 1307–1327). The Perpendicular style takes

13-43B Nave, Exeter Cathedral, 1328–1369.

13-44A Tomb of Edward II, Gloucester, ca. 1330–1335.

13-44 Choir of Gloucester Cathedral (looking east), Gloucester, England, 1332–1357.

The Perpendicular style of English Late Gothic architecture takes its name from the pronounced verticality of its linear details. The multiplication of ribs in the vaults is also a characteristic feature.

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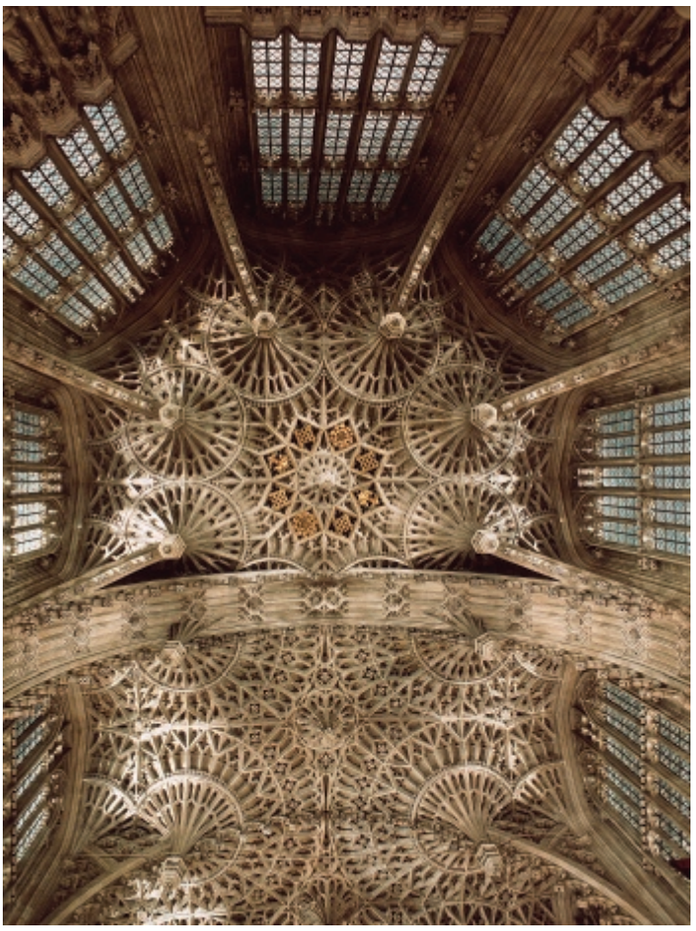
its name from the pronounced verticality of its decorative details, in contrast to the horizontal emphasis of Salisbury and Early English Gothic.

A single enormous window divided into tiers of small windows of similar shape and proportion fills the characteristically square east end of Gloucester Cathedral. At the top, two slender lancets flank a wider central section that also ends in a pointed arch. The design has much in common with the screen facade of Salisbury Cathedral, but the proportions are different. Vertical, as opposed to horizontal, lines dominate. In the choir wall, the architect also erased Salisbury's strong horizontal accents, as the vertical wall elements lift directly from the floor to the vaulting, unifying the walls with the vaults in the French manner. The vault ribs, which designers had begun to multiply soon after Salisbury, are at Gloucester a dense thicket of entirely ornamental strands serving no structural purpose. The choir, in fact, does not have any groin vaults at all but a continuous Romanesque barrel vault with applied Gothic ornamentation. In the Gloucester choir, the taste for decorative surfaces triumphed over structural clarity.

Chapel of Henry VII. The decorative, structure-disguising qualities of the Perpendicular style became even more pronounced in its late phases. The primary example (FIG. 13-45) is the early-16th-century ceiling of the chapel of Henry VII (FIG. 13-45A) adjoining Westminster Abbey in London. Here, ROBERT and WILLIAM VERTUE turned the earlier English linear play of ribs into a kind of architectural embroidery. The architects pulled the ribs into distinctly English *fan vaults* (vaults with radiating ribs forming a fanlike pattern) with large hanging *pendants* resembling stalactites. The vault looks as if it had been some organic mass hardened in the process of melting. Intricate tracery resembling lace overwhelms the cones hanging from the ceiling. The chapel represents the dissolution of structural Gothic into decorative fancy. The architects released the Gothic style's original lines from their function and multiplied them into the uninhibited architectural virtuosity and theatrics of the Perpendicular style. A parallel phenomenon in France is the Flamboyant style of Saint-Maclou (FIG. 13-28) at Rouen.



13-45 **ROBERT and WILLIAM VERTUE, fan vaults of the chapel of Henry VII, Westminster Abbey, London, England, 1503–1519.**

The chapel of Henry VII is the primary example of the decorative and structure-disguising qualities of the Perpendicular style in the use of fan vaults with lacelike tracery and pendants resembling stalactites.

13-45A Chapel of Henry VII, London, 1503–1519.

Holy Roman Empire

As part of his plan to make his new church at Saint-Denis an earthly introduction to the splendors of Paradise (see "Abbot Suger," page 383), Suger selected artists from the Meuse River region in present-day Belgium to fashion for the choir a magnificent crucifix on an elaborate base decorated with 68 enamel scenes pairing Old and New Testament episodes. The Mosan (Meuse) region had long been famous for the quality of its metalworkers and enamelers (FIGS. 12-27 and 12-28). Indeed, as Suger's treatises demonstrate, in the Middle Ages, the artists who worked at small scale with precious metals, ivory, and jewels produced the most admired objects in a church, far more important in the eyes of contemporaries than the painted jamb figures and tympanum reliefs that are the focus of modern histories of medieval art. The loss of Suger's crucifix and all of the other costly items he described is therefore especially unfortunate.

Nicholas of Verdun. The leading Mosan artist of the late 12th and early 13th centuries was NICHOLAS OF VERDUN. In 1181, Nicholas completed work on a gilded-copper and enamel *ambo* (a pulpit for biblical readings) for the Benedictine abbey church at Klosterneuburg, near Vienna in Austria. After a fire damaged the pulpit in 1330, the church hired artists to convert what remained into an *altarpiece.* The pulpit's sides became the wings of a *triptych* (three-part altarpiece). The 14th-century artists also added 6 scenes to Nicholas's original 45. The *Klosterneuburg Altar* in its final form (FIG. 13-45B) has a central row of enamels depicting New Testament episodes, beginning with the Annunciation, and bearing the label *sub gracia,* or the world "under grace"—that is, after the coming of Christ. The upper and lower registers contain Old Testament scenes labeled, respectively, *ante legem,* "before the law" that Moses received on Mount Sinai, and *sub lege,* "under the law" of the Ten Commandments. In this scheme, prophetic Old Testament events appear above and below the New Testament episodes they prefigure. For example, framing the annunciation to Mary of the

13-45B *Klosterneuburg Altar,* refashioned after 1330.

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1 in.

13-46 Nicholas of Verdun, *Sacrifice of Isaac,* detail of the *Klosterneuburg Altar,* from the abbey church at Klosterneuburg, Austria, 1181. Gilded copper and enamel, 5 1/2″ high. Stiftsmuseum, Klosterneuburg.

Nicholas of Verdun was the leading artist of the Meuse River region, renowned for its enamel- and metalwork. His gold figures twist and turn and stand out vividly from the blue enamel background.

coming birth of Jesus are enamels of angels announcing the births of Isaac and Samson. In the central section of the triptych, the Old Testament counterpart of Christ's crucifixion is Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac (FIG. 13-46), a parallel already established in Early Christian times in both art (FIG. 8-8, *top left*) and literature (see "Old Testament Subjects in Christian Art," page 242). Here, the angel flies in at the last moment to grab the blade of Abraham's sword before he can slay the bound Isaac on the altar.

Nicholas of Verdun's Klosterneuburg enamels may give an idea of the appearance of the Old and New Testament enamels on the lost Saint-Denis crucifix. Universally admired, Mosan enamels and metalwork were instrumental in the development of the French Gothic figural style. The gold figures stand out vividly from the blue enamel background. The biblical actors twist and turn, make emphatic gestures, and wear garments almost overwhelmed by the intricate linear patterns of their folds.

Sculpted versions of the Klosterneuburg figures appear on the huge reliquary in Cologne Cathedral known as the *Shrine of the Three Kings* (FIG. 13-47). Around 1190, Philip von Heinsberg, archbishop of Cologne from 1167 to 1191, commissioned Nicholas of Verdun to create the shrine to contain the relics of the three magi acquired by Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa (r. 1155–1190) in the conquest of Milan in 1164. Possession of the three kings' relics, which the emperor donated to Cologne Cathedral, gave the archbishop and his successors the right to crown German kings. Nicholas's reliquary, made of silver and bronze with ornamentation in enamel and gemstones, is one of the most luxurious

1 ft.

13-47 Nicholas of Verdun, *Shrine of the Three Kings,* begun ca. 1190. Silver, bronze, enamel, and gemstones, 5′ 8″ × 6′ × 3′ 8″. Cologne Cathedral, Cologne.

This huge reliquary in the form of a basilican church is fashioned of silver and bronze with ornamentation in enamel and gemstones. It contains Cologne Cathedral's relics of the three magi.

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13-48 ***Death of the Virgin,*** **tympanum of the left doorway of the south transept, Strasbourg Cathedral, Strasbourg, France, ca. 1230.**

Stylistically akin to the Visitation statues (FIG. 13-25, *right*) of Reims Cathedral, the figures in Strasbourg's south-transept tympanum express profound sorrow through dramatic poses and gestures.

ever fashioned, especially considering its size: 6 feet long and almost as tall. The shape resembles that of a basilican church. Repoussé figures of the Virgin Mary, the three magi, Old Testament prophets, and New Testament apostles in arcuated frames are variations of those on the Klosterneuburg pulpit. The deep channels and tight bunches of drapery folds are hallmarks of Nicholas's style.

The *Klosterneuburg Altar* and *Shrine of the Three Kings,* together with Suger's treatises on the furnishings of Saint-Denis, help people today visualize how magnificently outfitted medieval church interiors were. The sumptuous small-scale objects exhibited in the choir and chapels, which also housed the church's most precious relics, played a defining role in creating an otherworldly atmosphere for Christian ritual. These Gothic examples continued a tradition dating to the Roman emperor Constantine and the first imperial patronage of Christianity (see "Old Saint Peter's," page 248).

Strasbourg Cathedral. About the time that Nicholas of Verdun was at work on the *Klosterneuburg Altar,* construction began on a new cathedral for Strasbourg in present-day France, then an important city in the German Rhineland ruled by the successors of the Ottonian dynasty. The apse, choir, and transepts, begun in 1176, were in place by around 1230. Stylistically, these sections of Strasbourg Cathedral are Romanesque. But the reliefs of the two south-transept portals are fully Gothic and reveal the same interest in the antique style seen in contemporaneous French sculpture, especially that of Reims, as well as in the earlier work of Nicholas of Verdun. By the mid-13th century, artists throughout Europe were producing antique-looking statuary and relief sculpture.

Filling the left tympanum is a representation of the death of the Virgin (FIG. 13-48). A comparison of the Strasbourg Mary on her deathbed with the Mary of the Reims Visitation (FIG. 13-25, *right*) shows the stylistic kinship of the Strasbourg and Reims masters. The 12 apostles gather around the Virgin, forming an arc of mourners well suited to the semicircular frame. The sculptor adjusted the heights of the figures to fit the available space (the apostles at the right are the shortest) and, as in many depictions of crowds in the history of art, some of the figures have no legs or feet. At the center, Christ receives his mother's soul (the doll-like figure he holds in his left hand). Mary Magdalene, wringing her hands in grief, crouches

13-49 **NAUMBURG MASTER,** ***Crucifixion,*** **west choir screen of Naumburg Cathedral, Naumburg, Germany, ca. 1249–1255. Painted limestone, life size.**

The emotional pathos of the crucified Christ and the mourning Virgin and Saint John are characteristic of German medieval sculpture. The choir screen is also notable for its preserved coloration.

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beside the deathbed. The sorrowing figures express emotion in varying degrees of intensity, from serene resignation to gesturing agitation. The sculptor organized the figures both by dramatic pose and gesture and by the rippling flow of deeply incised drapery passing among them like a rhythmic electric pulse. The sculptor's objective was to imbue the sacred figures with human emotions and to stir emotional responses in observers. In Gothic France, as already noted, art became increasingly humanized and natural. In the Holy Roman Empire, artists carried this humanizing trend even further by emphasizing passionate drama.

Naumburg Cathedral. During his tenure as bishop (1242–1272), Dietrich II of Wettin completed the rebuilding of the Romanesque cathedral at Naumburg in northern Germany. The church had two choirs, and the western choir, which Dietrich commissioned, was the most distinctive aspect of the project. The bishop built the choir as a memorial to 12 donors of the original 11th-century church. The artist who oversaw this project, known as the Naumburg Master, directed the team of sculptors responsible for the monumental screen (fig. 13-49) that functioned as a portal to the western choir. Based loosely on contemporaneous church portals with trumeau and jamb statues, the Naumburg screen includes life-size figures of Christ on the cross and of the distraught Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist. John, openly crying, turns his head away, unable to look at the suffering Christ (fig. 13-49A). Mary also does not look at her son, but she faces and gestures toward the approaching worshipers, suggesting that she can intercede on their behalf at the Last Judgment (compare fig. 13-39B).

13-49A Detail of *Crucifixion,* Naumburg, ca. 1249–1255.

The statues in the choir, which portray the 12 original donors (some of whom were the bishop's ancestors), were carved by the same workshop. Two of the figures (fig. 13-50) stand out from the group of solemn men and women because of their exceptional quality. They represent the *margrave* (military governor) Ekkehard II of Meissen and his wife, Uta. The statues are attached to columns and stand beneath architectural canopies, following the pattern of French Gothic portal statuary, but they project from the architecture more forcefully and move more freely than contemporaneous French jamb figures. The period garments and the individualized features and personalities of the margrave and his wife give the impression that they posed for the Naumburg Master, although the subjects lived well before the sculptor's time. Ekkehard, the intense knight, contrasts with the beautiful and aloof Uta. With a wonderfully graceful gesture, she draws the collar of her cloak partly across her face while she gathers up a soft fold of drapery with a jeweled, delicate hand. The sculptor subtly revealed the shape of Uta's right arm beneath her cloak and rendered the fall of drapery folds with an accuracy suggesting that the Naumburg Master used a living model. The two statues are convincing images of real people, even if they bear the names of aristocrats whom the artist never met. By the mid-13th century, in the Holy Roman Empire as well as in England (fig. 13-44A) and elsewhere, life-size statues of secular personages had found their way into churches.

The Naumburg choir screen and donor statues are also remarkable because, as indoor sculptures, they have retained much of their color, whereas almost all the statues on church exteriors, exposed to sun and rain for centuries, have lost their original paint. The statues give visitors to the Naumburg choir today an excellent idea of the original appearance of the portal sculptures of Romanesque and Gothic churches.

13-50 Naumburg Master, Ekkehard and Uta, statues in the west choir, Naumburg Cathedral, Naumburg, Germany, ca. 1249–1255. Painted limestone, Ekkehard 6′ 2″ high.

The period costumes and individualized features of these donor statues give the impression that Ekkehard and Uta posed for the Naumburg Master, but they lived long before the sculptor's time.

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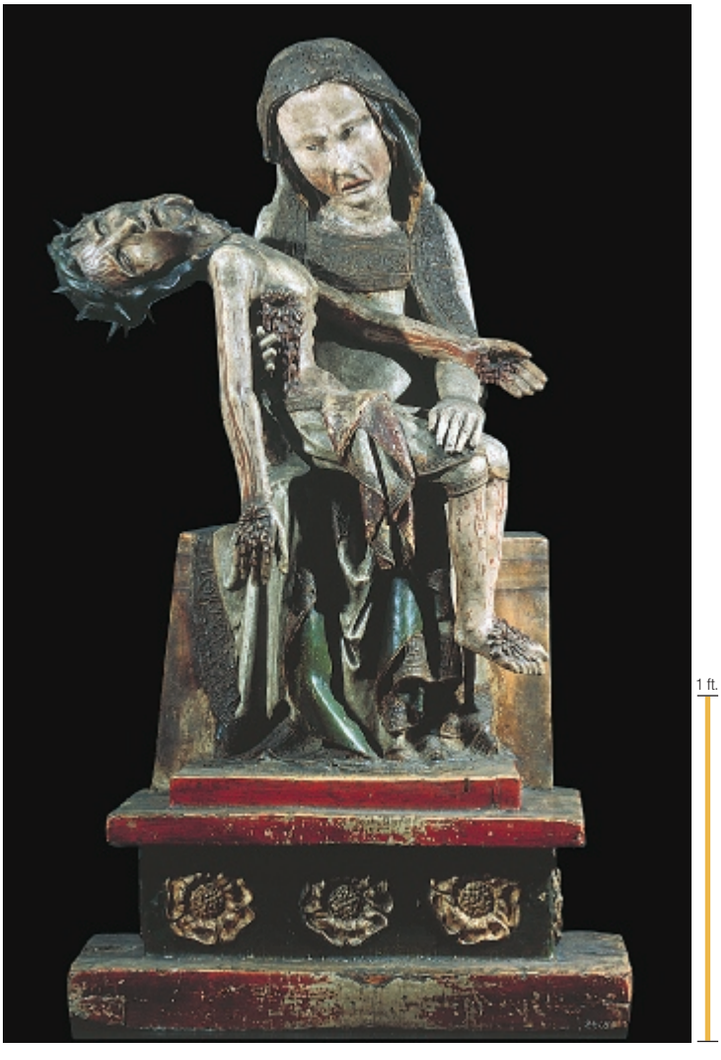
Bamberg Rider. Somewhat earlier in date than the Naumburg donor figures is the *Bamberg Rider* (FIG. 13-51), the oldest preserved large-scale equestrian statue of the Middle Ages. For centuries, this statue has been mounted against a pier in Bamberg Cathedral beneath an architectural canopy that frames the rider's body but not his horse. Scholars debate whether the statue was made for this location or moved there, perhaps from the church's exterior. Whatever the statue's original location, it revives the imperial imagery of Byzantium (see "The Emperors of New Rome," page 267) and the Carolingian Empire (FIG. 11-12), derived in turn from ancient Roman statuary (FIG. 7-58).

Unlike Ekkehard and Uta, the *Bamberg Rider* seems to be a true portrait of a living person. Some art historians believe that it represents a Holy Roman emperor, perhaps Frederick II (r. 1220–1250), who was a benefactor of Bamberg Cathedral. The many other identifications include Saint George and one of the three magi, but a historical personality is most likely the subject. The placement of a portrait of a Holy Roman emperor in the cathedral would have underscored the unity of Church and State in 13th-century Germany. The artist carefully represented the rider's costume, the high saddle, and the horse's trappings, and turned the rider's head toward the observer, as if presiding at a review of his troops. The torsion of this figure—and its size relative to the framing canopy—asserts its independence from its architectural setting. The Naumburg Master took a similar approach to the design of his figures in the Naumburg Cathedral choir (FIGS. 13-49 and 13-50).

Röttgen Pietà. The 13th-century donor statues at Naumburg and the *Bamberg Rider* stand in marked contrast to a haunting 14th-century German painted wood statuette (FIG. 13-52) of the Virgin Mary holding the dead Christ in her lap. As does the *Crucifixion* (FIGS. 13-49 and 13-49A) of Naumburg's west choir, this *Pietà* (Italian, "pity" or "compassion") reflects the increased interest during the 13th and 14th centuries in humanizing biblical figures and in the suffering of Jesus and the grief of his mother and followers. This expressed emotionalism accompanied the shift toward the representation of the human body in motion. As the figures of the church portals began to twist on their columns, then move within their niches, and then stand independently, their details became more outwardly related to the human audience as indicators of recognizable human emotions.

13-51 Equestrian portrait (*Bamberg Rider*), statue in the east choir, Bamberg Cathedral, Germany, ca. 1235–1240. Sandstone, 7′ 9″ high.

Probably a portrait of a German emperor, perhaps Frederick II, the *Bamberg Rider* revives the imagery of the Carolingian Empire. The French-style architectural canopy cannot contain the statue.



13-52 *Röttgen Pietà,* from the Rhineland, Germany, ca. 1300–1325. Painted wood, 2′ 10½″ high. Rheinisches Landemuseum, Bonn.

This statuette of the Virgin grieving over the distorted dead body of Christ in her lap reflects the increased interest during the 13th and 14th centuries in the Savior's suffering and the Virgin's grief.

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13-53 Gerhard of Cologne, choir of Cologne Cathedral (looking east), Cologne, Germany, completed 1322.

Cologne Cathedral's nave is 422 feet long. Its 150-foot-high choir is a taller variation on the Amiens Cathedral choir (figs. 13-20 and 13-21). Both exemplify Gothic architects' quest for height.

The sculptor of the *Röttgen Pietà* (named after a collector) portrayed Christ as a stunted, distorted human wreck, stiffened in death and covered with streams of blood gushing from a huge wound. The Virgin, who cradles him in her lap as if he were a child, is the very image of maternal anguish, her oversized face twisted in an expression of unbearable grief. This statue expresses nothing of the serenity of Romanesque (fig. 12-20) and earlier Gothic (fig. 13-17) depictions of Mary. Nor does it have anything in common with the aloof, iconic images of the Theotokos with the infant Jesus in her lap common in Byzantine art (figs. 9-19 and 9-20). Here the artist forcibly confronts the devout with an appalling icon of agony, death, and sorrow. The work calls out to the horrified believer, "What is your suffering compared to this?"

Cologne Cathedral. The architecture of the Holy Roman Empire remained conservatively Romanesque well into the 13th century. By mid-century, though, the French Gothic style began to have a profound influence. Cologne Cathedral (figs. 13-53 and 13-53A), begun in 1248 under the direction of Gerhard of Cologne, boasts a 150-foot-high choir that is a skillful variation of the design of the Amiens Cathedral choir (figs. 13-20 and 13-21), with double lancets in the triforium and tall, slender single windows in the clerestory above and choir arcade below. Completed in the 14th century but according to Gerhard's plans, the choir expresses the Gothic quest for height even more emphatically than do many French Gothic buildings. Despite the cathedral's seeming lack of substance, proof of its stability came during World War II, when the city of Cologne suffered heavy aerial bombardments. The church survived the war by virtue of its Gothic skeletal design. Once the first few bomb blasts blew out all of its windows, subsequent explosions had no adverse effects, and the skeleton remained intact and structurally sound.

13-53A Cologne Cathedral, begun 1248.

Saint Elizabeth, Marburg. A different type of design, also probably of French origin (fig. 12-18, *left*) but developed especially in Germany, is the *Hallenkirche* (hall church), in which the height of the aisles is the same as the height of the nave. Hall churches, consequently, have no tribune, triforium, or clerestory. An early German example of this type is the church of Saint Elizabeth (fig. 13-54) at Marburg, built between 1235 and 1283. It

13-54 Saint Elizabeth (looking northeast), Marburg, Germany, 1235–1283.

The facade of this German church has two spire-capped towers in the French manner, but no tracery arcades or portal sculpture. There are also no flying buttresses ringing the building's flanks and east end.

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13-55 **Interior of Saint Elizabeth (looking east), Marburg, Germany, 1235–1283.**

This German church is an early example of a Hallenkirche, in which the aisles are the same height as the nave. Because of the tall windows in the aisle walls, sunlight brightly illuminates the interior.

13-56 **Peter Parler, choir (looking east) of Heiligkreuzkirche (Church of the Holy Cross), Schwäbisch Gmünd, Germany, begun 1351.**

As at Exeter and Gloucester in England, the vaults of this German church are structurally simple but visually complex. The multiplication of ribs characterizes Late Gothic architecture throughout Europe.

incorporates French-inspired rib vaults with pointed arches and tall lancet windows. The facade has two spire-capped towers in the French manner, but no tracery arcades or portal sculpture. Because the aisles provide much of the bracing for the nave vaults, the exterior of Saint Elizabeth is without the dramatic parade of flying buttresses typically circling French Gothic churches. But the Marburg interior (fig. 13-55), lighted by double rows of tall windows in the aisle walls, is more unified and free flowing, less narrow and divided, and more brightly illuminated than the interiors of most French and English Gothic churches.

Heinrich and Peter Parler. A later German hall church is the Heiligkreuzkirche (Church of the Holy Cross) at Schwäbisch Gmünd, begun in 1317 by Heinrich Parler (ca. 1290–ca. 1360). Heinrich was the founder of a family of architects who worked in Germany and later in northern Italy. His name first surfaces in the early 14th century, when he played a role in supervising the construction of Cologne Cathedral (figs. 13-53 and 13-53A). Work continued on the Schwäbisch Gmünd church into the 16th century, but the nave was substantially complete when one of Heinrich's sons, Peter Parler (1330–1399), began work on the choir (fig. 13-56) in 1351.

As in the nave of the church, the choir aisles are as tall as the central space. The light entering the choir through the large windows in the aisle walls and in the chapels ringing the choir provides ample illumination for the clergy conducting services. It also enables worshipers to admire the elaborate patterns of the vault ribs. The multiplication of ribs in this German church is consistent with 14th-century taste throughout Europe and has parallels in the Flamboyant style of France and especially the Perpendicular style of England. As in the nave (fig. 13-43B) of Exeter Cathedral and the choir (fig. 13-44) of Gloucester Cathedral, the choir vaults at Schwäbisch Gmünd are structurally simple but visually complex. Parler's vaults form an elegant canopy for the severe columnar piers from which they spring, creating a very effective contrast.

One of Peter Parler's brothers, named Heinrich after their father, was also an architect. He was among those who formed a committee in 1386 to advise the Milanese on the design and construction of their new cathedral. The case of the Parler family underscores both the dramatic increase in the number of recorded names of artists and architects during the Gothic period, and the international character of Gothic art and architecture, despite sometimes pronounced regional variations.

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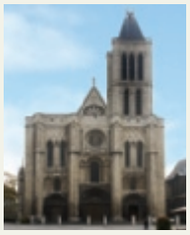
THE BIG PICTURE

Gothic Europe

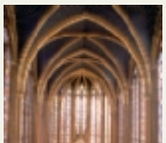
France

- Most scholars regard Saint-Denis as the birthplace of Gothic art and architecture. There, Abbot Suger used rib vaults with pointed arches to rebuild the Carolingian royal church and filled the ambulatory windows with stained glass. On the west facade, Suger introduced sculpted figures in the portal jambs, a feature that appeared soon after on the Royal Portal of Chartres Cathedral. Saint-Denis, the west facade of Chartres, and Laon Cathedral are the key monuments of Early Gothic (1140–1194) architecture.
- After a fire in 1194, Chartres Cathedral was rebuilt with flying buttresses, four-part nave vaults, and a three-story elevation of nave arcade, triforium, and clerestory. These features set the pattern for High Gothic (1194–1300) cathedrals. French architects sought to construct naves of soaring height. The vaults of Amiens Cathedral are 144 feet high.
- Flying buttresses made possible the introduction of huge stained-glass windows. High Gothic windows employed delicate lead cames and bar tracery. The colored glass converted natural sunlight into divine light (Suger called it lux nova), dramatically transforming the character of church interiors.
- High Gothic jamb statues differ markedly from their Early Gothic predecessors in their more open composition and asymmetrical stances. In the Chartres transepts, at Reims, and elsewhere, the sculpted figures not only move freely but sometimes engage in dialogue with their neighbors.
- In the 13th century, Paris was the intellectual capital of Europe and home to numerous workshops of professional lay artists specializing in the production of luxurious illuminated manuscripts. These urban for-profit ancestors of modern publishing houses usurped the role of monastic scriptoria.
- The High Gothic Rayonnant court style of Louis IX and his Saint-Chapelle in Paris gave way in the Late Gothic (1300–1500) period to the Flamboyant style, in which flamelike tracery formed brittle decorative webs, as at Saint-Maclou in Rouen.
- The prosperity of the era also led to a boom in civic and private architecture. Important examples are the fortified circuit wall of Carcassonne, the hall of the cloth guild in Bruges, and the house of the financier Jacques Coeur in Bourges.



Abbey church, Saint-Denis, begun ca. 1135

Reims Cathedral, ca. 1230–1255



Sainte-Chapelle, Paris, 1243–1248

England

- The Parisian Gothic style spread rapidly throughout Europe during the 13th century, but many regional styles developed, as in the Romanesque period. English Gothic churches, such as Salisbury Cathedral, differ from their French counterparts in their wider and shorter facades, square east ends, double transepts, sparing use of flying buttresses, and horizontal emphasis of the nave.
- Especially characteristic of English Gothic architecture is the elaboration of architectural patterns, which often disguise the underlying structure of the buildings. For example, the fan vaults of the chapel of Henry VII at Westminster Abbey in London transform the logical rib vaults of French buildings into decorative fancy in the Late Gothic Perpendicular style.

Salisbury Cathedral, 1220–1258

Holy Roman Empire

- Nicholas of Verdun was the leading artist of the Meuse River region, an area renowned for enamel- and metalwork. Nicholas's altars and shrines provide an idea of the sumptuous nature of the furnishings of Gothic churches. His innovative figural style influenced the development of Gothic sculpture.
- German architects eagerly embraced the French Gothic architectural style at Cologne Cathedral and elsewhere. German originality manifested itself most clearly in the Gothic period in sculpture, which often featured emotionally charged figures in dramatic poses and also revived the art of portraiture. Statues of historical figures are key elements of the sculptural programs of Naumburg and Bamberg Cathedrals.

Röttgen Pietà, ca. 1300–1325

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▶**14-1a** Duccio derived the formality and symmetry of his enthroned Virgin from Byzantine painting, but relaxed the rigidity and frontality, softened the drapery, and individualized the faces.

◀**14-1b** The Sienese master's panel depicting Jesus's entry into Jerusalem retains the golden sky of Byzantine painting but features fully modeled figures, anecdotal detail, and a cityscape rendered in perspective.

1 ft.

14-1 **Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints*, principal panel of the front of the *Maestà* altarpiece, from Siena Cathedral, Siena, Italy, 1308–1311. Tempera and gold leaf on wood, 7′ × 13′. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.**

▶**14-1c** In this dramatic depiction of Judas's betrayal of Jesus, the actors display a variety of individual emotions. Duccio here took a decisive step toward the humanization of religious subject matter.

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LATE MEDIEVAL ITALY 14

FRAMING THE ERA

Duccio di Buoninsegna

Art historians debate whether the art of Italy between 1200 and 1400 is the last phase of medieval art or the beginning of the rebirth (*renaissance,* in French) of Greco-Roman naturalism. All agree, however, that these two centuries mark a major turning point in the history of Western art and that one of the pivotal figures of this age was the Sienese painter Duccio di Buoninsegna (active ca. 1278–1318). Duccio's masterwork is the huge (13-foot-high) *Maestà* (*Virgin Enthroned in Majesty*) in Siena Cathedral, commissioned in 1308 and completed in 1311. The altarpiece consists of a central panel (fig. 14-1) with the dedicatory inscription, surmounted by seven pinnacles, and a *predella,* or raised shelf, of panels at the base.

The main panel on the front of the *Maestà* represents the Virgin enthroned as queen of Heaven amid angels and saints. Duccio derived the gold background, the composition's formality and symmetry, and the figures and facial types of the principal angels and saints from Byzantine tradition. But the artist relaxed the strict frontality and rigidity of the figures. They turn to each other in quiet conversation. Further, Duccio individualized the faces of the four patron saints of Siena (Ansanus, Savinus, Crescentius, and Victor) kneeling in the foreground, who perform their ceremonial gestures without stiffness. Similarly, he softened the usual Byzantine hard body outlines and drapery patterning. The folds of the garments, particularly those of the female saints at both ends of the panel, fall and curve loosely. This is a feature familiar in French Gothic works (fig. 13-38) and is a mark of the artistic dialogue between Italy and northern Europe in the 14th century.

In contrast to the main panel, the predella and the back (fig. 14-11) of the *Maestà* present an extensive series of narrative panels of different sizes and shapes, beginning with the annunciation of Jesus's birth to Mary and culminating with the Savior's resurrection and other episodes following his crucifixion. The New Testament scenes—for example, *Entry into Jerusalem* and *Betrayal of Jesus*—reveal Duccio's powers as a pictorial storyteller. Although the backgrounds, with their golden skies and rock formations, remain conventional, the style of the figures inhabiting these city- and landscapes has changed radically from Byzantine art. Duccio modeled the figures with a range of tonalities from light to dark, and arranged their draperies convincingly. Especially striking is the way the figures react to events. Through posture, gesture, and even facial expression, they display a variety of emotions. In these panels, Duccio took a decisive step toward the humanization of religious subject matter, a key feature of Italian Renaissance art.

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DUECENTO (13TH CENTURY)

When the Italian humanists of the 16th century condemned the art of the late Middle Ages in northern Europe as "Gothic" (see "Gothic," page 382), they did so by comparing it with the contemporaneous art of Italy (MAP 14-1), which consciously revived the classical* art of antiquity. Italian Renaissance artists and scholars regarded medieval artworks as distortions of the noble art of the Greeks and Romans. However, interest in the art of classical antiquity was not entirely absent during the medieval period, even in France, the origin and center of the Gothic style. For example, on the west front of Reims Cathedral, the 13th-century statues of Christian saints and angels (FIG. 13-25) reveal the unmistakable influence of ancient Roman art on French sculptors. Nevertheless, the classical revival that took root in Italy during the 13th and 14th centuries was much more pervasive and longer lasting.

MAP 14-1 **Italy around 1400.**

Sculpture

Italian admiration for classical art surfaced early on at the court of Frederick II, King of Sicily (r. 1197–1250) and Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1220–1250). Frederick's nostalgia for Rome's past grandeur fostered a revival of classical sculpture in Sicily and southern Italy during the 13th century (the *Duecento,* the 1200s) not unlike the classical *renovatio* ("renewal") that Charlemagne encouraged in Germany and France four centuries earlier (see "Charlemagne's *Renovatio Imperii Romani,*" page 329).

Nicola Pisano. The sculptor Nicola d'Apulia (Nicholas of Apulia), better known as NICOLA PISANO (active ca. 1258–1278) after his adopted city (see "Italian Artists' Names," page 421), received his early training in southern Italy during Frederick's rule. In 1250, Nicola traveled northward and eventually settled in Pisa. Then at the height of its political and economic power, the maritime city was a magnet for artists seeking lucrative commissions. Nicola specialized in carving marble reliefs and may have been the inventor of a new kind of church furniture—the monumental stone *pulpit* (raised platform from which priests delivered sermons) with wraparound narrative reliefs depicting biblical themes and supports in the form of freestanding statues.

Nicola fashioned the first such pulpit (FIG. 14-2) in 1260 for Pisa's century-old baptistery (FIG. 12-29, *left*). Some elements of the pulpit's design carried on medieval traditions—for example, the *trefoil* (triple-curved) arches (compare FIG. 13-32) and the lions supporting some of the columns—but Nicola also incorporated classical elements. The large capitals with two rows of thick overlapping leaves crowning

*In *Art through the Ages,* the adjective "Classical," with uppercase *C,* refers specifically to the Classical period of ancient Greece, 480–323 BCE. Lowercase "classical" refers to Greco-Roman antiquity in general—that is, the period treated in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

LATE MEDIEVAL ITALY

1200–1300	1300–1400
Duecento	**Trecento**
■ Bonaventura Berlinghieri and Cimabue are the leading painters working in the Italo-Byzantine style, or maniera greca ■ Nicola and Giovanni Pisano, father and son, represent two contrasting sculptural styles, the classical and the Gothic respectively ■ The fresco cycles in San Francesco at Assisi and those of Pietro Cavallini in Rome foreshadow the revolutionary art of Giotto	■ In Florence, Giotto, celebrated as the first Renaissance artist, pioneers a naturalistic approach to painting ■ In Siena, Duccio softens the maniera greca and humanizes religious subject matter ■ Secular themes emerge as important subjects in civic commissions, as in the frescoes of Siena's Palazzo Pubblico ■ Florence, Siena, and Orvieto build new cathedrals that are stylistically closer to Early Christian basilicas than to French Gothic cathedrals

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Italian Artists' Names

In contemporary societies, people have become accustomed to a standardized method of identifying individuals, in part because of the proliferation of official documents such as driver's licenses, passports, and student identification cards. Modern names consist of given names (names selected by the parents) and family names, although the order of the two (or more) names varies from country to country. In China, for example, the family name precedes the given name.

This kind of regularity in names was not, however, the norm in premodern Italy. Many individuals were known by their place of birth or adopted hometown. Nicola Pisano (FIGS. 14-2 and 14-3) was "Nicholas the Pisan," Giulio Romano was "Julius the Roman," and Domenico Veneziano was "Dominic the Venetian." Leonardo da Vinci ("Leonard from Vinci") hailed from the small town of Vinci, near Florence (MAP 14-1). Art historians therefore refer to these artists by their given names, not the names of their towns. (The title of Dan Brown's best-selling novel should have been *The Leonardo Code,* not *The Da Vinci Code.*)

Nicknames were also common. Giorgione was "Big George." People usually referred to Tommaso di Cristoforo Fini as Masolino ("Little Thomas") to distinguish him from his more famous pupil Masaccio ("Brutish Thomas"). Guido di Pietro was called Fra Angelico ("Angelic Friar"). Cenni di Pepo is remembered as Cimabue (FIG. 14-6), which means "bull's head."

The format of names was also impermanent and could be changed at will. This flexibility has resulted in significant challenges for historians, who often must deal with archival documents and other records referring to the same artist by different names.

14-2 NICOLA PISANO, pulpit of the baptistery, Pisa, Italy, 1259–1260. Marble, 15′ high.

The Pisa baptistery pulpit by Nicola Pisano (Nicholas of Pisa) retains many medieval features—for example, trefoil arches—but many of the figures derive from ancient Roman relief sculptures.

the columns are a Gothic variation of the Corinthian capital (FIG. 5-73). The arches are round, as in Roman architecture, rather than pointed (*ogival*), as in Gothic buildings. Also, each of the large rectangular relief panels resembles the sculptured front of a Roman *sarcophagus* (coffin; for example, FIG. 7-69).

The densely packed large-scale figures of the individual panels also seem to derive from the compositions found on Roman sarcophagi. One of the six panels (FIG. 14-3) of the baptistery pulpit

14-3 NICOLA PISANO, Annunciation, Nativity, and adoration of the shepherds, relief panel on the pulpit of the baptistery, Pisa, Italy, 1259–1260. Marble, 2′ 10″ × 3′ 9″.

Classical sculptures inspired the faces, beards, coiffures, and draperies as well as the bulk and weight of Nicola's figures. The Nativity Madonna resembles lid figures on Roman sarcophagi.

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14-4 Giovanni Pisano, Nativity and annunciation to the shepherds, relief panel on the pulpit of the cathedral, Pisa, Italy, 1302–1310. Marble, 2′ 10⅜″ × 3′ 7″.

The French Gothic style had a greater influence on Giovanni Pisano, Nicola's son. Giovanni arranged his figures loosely and dynamically. The Virgin is less remote and gazes tenderly at her newborn son.

depicts scenes from the infancy cycle of Christ (see "The Life of Jesus in Art," pages 244–245), including the Annunciation (top left), Nativity (center and lower half), and adoration of the shepherds (top right). Mary appears twice, stunned by the angel's news in the Annunciation and reclining after giving birth in the Nativity, where her posture and drapery are reminiscent of those of the lid figures on Etruscan (FIG. 6-5) and Roman (FIG. 7-60) sarcophagi. The face types, beards, and coiffures, as well as the bulk and weight of Nicola's figures, also reveal the influence of classical relief sculpture. Art historians have even been able to pinpoint the models of some of the pulpit figures, including the reclining Virgin, in Roman sculptures in Pisa.

Giovanni Pisano. Nicola's son, Giovanni Pisano (ca. 1250–ca. 1314), likewise became a sought-after sculptor of church pulpits. His career extended into the early 14th century, when he carved (singlehandedly, according to an inscription) the marble pulpit in Pisa's cathedral (FIG. 12-29, *center*). The pulpit is the largest known example of the type. It boasts nine curved narrative panels, including, in addition to the subjects that Giovanni's father represented, scenes from the life of John the Baptist. The Nativity and annunciation to the shepherds panel (FIG. 14-4) offers a striking contrast to Nicola's quiet, dignified presentation of the religious narrative. The younger sculptor arranged the figures loosely and dynamically, with Mary depicted as a much more relaxed and less remote mother who does not impassively watch her servants wash her newborn son but rather pulls back his blanket to gaze tenderly at him. The angels that announce the birth of the Savior to the shepherds twist and bend in excited animation. Giovanni's slender and sinuous shepherds, unlike Nicola's stockier figures, do not yet share in the miraculous event, but one can imagine their animated gestures when, moments later, they will view the swaddled Christ Child. The father worked in the classical tradition, the son in a style derived from French Gothic. These styles were two of the three most important ingredients in the formation of the distinctive and original art of 14th-century Italy.

Painting and Architecture

The third major stylistic element in late medieval Italian art was the Byzantine tradition. Throughout the Middle Ages, the Byzantine style dominated Italian painting, but its influence was especially strong after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, which precipitated a migration of Byzantine artists to Italy.

Bonaventura Berlinghieri. One of the leading painters working in the Italo-Byzantine style, or *maniera greca* (Italian, "Greek manner"), was Bonaventura Berlinghieri (active ca. 1235–1244) of Lucca. His most famous work is the *Saint Francis Altarpiece* (FIG. 14-5) in the church of San Francesco (Saint Francis) in Pescia. Painted in 1235 using *tempera* on wood panel (see "Tempera and Oil Painting," page 574), the altarpiece honors Saint Francis of Assisi, whose most important shrine (FIG. 14-5A) was at Assisi itself. The Pescia altarpiece highlights the increasingly prominent role of religious orders in late medieval Italy (see "The Great Schism, Mendicant Orders, and Confraternities," page 423). Saint Francis's Franciscan order worked diligently to impress on the public the saint's valuable example and to demonstrate the order's commitment to teaching and to alleviating suffering. Berlinghieri's altarpiece, painted only nine years after Francis's death, is the earliest securely dated representation of the saint.

Berlinghieri depicted Francis wearing the costume later adopted by all Franciscan monks: a coarse clerical robe tied at the waist with a rope. The saint displays the *stigmata*—marks resembling Christ's wounds—that miraculously appeared on his hands and feet. Flanking Francis are two angels, whose frontal poses, prominent halos, and lack of modeling reveal the Byzantine roots of Berlinghieri's style. So, too, does the use of *gold leaf* (gold beaten into tissue-paper-thin sheets, then applied to surfaces), which emphasizes the image's flatness and otherworldly, spiritual nature.

Appropriately, Berlinghieri's panel focuses on the aspects of the saint's life that the Franciscans wanted to promote, thereby making visible (and thus more credible) the legendary life of this holy man. Saint Francis believed that he could get closer to God by rejecting worldly goods, and to achieve this he stripped himself bare in a public square and committed himself to a strict life of fasting, prayer, and meditation. His followers considered the appearance of stigmata on Francis's hands and feet (clearly visible in the saint's frontal image, which resembles a Byzantine icon; compare FIG. 9-18A) as God's blessing, and viewed Francis as a second Christ. Fittingly, four of the six narrative scenes along the sides of the panel depict miraculous healings, connecting Saint Francis even more emphatically to Christ. The narrative scenes provide an

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The Great Schism, Mendicant Orders, and Confraternities

In 1305, the College of Cardinals (the collective body of all cardinals) elected a French pope, Clement V (r. 1305–1314), who settled in Avignon. Subsequent French popes remained in Avignon, despite their announced intentions to return to Rome. Understandably, the Italians, who saw Rome as the rightful capital of the universal Church, resented the Avignon papacy. The conflict between the French and the Italians resulted in the election in 1378 of two popes—Clement VII, who resided in Avignon (and who does not appear in the Catholic Church's official list of popes), and Urban VI (r. 1378–1389), who remained in Rome. Thus began what became known as the Great Schism. After 40 years, Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund (r. 1410–1437) convened a council that resolved this crisis by electing a new Roman pope, Martin V (r. 1417–1431), who was acceptable to both the Avignonese and Roman branches of the Church.

14-5 Bonaventura Berlinghieri, *Saint Francis Altarpiece,* San Francesco, Pescia, Italy, 1235. Tempera on wood, 5′ × 3′.

Berlinghieri painted this altarpiece in the Italo-Byzantine style, or maniera greca, for the mendicant (begging) order of Franciscans. It is the earliest securely dated portrayal of Saint Francis of Assisi.

The pope's absence from Italy during much of the 14th century contributed to an increase in the prominence of monastic orders. The Augustinians, Carmelites, and Servites became very active, ensuring a constant religious presence in the daily life of Italians, but the largest and most influential monastic orders were the *mendicants* (begging friars)—the Franciscans, founded by Francis of Assisi (ca. 1181–1226; FIGS. 14-5 and **14-5A**), and the Dominicans, founded by the Spaniard Dominic de Guzmán (ca. 1170–1221). As did other monks, the mendicant friars renounced all worldly goods and committed themselves to spreading God's word, performing good deeds, and ministering to the sick and dying. But unlike the many monks who resided in rural and often isolated monasteries, the mendicants lived in the heart of cities and preached to large urban crowds. The Dominicans, in particular, contributed significantly to establishing urban educational institutions. The Franciscans and Dominicans became very popular in Italy because of their concern for the poor and the personal relationship with God that they encouraged common people to cultivate.

14-5A San Francesco, Assisi, 1228–1253.

Although both mendicant orders worked for the glory of God, a degree of rivalry nevertheless existed between the two. For example, in Florence they established their churches on opposite sides of the city—Santa Croce (FIG. I-4), the Franciscan church, on the eastern side, and the Dominicans' Santa Maria Novella (FIG. **14-5B**) on the western (MAP 21-1).

14-5B Santa Maria Novella, Florence, begun ca. 1246.

Confraternities, organizations consisting of laypersons who dedicated themselves to strict religious observance, also grew in popularity during the 14th and 15th centuries. The mission of confraternities included tending the sick, burying the dead, singing hymns, and performing other good works. The confraternities as well as the mendicant orders continued to play an important role in Italian religious life through the 16th century. The numerous artworks they commissioned and the monastic churches they built have ensured their enduring legacy.

active contrast to the stiff formality of the large central image of Francis. At the upper left, taking pride of place at the saint's right, Francis receives the stigmata. Directly below, the saint preaches to the birds, a subject that also figures prominently in the fresco program (FIG. **14-5C**) of San Francesco at Assisi, the work of a painter whom art historians call the Saint Francis Master. These and the scenes depicting Francis's miracle cures strongly suggest that Berlinghieri's source was one or more Byzantine illuminated manuscripts (compare FIGS. 9-17B, 9-18, and 9-18A) with biblical narrative scenes.

14-5C St. Francis Master, *Francis Preaching to the Birds,* ca. 1290–1300.

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Cimabue. One of the first artists to break from the Italo-Byzantine style that dominated 13th-century Italian painting was Cenni di Pepo, better known as Cimabue (ca. 1240–1302). Cimabue challenged some of the major conventions of late medieval art in pursuit of a closer approximation of the appearance of the natural world—the core of the classical naturalistic tradition. He painted *Madonna Enthroned with Angels and Prophets* (fig. 14-6) for Santa Trinità (Holy Trinity) in Florence, the Benedictine church near the Arno River built between 1258 and 1280. The composition and the gold background reveal the painter's reliance on Byzantine models (compare fig. 9-19). Cimabue also used the gold embellishments common to Byzantine art for the folds of the Madonna's robe, but they are no longer merely decorative patterns. In his panel, they enhance the three-dimensionality of the drapery. Furthermore, Cimabue constructed a deeper space for the Madonna and the surrounding figures to inhabit than was common in Byzantine art. The Virgin's throne, for example, is a massive structure that Cimabue convincingly depicted as receding into space. The overlapping bodies of the angels on each side of the throne and the half-length prophets who look outward or upward from beneath it reinforce the sense of depth.

1 ft.

14-6 Cimabue, *Madonna Enthroned with Angels and Prophets*, from Santa Trinità, Florence, ca. 1280–1290. Tempera and gold leaf on wood, 12′ 7″ × 7′ 4″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Cimabue was one of the first artists to break away from the maniera greca. Although he relied on Byzantine models, the Italian master depicted the Madonna's massive throne as receding into space.

Pietro Cavallini. The leading Roman painter at the end of the 13th century was Pietro dei Cerroni, known as Pietro Cavallini (ca. 1240–ca. 1340), or "Little Horse" (see "Italian Artists' Names," page 421), who his son said lived to age 100. Cavallini enjoyed the patronage of Pope Nicholas III (r. 1277–1280), who commissioned him to restore the Early Christian frescoes in San Paolo fuori le Mura (Saint Paul Outside-the-Walls) in Rome. Cavallini's careful study and emulation of those Late Antique paintings must have profoundly influenced his later work, which unfortunately survives only in fragments. Around 1290, Cavallini received two important commissions for churches in Trastevere, on the west bank of the Tiber near the Vatican. He produced mosaics depicting the life of the Virgin for Santa Maria in Trastevere, and painted a fresco cycle of Old and New Testament scenes in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, of which only part of his *Last Judgment* (fig. 14-7) survives, but what remains confirms his stature as an innovative artist of the highest order (see "Pietro Cavallini," page 425).

TRECENTO (14TH CENTURY)

In the 14th century (the *Trecento,* or 1300s), Italy consisted of numerous independent city-states, each corresponding to a geographic region centered on a major city (map 14-1). Most of the city-states, such as Venice, Florence, Lucca, and Siena, were republics—constitutional oligarchies governed by executive bodies, advisory councils, and special commissions. Other powerful 14th-century states included the Papal States, the Kingdom of Naples, and the duchies of Milan, Modena, Ferrara, and Savoy. As their names indicate, these states were politically distinct from the republics, but all the states shared in the prosperity of the period. The sources of wealth varied from state to state. Italy's port cities expanded maritime trade, whereas the economies of other cities depended on banking or the manufacture of arms or textiles.

Black Death. The outbreak of the Black Death (bubonic plague) in the late 1340s threatened this prosperity, however. Originating in China, the Black Death swept across Europe. The most devastating natural disaster in European history, the Black Death eliminated between 25 and 50 percent of the Continent's population in about five years. The plague devastated Italy's inhabitants. In large Italian cities, where people lived in relatively close proximity, the death tolls climbed as high as 50 to 60 percent of the population. The Black Death also had a significant effect on art. It stimulated religious bequests and encouraged the commissioning of devotional images. The focus on sickness and death also led to a burgeoning in hospital construction.

Renaissance Humanism. Another significant development in 14th-century Italy was the blossoming of a vernacular literature (written in the commonly spoken language instead of Latin), which dramatically affected Italy's intellectual and cultural life. Latin remained the official language of Church liturgy and state

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A SECOND OPINION

Pietro Cavallini

The authors of the most important Renaissance commentaries on Italian art of the 13th and 14th centuries were all Florentines, and civic pride doubtless played a role in attributing the reorientation of the art of painting to Florentine artists, especially Giotto (FIG. 14-9). Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), the "father of art history" (see "Vasari's *Lives,*" page 648), lauded Giotto as the first to make a definitive break from the maniera greca of late medieval Italian painting and to return to the naturalism of the ancients. But the stylistic revolution that Giotto represents was not solely his creation. Other artists paved the way for the Florentine master in the mural program of San Francesco at Assisi (FIGS. 14-5A and 14-5C) and in the churches of Rome. One of them was Pietro Cavallini, who has not received the recognition he deserves because his extant works are few and poorly preserved and because of the enduring influence of Vasari's artist biographies. Art historians, however, now recognize Cavallini as a pioneering figure in the creation of the Renaissance style in Italy.

In Cavallini's *Last Judgment* fresco (FIG. 14-7) in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Christ appears at the center of the upper zone flanked by angels. The Virgin Mary is to his right and John the Baptist to his left (FIG. 14-7, *top*). Six enthroned apostles to each side (FIG. 14-7, *bottom*) complete the friezelike composition. Below the Savior is an altar with the instruments of his martyrdom (cross, nails, Longinus's spear, and so on). To the left of the altar (the Savior's right side), angels present to Christ those about to be saved, while the agents of the Devil (on his left) claim the damned. The theme is familiar from Romanesque portal sculpture (FIG. 12-1), but here it appears inside the church on the entrance (west) wall as the culmination of the biblical cycle painted on the nave walls.

Cavallini's apostles sit on deep thrones seen in perspective. Both the disciples and their thrones face inward toward Christ, uniting both sides of the composition with the central figure. The apostles' garments have deep folds that catch the light. Light also illuminates the figures' faces. Cavallini used light effectively to create volume and mass, a radical departure from the maniera greca, but the light does not come from a uniform source, and the apostles appear against a neutral dark background. Giotto carried Cavallini's innovations further, but the Roman painter deserves the loftier reputation that art historians are beginning to grant him.

14-7 Pietro Cavallini, Christ flanked by angels (*top*) and apostles (*bottom*), two details of the *Last Judgment* fresco on the west wall of the nave of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome, Italy, ca. 1290–1295.

A pioneer in the representation of fully modeled figures seen in perspective with light illuminating their faces and garments, Pietro Cavallini of Rome may have influenced Giotto di Bondone (FIG. 14-9).

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documents. However, the creation of an Italian vernacular literature (based on the Tuscan dialect common in Florence) expanded the audience for philosophical and intellectual concepts because of its greater accessibility. Dante Alighieri (1265–1321, author of *The Divine Comedy*), the poet and scholar Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374), and Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375, author of *Decameron*) were most responsible for establishing this vernacular literature.

The development of easily accessible literature was one important sign that the essentially religious view that had dominated Europe during the Middle Ages was about to change dramatically in what historians call the *Renaissance.* Although religion continued to occupy a primary position in the lives of Europeans, a growing concern with the natural world, the individual, and humanity's worldly existence characterized the Renaissance period—the 14th through 16th centuries. The word *renaissance* in French and English (*rinascità* in Italian) refers to a "rebirth" of art and culture. A revived interest in classical cultures—indeed, the veneration of classical antiquity as a model—was central to this rebirth. The notion that the Renaissance represented the restoration of the glorious past of Greece and Rome gave rise to the concept of the "Middle Ages" as the era falling between antiquity and the Renaissance.

Fundamental to the development of the Italian Renaissance was *humanism,* which emerged during the 14th century and became a central component of Italian art and culture in the 15th and 16th centuries. Humanism was more a code of civil conduct, a theory of education, and a scholarly discipline than a philosophical system. The chief concerns of Italian humanists, as their name suggests, were human values and interests as distinct from—but not opposed to—religion's otherworldly values. Humanists pointed to classical cultures as particularly praiseworthy. This enthusiasm for antiquity involved study of Latin literature, especially the elegant Latin of Cicero (106–43 BCE) and the Augustan age (27 BCE–14 CE), and a conscious emulation of what proponents believed were the Roman civic virtues. These included self-sacrificing service to the state, participation in government, defense of state institutions (especially the administration of justice), and stoic indifference to personal misfortune in the performance of duty. With the help of a new interest in and knowledge of Greek, the humanists of the late 14th and 15th centuries recovered a large part of Greek as well as Roman literature and philosophy that had been lost, left unnoticed, or cast aside in the Middle Ages. Indeed, classical cultures provided humanists with a model for living in this world, a model primarily of human focus derived not from an authoritative and traditional religious dogma but from reason.

Ideally, humanists sought no material reward for services rendered. The sole reward for heroes of civic virtue was fame, just as the reward for leaders of the holy life was sainthood. For the educated, the lives of heroes and heroines of the past became models of conduct as important as the lives of the saints. Petrarch wrote a book on illustrious men, and his colleague Boccaccio complemented it with 106 biographies of famous women—from Eve to Joanna, queen of Naples (r. 1343–1382). Both Petrarch and Boccaccio were renowned in their own day as poets, scholars, and men of letters—their achievements equivalent in honor to those of the heroes of civic virtue. In 1341 in Rome, Petrarch received the laurel wreath crown, the ancient symbol of victory and merit. The humanist cult of fame emphasized the importance of creative individuals and their role in contributing to the renown of the city-state and of all Italy.

Giotto

Celebrated in his own day as the first Renaissance painter, GIOTTO DI BONDONE (ca. 1266–1337) is a towering figure in the history of art. Scholars still debate the sources of the Florentine painter's style, but one formative influence must have been Cimabue, whom Vasari identified as Giotto's teacher, while noting that the pupil eclipsed his master by abandoning the "crude maniera greca" (see "Vasari's *Lives,*" page 648). The 13th-century murals of San Francesco at Assisi (FIGS. 14-5A and 14-5C) and those of Pietro Cavallini in Rome (FIG. 14-7) may also have influenced Giotto—although some scholars believe that the young Giotto himself was one of the leading painters of the Assisi church. French Gothic sculpture (which Giotto may not have seen but which was certainly familiar to him from the work of Giovanni Pisano, who had spent time in Paris) and ancient Roman art probably also contributed to Giotto's artistic education. Yet no mere synthesis of these varied influences could have produced the significant shift in artistic approach that has led some scholars to describe Giotto as the father of Western pictorial art.

14-8 GIOTTO DI BONDONE, *Madonna Enthroned* (*Ognissanti Madonna*), from the Chiesa di Ognissanti (All Saints' Church), Florence, ca. 1310. Tempera and gold leaf on wood, 10′ 8″ × 6′ 8″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

The *Ognissanti Madonna* retains the gold background of Byzantine art, but Giotto revived classical naturalism by giving his figures substance and bulk, in contrast to the maniera greca of Cimabue (FIG. 14-6).

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Madonna Enthroned. On nearly the same great scale as Cimabue's enthroned Madonna (FIG. 14-6) is Giotto's panel (FIG. 14-8) depicting the same subject, painted for the high altar of Florence's Church of the Ognissanti (All Saints). Although still portrayed against the traditional gold background, Giotto's Madonna sits on her Gothic throne with the unshakable stability of an ancient marble goddess (compare FIG. 7-30). Giotto replaced Cimabue's slender Virgin, fragile beneath the thin ripplings of her drapery, with a weighty, queenly mother. In Giotto's painting, the Madonna's body is not lost—indeed, it is asserted. Giotto even showed Mary's breasts pressing through the thin fabric of her white undergarment. Gold highlights have disappeared from her heavy robe. Giotto aimed instead to construct a figure with substance and bulk—qualities suppressed in favor of a spiritual immateriality in Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine art. The different approaches of teacher and pupil can also be seen in the angels flanking the Madonna's throne. Cimabue stacked his angels to fill the full height of the panel. Giotto's statuesque angels stand on a common level, leaving a large blank area above the heads of the background figures. The *Ognissanti Madonna* marks the end of medieval painting in Italy and the beginning of a new naturalistic approach to art.

Arena Chapel. Giotto's masterwork is the mural cycle of the Arena Chapel (FIG. 14-9) in Padua, which takes its name from an adjacent ancient Roman arena (amphitheater). A banker, Enrico Scrovegni, built the chapel on a site adjacent to his palace and consecrated it in 1305, in the hope that the chapel would atone for the moneylender's sin of usury. Some scholars have suggested that Giotto may also have been the chapel's architect, because its design so perfectly suits its interior decoration. The rectangular hall has only six windows, all in the south wall, which provide ample illumination for the frescoes that fill the almost unbroken surfaces of the other walls.

14-9A GIOTTO, *Entry into Jerusalem,* ca. 1305.

In 38 framed scenes (FIGS. 14-9A, 14-10, and 14-10A), Giotto presented one of the most impressive and complete Christian pictorial cycles ever rendered. The narrative unfolds on the north and south walls in three zones, reading from top to bottom: in the top level are the lives of the Virgin and her parents, Joachim and Anna; in the middle zone, the life and mission of Jesus; and, in the lowest level, the Savior's passion and resurrection. Below, imitation marble veneer—reminiscent of ancient Roman *revetment* (FIG. 7-51), which Giotto may have seen—alternates with personified virtues and vices painted in *grisaille* (monochrome grays, often used for modeling in paintings) to resemble sculpture. On the west wall above the chapel's entrance is Giotto's dramatic *Last Judgment,* in which Scrovegni appears among the saved, kneeling as he presents his chapel to the Virgin. (Christ as Last Judge is also the culminating scene of Cavallini's late-13th-century fresco cycle [FIG. 14-7] in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere in Rome. In fact, Giotto's enthroned apostles are strikingly similar to Cavallini's.) The chapel's vaulted ceiling is blue, an azure sky dotted with golden stars symbolic of Heaven. Medallions bearing images of Christ, Mary, and various prophets also appear on the vault. Giotto painted the same blue in the backgrounds of the narrative panels on the walls below. The color thereby functions as a unifying agent for the entire decorative scheme.

Giotto set his goal as emulating the appearance of the natural world—the approach championed by the ancient Greeks and Romans but largely abandoned in the Middle Ages in favor of representing spiritual rather than physical reality (see "Picturing the Spiritual World," page 260). Subtly scaled to the chapel's space, Giotto's stately

14-9 GIOTTO DI BONDONE, interior of the Arena Chapel (Cappella Scrovegni; looking west), Padua, Italy, 1305–1306.

Giotto's 38 panels in the Arena Chapel depict the lives of the Virgin, her parents, and Jesus. Enrico Scrovegni built the chapel in order to atone for his sin of moneylending and earn a place in Heaven.

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MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Fresco Painting

Fresco painting has a long history, particularly in the Mediterranean region, where the Minoans (FIGS. 4-7, 4-8, 4-9, 4-9A, and 4-10) used it as early as the 17th century BCE. *Fresco* (Italian for "fresh") is a mural-painting technique involving the application of permanent limeproof pigments, diluted in water, on freshly laid lime plaster. Because the surface of the wall absorbs the pigments as the plaster dries, fresco is one of the most durable painting techniques. The stable condition of the ancient Minoan frescoes, as well as those found at Pompeii (FIGS. 7-18, 7-22, 7-24, 7-24A, and 7-25) and other Roman sites (FIGS. 7-19, 7-20, 7-21, and 7-54A), in San Francesco (FIGS. 14-5A and 14-5C) at Assisi, the Roman church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (FIGS. 14-7), and in the Arena Chapel (FIGS. 14-9, 14-9A, 14-10, and 14-10A) at Padua, testify to the longevity of this painting method. The colors have remained vivid (although dirt and soot have often necessitated cleaning—most famously in the Vatican's Sistine Chapel; FIGS. 22-18B and 22-18C) because of the chemically inert pigments the artists used.

This *buon fresco* ("true" fresco) process is time-consuming and demanding and requires several layers of plaster. Although buon fresco methods vary, generally the artist (or, more precisely, an apprentice in the master's workshop) prepares the wall with a rough layer of lime plaster called the *arriccio* (brown coat). The artist then transfers the composition to the wall, usually by drawing directly on the arriccio with a burnt-orange pigment called *sinopia* (most popular during the 14th century), or by transferring a *cartoon* (a full-size preparatory drawing). Cartoons increased in usage in the 15th and 16th centuries, largely replacing sinopia underdrawings. Finally, the painter lays the *intonaco* (painting coat) smoothly over the drawing in sections (called *giornate*—Italian for "days") only as large as the artist expects to complete in that session. (In Giotto's *Lamentation* [FIG. 14-10], for example, it is easy to distinguish the various giornate.) The buon fresco painter must apply the colors quickly, because once the plaster is dry, it will no longer absorb the pigment. Any unpainted areas of the intonaco after a session must be cut away so that fresh plaster can be applied for the next giornata.

14-10 GIOTTO DI BONDONE, *Lamentation,* Arena Chapel (Cappella Scrovegni; FIG. 14-9), Padua, Italy, ca. 1305. Fresco, 6′ $6\frac{3}{4}$″ × 6′ $\frac{3}{4}$″.

Giotto painted *Lamentation* in several sections, each corresponding to one painting session, or giornata. Artists employing the buon fresco technique must complete each section before the plaster dries.

In addition to the buon fresco technique, artists used *fresco secco* ("dry" fresco). Fresco secco involves painting on dried lime plaster, the method the ancient Egyptians employed (FIGS. 3-28 and 3-28A). Although the finished product visually approximates buon fresco, the plaster wall does not absorb the pigments, which simply adhere to the surface, so fresco secco is not as permanent as buon fresco.

In areas of high humidity, such as Venice with its streets of water, fresco was less appropriate because moisture is an obstacle to the drying process.

and slow-moving half-life-size figures (as in *Entry into Jerusalem,* FIG. 14-9A) act out the religious dramas convincingly and with great restraint. The biblical actors are sculpturesque, simple, and weighty, often *foreshortened* (seen from an angle) and modeled with light and shading in the ancient manner. They convey individual emotions through their postures and gestures. Constructing the illusion of a weighty, three-dimensional body also requires constructing the illusion of a space sufficiently ample to contain that body, and Giotto achieved that goal as well in the Arena Chapel frescoes (see "Fresco Painting," above). The new interest in naturalism definitively displaced the maniera greca in Italy, inaugurating an age some scholars call "early scientific" by establishing the accurate reproduction of the visible world as a central, if not the sole, aim of artists. By stressing the preeminence of sight for gaining knowledge of the world, Giotto and his successors contributed to the foundation of empirical science.

Lamentation. The panel in the lowest zone of the north wall, *Lamentation* (FIG. 14-10), illustrates particularly well the revolutionary nature of Giotto's style. In the presence of boldly foreshortened angels, seen head-on with their bodies receding into the background and darting about in hysterical grief, a congregation mourns over the dead Savior just before his entombment. Mary cradles her son's body. Mary Magdalene looks solemnly at the wounds in Christ's feet. Saint John the Evangelist throws his arms back dramatically. Giotto arranged a shallow stage for the figures, bounded by a thick diagonal rock incline defining a horizontal ledge in the foreground. Though narrow, the ledge provides firm visual support for the figures. The rocky setting recalls the landscape of a 12th-century Byzantine mural (FIG. 9-29) at Nerezi in Macedonia. Here, the steep slope leads the viewer's eye toward the picture's dramatic focal point at the lower left.

The postures and gestures of Giotto's figures convey a broad spectrum of grief. They range from Mary's almost fierce despair to the passionate outbursts of Mary Magdalene and John to the philosophical resignation of the two disciples at the right and the mute sorrow of the two hooded mourners in the foreground.

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In *Lamentation,* a single event provokes a host of individual responses in figures that are convincing presences both physically and psychologically. Painters before Giotto rarely attempted, let alone achieved, this combination of naturalistic representation, compositional complexity, and emotional resonance.

The formal design of *Lamentation*—the way that Giotto grouped the figures within the constructed space—is worth close study. Each group has its own definition, and each contributes to the rhythmic order of the composition. The strong diagonal of the rocky ledge, with its single dead tree (the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which withered after Adam and Eve's Original Sin), concentrates the viewer's attention on the heads of Christ and his mother, which Giotto positioned dynamically off center. The massive bulk of the seated mourner in the painting's left corner arrests and contains all movement beyond Mary and her dead son. The placement of the seated mourner at the right establishes a relation with the center figures, who, by gazes and gestures, draw the viewer's attention back to Christ's head. Figures seen from the back, which are frequent in Giotto's compositions (compare *Betrayal of Jesus,* FIG. **14-10A**), represent an innovation in the movement away from the Italo-Byzantine style. These figures emphasize the foreground, aiding the visual placement of the intermediate figures farther back in space. This device, the very contradiction of Byzantine frontality, in effect puts viewers behind the "observer figures," who, facing the action as spectators, reinforce the sense of stagecraft as a model for painting. Also markedly different from the maniera greca is Giotto's habit of painting incomplete figures cut off by the composition's frame, a feature also of his Ognissanti Madonna (FIG. 14-8).

14-10A GIOTTO, *Betrayal of Jesus,* ca. 1305.

Giotto's new devices for depicting spatial depth and body mass could not, of course, have been possible without his management of light and shade. He shaded his figures to indicate both the direction of the light illuminating their bodies and the shadows (the diminished light), thereby giving the figures volume. In *Lamentation,* light falls upon the upper surfaces of the figures (especially the two central bending figures) and passes down to dark in their garments, separating the volumes one from the other and pushing one to the fore, the other to the rear. The gradual transition from light from a single steady source—not shown in the picture—to shade was the first step toward the development of *chiaroscuro* (the use of contrasts of dark and light to produce modeling) in later Renaissance painting.

The stagelike settings made possible by Giotto's innovations in perspective and lighting suited perfectly the dramatic narrative that the Franciscans emphasized then as a principal method for educating the faithful in their religion. In this new age of humanism, the old stylized presentations of the holy mysteries had evolved into *mystery plays* offered at church portals and in city squares. (Eventually, confraternities also presented more elaborate religious dramas called *sacre rappresentazioni*—"holy representations.") The great increase in popular sermons to huge city audiences prompted a public taste for narrative, recited as dramatically as possible. The arts of illusionistic painting, of drama, and of sermon rhetoric with all their theatrical flourishes developed simultaneously and were mutually influential. Giotto's art masterfully synthesized dramatic narrative, holy lesson, and truth to human experience in a visual idiom of his own invention, accessible to all.

Siena

Among 14th-century Italian city-states, the Republics of Siena and Florence were the most powerful. Both were urban centers of bankers and merchants with widespread international contacts and large sums available for the commissioning of artworks (see "Artists' Guilds, Artistic Commissions, and Artists' Contracts," page 430).

Duccio. The works of Duccio di Buoninsegna are the supreme examples of 14th-century Sienese art. The artist's most famous commission, the immense *Maestà* altarpiece (FIG. 14-1), replaced a much smaller painting of the Virgin Mary on the high altar of Siena Cathedral (FIG. 14-13A). The Sienese believed that the Virgin had brought them victory over the Florentines at the Battle of Monteperti in 1260, and she was the focus of the religious life of the republic. When Duccio and his assistants completed the prestigious commission in 1311, the entire city celebrated. Shops closed, and the bishop led a great procession of priests, civic officials, and the populace at large in carrying the altarpiece from Duccio's studio outside the city gate through the *Campo* (literally "field"—Siena's main *piazza,* or plaza), past the town hall (FIG. 14-16), and up to its home on Siena's highest hill. So great was Duccio's stature that the church's officials permitted him to include his name in the dedicatory inscription on the front of the altarpiece on the Virgin's footstool: "Holy Mother of God, be the cause of peace for Siena and of life for Duccio, because he painted you thus."

Painted in tempera front and back, the work unfortunately can no longer be seen in its entirety, because of its dismantling in subsequent centuries. Many of Duccio's panels are on display today as single masterpieces, scattered among the world's museums. The main panel (FIG. 14-1) reveals Duccio's interest in the naturalism increasingly embraced by Trecento painters. Nonetheless, Duccio understood that his *Maestà* would be the focus of worship in Siena's largest and most important church, its cathedral, the seat of the bishop of Siena, and that the altarpiece should be an object holy in itself. The Sienese master recognized how the role of the artwork in liturgical ritual limited his experimentation in depicting narrative action and producing illusionistic effects by modeling forms and adjusting their placement in pictorial space, as Giotto had done in the Arena Chapel a few years before.

Instead, the queen of Heaven panel is a miracle of color composition and texture manipulation, unfortunately not fully revealed in photographs. Close inspection of the original reveals what the Sienese artist learned from other sources. In the 13th and 14th centuries, Italy was the distribution center for the great silk trade from China and the Middle East (see "Silk and the Silk Road," page 477). After processing the silk in Lucca and Florence, the Italians exported the precious fabric throughout Europe to satisfy an immense market for elegant dress. (Dante, Petrarch, and many other humanists decried the appetite for luxury in costume, which to them represented a decline in civic and moral virtue.) People throughout Europe (Duccio and other artists among them) prized fabrics from China, Persia, Byzantium, and the Islamic world. In his depiction of the enthroned Virgin among saints, Duccio created the glistening and shimmering effects of textiles, adapting the motifs and design patterns of exotic materials. Complementing the sumptuous fabrics and the (lost) gilded wood frame are the halos of the holy figures, which feature tooled decorative designs in gold leaf (*punchwork*). But, as did Giotto in his *Ognissanti Madonna* (FIG. 14-8), Duccio eliminated almost all the gold patterning of the

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Artists' Guilds, Artistic Commissions, and Artists' Contracts

The structured organization of economic activity during the 14th century, when Italy had established a thriving international trade and held a commanding position in the Mediterranean world, extended to many trades and professions. *Guilds* (associations of master craftspeople, apprentices, and tradespeople), which had emerged during the 12th century, became prominent. These associations not only protected members' common economic interests against external pressures, such as taxation, but also provided them with the means to regulate their internal operations (for example, training apprentices and assuring high-quality work).

Because of today's international open art market, the notion of an "artists' union" may seem strange. The general public tends to think of art as the creative expression of an individual artist. However, artists did not always enjoy this degree of freedom. Historically, they rarely undertook projects without receiving a specific commission. The patron contracting for the artist's services could be a civic group, religious institution, private individual, or even the artists' guild itself. Guilds, although primarily business organizations, also contributed to their city's religious and artistic life by subsidizing the building and decoration of numerous churches and hospitals. For example, the wool manufacturers' guild oversaw the start of Florence Cathedral (FIGS. 14-19 and 14-19A) in 1296, and the wool merchants' guild supervised the completion of its dome (FIG. 21-29A). The guild of silk manufacturers and goldsmiths provided the funds to build Florence's foundling hospital, the Ospedale degli Innocenti (FIG. 21-30).

Monastic orders, confraternities, and the Vatican were also major art patrons. In addition, wealthy families and individuals—for example, the Paduan banker Enrico Scrovegni (FIG. 14-9)—commissioned artworks for a wide variety of reasons. Besides the aesthetic pleasure these patrons derived from art, the images often also served as testaments to the patron's piety, wealth, and stature. (In Scrovegni's case, he hoped that building the Arena Chapel and decorating it with biblical frescoes would outweigh his sins as a moneylender and earn him a place in Heaven.) Because artworks during this period were the product of service contracts, a patron's needs or wishes played a crucial role in the final form of any painting, sculpture, or building.

Some early contracts between patrons and artists still exist. Patrons normally asked artists to submit drawings or models for approval, and they expected that the artists they hired would adhere closely to the approved designs. The contracts usually stipulated certain conditions, such as the insistence on the artist's own hand in the production of the work, the quality of pigment and amount of gold leaf or other costly materials to be used, the deadline for completion, the amount and timing of payment, and the penalties for failure to meet the contract's terms.

A few extant 13th- and 14th-century painting contracts are especially illuminating. Although they may specify the subject to be represented, these binding legal documents always focus on the financial aspects of the commission and the responsibilities of the painter to the patron (and vice versa). For example, in a contract dated November 1, 1301, between Cimabue (FIG. 14-6) and another artist and the Hospital of Santa Chiara in Pisa, the artists agree to supply an altarpiece

> with colonnettes, tabernacles, and predella, painted with histories of the divine majesty of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of the apostles, of the angels, and with other figures and pictures, as shall be seen fit and shall please the said master of or other legitimate persons for the hospital.*

Other terms of the Santa Chiara contract specify the size of the panel and require the artists to use gold and silver gilding for parts of the altarpiece.

The contract for an altarpiece's frame was usually a separate document, because it necessitated employing the services of a master carpenter. For example, on April 15, 1285, the leading painter of Siena, Duccio di Buoninsegna (FIGS. 14-1, 14-11, 14-11A, and 14-12), signed a contract with the rectors of the Confraternity of the Laudesi, the lay group associated with the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella (FIG. 14-5B) in Florence. The contract specified only that Duccio was to provide the painting, not its frame—and it imposed conditions that the painter had to meet if he was to be paid.

> [The rectors] promise . . . to pay the same Duccio . . . as the payment and price of the painting of the said panel that is to be painted and done by him in the way described below . . . 150 lire of the small florins. . . . [Duccio, in turn, promises] to paint and embellish the panel with the image of the blessed Virgin Mary and of her omnipotent Son and other figures, according to the wishes and pleasure of the lessors, and to gild [the panel] and do everything that will enhance the beauty of the panel, his being all the expenses and the costs. . . . If the said panel is not beautifully painted and it is not embellished according to the wishes and desires of the same lessors, they are in no way bound to pay him the price or any part of it.†

Sometimes patrons furnished the materials and paid artists by the day instead of a fixed amount. That was the arrangement Duccio made on October 9, 1308, when he agreed to paint the *Maestà* (FIG. 14-1) for the high altar of Siena Cathedral.

> Duccio has promised to paint and make the said panel as well as he can and knows how, and he further agreed not to accept or receive any other work until the said panel is done and completed. . . . [The church officials promise] to pay the said Duccio sixteen solidi of the Sienese denari as his salary for the said work and labor for each day that the said Duccio works with his own hands on the said panel . . . [and] to provide and give everything that will be necessary for working on the said panel so that the said Duccio need contribute nothing to the work save his person and his effort.§

In all cases, the artists worked for their patrons and could count on being compensated for their talents and efforts only if the work they delivered met the standards of those who ordered it.

*Translated by John White, *Duccio: Tuscan Art and the Medieval Workshop* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), 34.
†Translated by James H. Stubblebine, *Duccio di Buoninsegna and His School* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), 1: 192.
§Ibid., 201.

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14-11 Duccio di Buoninsegna, 14 panels illustrating the passion of Jesus, back of the *Maestà* altarpiece (fig. 14-1), from Siena Cathedral, Siena, Italy, 1308–1311. Tempera and gold leaf on wood, 7′ × 13′. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.

On the back of the *Maestà* altarpiece, Duccio painted Jesus's passion in 24 scenes on 14 panels, beginning with *Entry into Jerusalem* (fig. 14-11A), at the lower left, through *Noli me tangere,* at top right.

figures' garments in favor of creating three-dimensional volume. Traces remain only in the Virgin's red dress.

In the narrative panels on the back of the *Maestà,* however, Duccio was free to pursue a greater degree of innovation in the representation of anecdotal narratives set in landscapes and the interiors of buildings. The section reproduced here (fig. 14-11), consisting of 26 scenes in 14 panels, relates the events of Christ's passion. The largest scene, at top center, depicts the Savior's crucifixion—a highly appropriate choice for an altarpiece in front of which the Sienese bishop celebrated Mass, the ritual reenactment of Christ's sacrifice. Duccio drew the details of his scenes from the accounts in all four Gospels. The viewer reads the pictorial story in zigzag fashion, beginning with *Entry into Jerusalem* (fig. 14-11A) at the lower left. The narrative ends with Christ's appearance to Mary Magdalene (*Noli me tangere*) at the top right. Duccio consistently dressed Jesus in blue robes in most of the panels, but beginning with *Transfiguration,* the Savior's garment is gilded, reviving a stylistic feature of the maniera greca for its symbolic value.

14-11A Duccio, *Entry into Jerusalem,* 1308–1311.

One of the finest panels from Duccio's passion cycle is *Betrayal of Jesus,* in which the Sienese master represented several episodes of the event—the betrayal of Jesus by Judas's false kiss, the disciples fleeing in terror, and Peter cutting off the ear of the high priest's servant (fig. 14-12; compare fig. 14-10A). Duccio carefully differentiated among the anger of Peter, the malice of Judas (echoed in the faces of the

14-12 Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Betrayal of Jesus,* panel on the back (fig. 14-11) of the *Maestà* altarpiece (fig. 14-1), from Siena Cathedral, Siena, Italy, 1308–1311. Tempera and gold leaf on wood, 1′ 10½″ × 3′ 4″. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.

In his panel depicting Judas betraying Jesus with a kiss, Duccio brilliantly captured various human emotions—the anger of Peter, the malice of Judas, and the timidity of the fleeing apostles.

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14-13 Lorenzo Maitani, Orvieto Cathedral (looking northeast), Orvieto, Italy, begun 1310.

The pointed gables over the doorways, the rose window, and the large pinnacles derive from French Gothic architecture, but the facade of Orvieto Cathedral masks a traditional timber-roofed basilica.

throng about Jesus), and the apprehension and timidity of the fleeing disciples. These figures are actors in a religious drama that the artist interpreted in terms of thoroughly human actions and reactions. In this and the other narrative panels—for example, *Entry into Jerusalem* (fig. 14-11A), a theme treated also by Giotto in the Arena Chapel (fig. 14-9A)—Duccio made a seminal contribution to the Renaissance humanization of biblical themes.

Orvieto Cathedral. While Duccio was working on the *Maestà* altarpiece for Siena's most important church, a Sienese architect, Lorenzo Maitani (ca. 1255–1330), received the commission to design Orvieto's cathedral (fig. 14-13). The Orvieto facade, like the earlier facade of Siena Cathedral (fig. 14-13A), begun by Giovanni Pisano (fig. 14-4), highlights the appeal of the vocabulary of French Gothic art and architecture in Italy at the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century. Characteristically French are the pointed gables over Orvieto Cathedral's three doorways, the rose window and statues in niches in the kings' gallery of the upper zone, and the four large pinnacles dividing the facade into three bays. The outer pinnacles serve as miniature substitutes for the tall northern European west-front towers. Adorning the four piers flanking the three portals are elaborate reliefs representing, from left to right, Old Testament scenes, the Tree of Jesse, New Testament scenes, and the Last Judgment. The individual episodes of the stories fill the spaces between tree branches. Both compositionally and iconographically, the Orvieto reliefs derive from the French Late Gothic tradition.

14-13A Siena Cathedral, begun ca. 1226.

Maitani's facade, however, is a Gothic overlay masking a marble-revetted basilican structure in the Tuscan Romanesque tradition, as the three-quarter view of the cathedral in fig. 14-13 reveals. Few Italian architects fully embraced the Gothic style. The Orvieto facade resembles a great altar screen. Its single plane may be covered with carefully placed Gothic carved and painted decoration, but in principle, Orvieto Cathedral belongs with Pisa Cathedral (fig. 12-29) and other earlier Italian buildings, rather than with the French cathedrals at Amiens (fig. 13-22) and Reims (fig. 13-24). Inside, the Orvieto church has a timber-roofed nave with a two-story elevation (columnar arcade and clerestory) in the Early Christian manner (compare figs. 8-18 and 8-25). Both the chancel arch framing the apse and the nave arcade's arches are round as opposed to pointed.

Simone Martini. Duccio's successors in the Sienese school also produced innovative works. Simone Martini (ca. 1285–1344) was a pupil of Duccio's and may have assisted him in painting the *Maestà* altarpiece. Martini was a close friend of Petrarch's, and the poet praised him highly for his portrait of "Laura" (the woman to whom Petrarch dedicated his sonnets). Martini worked for the French kings in Naples and Sicily and, in his last years, produced paintings for the papal court at Avignon, where he came in contact with French painters. By adapting the elegant and luxuriant patterns of the Gothic style to Sienese art and, in turn, by acquainting painters north of the Alps with the Sienese style, Martini was instrumental in creating the so-called *International Gothic* style. This new style swept Europe during the late 14th and early 15th centuries because it appealed to the aristocratic taste for brilliant colors, lavish costumes, intricate ornamentation, and themes involving splendid processions (compare fig. 21-17).

The Saint Ansanus altarpiece (fig. 14-14) that Martini created for Siena Cathedral (fig. 14-13A) features radiant colors, fluttering lines, and weightless elongated figures in a spaceless setting—all hallmarks of the artist's style. The complex etiquette of the European chivalric courts probably inspired Martini's presentation of Gabriel bringing his message to the Virgin. The angel has just alighted, the breeze of his passage lifting his mantle, his glittering wings still beating. The gold of his splendid gown signals that he has descended from Heaven to announce the coming birth of the son of God. The Virgin, putting down her book of devotions, shrinks shyly from Gabriel's reverent bow—an appropriate act in the presence of royalty. Mary draws about her the deep-blue, golden-hemmed mantle, colors befitting the queen of Heaven. Between the two figures is a vase of white lilies, symbolic of the Virgin's purity. Despite Mary's modest reserve and the tremendous import of the angel's message, the scene subordinates drama to court ritual, and structural experimentation to surface splendor. The intricate tracery of the richly tooled (reconstructed) French Gothic–inspired frame and the elaborate punchwork halos (by then a characteristic feature of Sienese panel painting) enhance the tactile magnificence of the altarpiece.

Simone Martini and his student and assistant, Lippo Memmi (active ca. 1317–1350), signed the *Annunciation* panel and dated it

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1 ft.

14-14 Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi, *Annunciation,* from the altar of Saint Ansanus, Siena Cathedral, Siena, Italy, 1333 (frame reconstructed in the 19th century). Tempera and gold leaf on wood, center panel 10′ 1″ × 8′ 8 3/4″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

A pupil of Duccio's, Simone Martini was instrumental in the creation of the International Gothic style. Its hallmarks are radiant colors, flowing lines, and weightless figures in golden, spaceless settings.

(1333). The latter's contribution to the altarpiece is still a matter of debate, but most art historians believe that he painted the two lateral saints (Ansanus at left, Margaret at right). These figures, which are reminiscent of the jamb statues of Gothic church portals, have greater solidity and lack the linear elegance of Martini's central pair. Given the nature of medieval and Renaissance workshop practices, it is often difficult to distinguish the master's hand from those of assistants, especially if the master corrected or redid part of the pupil's work (see "Artistic Training in Renaissance Italy," page 434).

Pietro Lorenzetti. Another of Duccio's students, Pietro Lorenzetti (ca. 1280–1348), contributed significantly to the general experiments in pictorial realism taking place in 14th-century Italy. Surpassing even his renowned master, Lorenzetti achieved a remarkable degree of spatial illusionism in his *Birth of the Virgin* (fig. 14-15), a large *triptych* (three-part panel painting) created for the altar of Saint Savinus in Siena Cathedral (fig. 14-13A). Lorenzetti painted three of the pilasters dividing the altarpiece into three sections as though they were the ends of the walls extending back into the painted space. Viewers seem to look through the frame (added later) into a boxlike stage, where the event takes place. That the second pilaster from the right cuts across a figure, blocking part of it from view, strengthens the illusion of spatial recession. In subsequent centuries, artists exploited this use of architectural elements to enhance the illusion of painted figures acting out a drama a mere few feet away. This kind of pictorial illusionism characterized ancient Roman mural painting (figs. 7-18 and 7-19, *right*), but had not been practiced in Italy for a thousand years.

The setting for *Birth of the Virgin* also represented a marked step in the advance of worldly realism. Unlike in other altarpieces of this era, the figures in Lorenzetti's painting are not seen against an otherworldly gold background. Instead, the Sienese master painted a detailed interior of an upper-class Italian home of the period, complete with floor tiles and fabrics whose receding lines enhance the sense of depth. Lorenzetti removed the front walls of the house to enable the viewer to peer inside, where Saint Anne (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247) props herself up wearily as the midwives wash the newborn Virgin and the women bring gifts. Anne, like Nicola Pisano's Nativity Virgin (fig. 14-3),

1 ft.

14-15 Pietro Lorenzetti, *Birth of the Virgin,* from the altar of Saint Savinus, Siena Cathedral, Siena, Italy, 1342. Tempera on wood, 6′ 1″ × 5′ 11″. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Siena.

In this triptych, Pietro Lorenzetti revived the pictorial illusionism of ancient Roman murals and painted three of the pilasters dividing the panel as if they were walls extending back into the pictorial space.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Artistic Training in Renaissance Italy

In Italy during the 14th through 16th centuries, training to become a professional artist capable of earning membership in the appropriate guild was a laborious and lengthy process. Aspiring artists started their training at an early age, anytime from 7 to 15 years old. Their fathers would negotiate an arrangement with a master artist whereby each youth lived with that master for a specified number of years, usually five or six. During that time, the boys served as apprentices to the master of the workshop, learning the trade. (This living arrangement served as a major obstacle for women who wished to become professional artists, because it was inappropriate for young girls to live in a male master's household.) The guilds supervised this rigorous training. They wanted not only to ensure their professional reputations by admitting only the most talented members but also to control the number of artists (and thereby limit competition). Toward this end, they frequently tried to regulate the number of apprentices working under a single master.

The skills that apprentices learned varied with the type of studio they joined. Those apprenticed to painters learned to grind pigments, draw, prepare wood panels for painting, gild, and lay plaster for fresco. Sculptors in training learned to manipulate different materials—wood, stone, clay, or bronze—although many sculpture workshops specialized in only one or two of these materials. For stone carving, apprentices learned their craft by blocking out the master's designs for statues. As their skills developed, apprentices took on increasingly difficult tasks.

Cennino Cennini (ca. 1370–1440) explained the value of this apprenticeship system and, in particular, the advantages for young artists in studying and copying the works of older masters, in an influential book published in 1400, *Il libro dell'arte* (*The Handbook of Art*):

> Having first practiced drawing for a while, . . . take pains and pleasure in constantly copying the best things which you can find done by the hand of great masters. And if you are in a place where many good masters have been, so much the better for you. But I give you this advice: take care to select the best one every time, and the one who has the greatest reputation. And, as you go on from day to day, it will be against nature if you do not get some grasp of his style and of his spirit. For if you undertake to copy after one master today and after another one tomorrow, you will not acquire the style of either one or the other, and you will inevitably, through enthusiasm, become capricious, because each style will be distracting your mind. You will try to work in this man's way today, and in the other's tomorrow, and so you will not get either of them right. If you follow the course of one man through constant practice, your intelligence would have to be crude indeed for you not to get some nourishment from it. Then you will find, if nature has granted you any imagination at all, that you will eventually acquire a style individual to yourself, and it cannot help being good; because your hand and your mind, being always accustomed to gather flowers, would ill know how to pluck thorns.*

After completing their apprenticeships, artists entered the appropriate guilds. For example, painters, who ground pigments, joined the guild of apothecaries. Sculptors were members of the guild of stoneworkers, and goldsmiths entered the silk guild, because metalworkers often stretched gold into threads wound around silk for weaving. Guild membership served as certification of the artists' competence, but did not mean they were ready to open their own studios. New guild-certified artists usually served as assistants to master artists, because until they established their reputations, they could not expect to receive many commissions, and the cost of establishing their own workshops was high. In any case, this arrangement was not permanent, and workshops were not necessarily static enterprises. Although well-established and respected studios existed, workshops could be organized around individual masters (with no set studio locations) or organized for a specific project, especially an extensive decoration program.

Generally, assistants to painters were responsible for gilding frames and backgrounds, completing decorative work, and, occasionally, rendering architectural settings. Artists regarded figures, especially those central to the represented subject, as the most important and difficult parts of a painting, and the master reserved these for himself. Sometimes assistants painted secondary or marginal figures, but only under the master's close supervision. That was probably the case with Simone Martini's *Annunciation* (FIG. 14-14), in which the master painted the Virgin and angel, whereas his assistant, Lippo Memmi, was probably responsible for the flanking saints.

*Translated by Daniel V. Thompson Jr., *Cennino Cennini, The Craftsman's Handbook (Il Libro dell'arte)* (New York: Dover, 1960; reprint of 1933 ed.), 14–15.

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resembles a reclining figure on the lid of a Roman sarcophagus (FIG. 7-60). At the left, in a side chamber, Joachim eagerly awaits news of the delivery. Lorenzetti's altarpiece is as noteworthy for the painter's careful inspection and recording of details of the everyday world as for his innovations in spatial illusionism.

Palazzo Pubblico. Not all Sienese painting of the early 14th century was religious in character. One of the most important fresco cycles of the period (FIG. 14-17A) was a civic commission for Siena's *Palazzo Pubblico* ("public palace" or city hall; FIG. 14-16). Siena was a proud commercial and political rival of Florence. The secular center of the community, the civic meeting hall in the main square (the Campo), was almost as great an object of civic pride as the city's cathedral (FIG. 14-13A). The Palazzo Pubblico has a slightly concave facade (to conform to the irregular shape of the Campo) and a gigantic tower visible from miles around (compare FIGS. 13-30 and 14-19B). The imposing building and tower must have earned the admiration of Siena's citizens as well as of visitors to the city, inspiring in them respect for the republic's power and success. The tower served as a lookout over the city and the countryside around it and as a bell tower (*campanile*) for ringing signals of all kinds to the populace. Siena, like other Italian city-states, had to defend itself against neighboring cities and often against kings and emperors. In addition, it had to secure itself against internal upheavals common in the

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14-16 Palazzo Pubblico (looking east), Siena, Italy, 1288–1309.

Siena's Palazzo Pubblico has a concave facade and a gigantic tower visible for miles around. The tower served as both a defensive lookout over the countryside and a symbol of the city-state's power.

history of the Italian city-republics. Class struggle, feuds among rich and powerful families, and even uprisings of the whole populace against the city governors (known as "the Nine" in Siena) were constant threats in medieval Italy. The heavy walls and *battlements* (fortified *parapets*) of the Sienese town hall eloquently express how frequently the city governors needed to defend themselves against their own citizens. The Palazzo Pubblico tower, out of reach of most missiles, incorporates *machicolated galleries* (galleries with holes in their floors to enable defenders to dump stones or hot liquids on attackers below) built out on *corbels* (projecting supporting architectural members) for defense of the tower's base.

Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The painter entrusted with the major fresco program in the Palazzo Pubblico was Pietro Lorenzetti's younger brother, Ambrogio Lorenzetti (ca. 1290–1348). In the frescoes (figs. 14-17 and 14-18) Ambrogio produced for Siena's city hall, he elaborated his brother's advances in illusionistic representation in spectacular fashion, while giving visual form to Sienese civic concerns in a series of groundbreaking allegorical paintings (see "Cityscapes and Landscapes as Allegories," page 436).

14-17 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Peaceful City,* detail from *Effects of Good Government in the City and in the Country,* east wall of the Sala della Pace (fig. 14-17A) in the Palazzo Pubblico (fig. 14-16), Siena, Italy, 1338–1339. Fresco.

In the Hall of Peace of Siena's city hall, Ambrogio Lorenzetti painted an illusionistic panorama of a bustling 14th-century city. The fresco is an allegory of good government in the Sienese republic.

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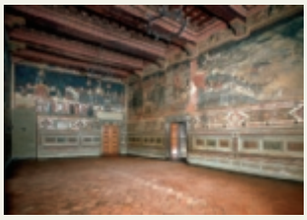
Cityscapes and Landscapes as Allegories

During the 14th century, the citizens of Italy's leading cities often endured violent party struggles and the overthrow and reinstatement of governments. The turbulent politics of the era are the backdrop for Ambrogio Lorenzetti's commission to paint allegories of the effects of good and bad government on the walls of the Sala della Pace (Hall of Peace; FIG. **14-17A**) of Siena's Palazzo Pubblico (FIG. 14-16). The Sienese leaders ("the Nine") who paid for the frescoes had undertaken the "ordering and reformation of the whole city and countryside of Siena," but it was left to Lorenzetti to determine how to portray the abstract notions of just and unjust government. His solution was not to invent personifications of good and bad government but to create vast views of life in the city and in the surrounding Tuscan countryside as allegories of the *effects* of good and bad government.



14-17A Sala della Pace, Siena, 1338–1339.

Peaceful City (FIG. 14-17) is a panoramic view of Siena, with its clustering palaces, markets, towers, churches, streets, and walls, reminiscent of the townscapes of ancient Roman murals at Pompeii and elsewhere (FIG. 7-19, *left*), but Lorenzetti could not have seen them because they lay buried beneath volcanic ash (see "An Eyewitness Account of the Eruption of Mount Vesuvius," page 191). The city's traffic moves peacefully, guild members ply their trades and crafts, and radiant maidens, clustered hand in hand, perform a graceful circling dance. Dances were regular features of festive springtime rituals. Here, dancing also serves as a metaphor for a peaceful commonwealth. The artist fondly observed the life of his city, and its architecture gave him an opportunity to apply Sienese artists' rapidly growing knowledge of perspective.

In *Peaceful Country* (FIG. **14-18**), Ambrogio's representation of the countryside beyond Siena's walls, the painter presented a bird's-eye view of the undulating Tuscan terrain—its villas, castles, plowed farmlands, and peasants engaged in their occupations at different seasons of the year. Although it is an allegory, not a snapshot of the Tuscan countryside on a specific day, Lorenzetti's *Peaceful Country,* like his *Peaceful City,* has the character of a portrait of a specific place and environment. *Peaceful Country* is one of the first examples of landscape painting in Western art since antiquity (FIG. 7-20).

Security personified hovers above the hills and fields, unfurling a scroll promising safety to all who live under the rule of law—that is, the law administered by the Nine, who met in this room to oversee Sienese affairs. The Nine had the power to enforce their laws by imposing penalties, including even capital punishment. As a warning to those who might defy the Nine, Security carries a model of a gallows with a hanged criminal.

The Nine, however, could not protect Siena's citizens from the bubonic plague sweeping through Europe in the mid-14th century. The Black Death killed thousands of Sienese and may have ended the careers of the Lorenzetti brothers. Both Pietro and Ambrogio disappear from historical records in 1348.

14-18 AMBROGIO LORENZETTI, *Peaceful Country,* detail from *Effects of Good Government in the City and in the Country,* east wall of the Sala della Pace (FIG. 14-17A) in the Palazzo Pubblico (FIG. 14-16), Siena, Italy, 1338–1339. Fresco.

To portray the concept of good government in the countryside, Ambrogio Lorenzetti painted a sweeping view of Tuscan hills—one of the first instances of landscape painting in Western art since antiquity.

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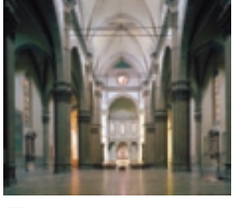
14-19 Arnolfo di Cambio and others, aerial view of Santa Maria del Fiore (and the Baptistery of San Giovanni; looking northeast), Florence, Italy, begun 1296. Campanile designed by Giotto di Bondone, 1334.

The Florentine Duomo's marble revetment carries on the Tuscan Romanesque architectural tradition, linking this basilican church more closely to Early Christian Italy than to Gothic France.

Florence

Like Siena, the Republic of Florence was a dominant city-state during the 14th century. The historian Giovanni Villani (ca. 1276–1348), for example, described Florence as "the daughter and the creature of Rome," suggesting a preeminence inherited from the Roman Empire. Florentines were fiercely proud of what they perceived as their economic and cultural superiority. Florence controlled the textile industry in Italy, and the republic's gold *florin* was the standard coin of exchange everywhere in Europe.

Santa Maria del Fiore. Florentines translated their pride in their predominance into such landmark buildings as Santa Maria del Fiore (Saint Mary of the Flower; figs. 14-19 and 14-19A), Florence's cathedral, the site of the most important religious observances in the city. Arnolfo di Cambio (ca. 1245–1302) began work on the cathedral (*Duomo* in Italian) in 1296, three years before he received the commission to build the city's town hall, the Palazzo della Signoria (fig. 14-19B). Intended as the "most beautiful and honorable church in Tuscany," the cathedral reveals the competitiveness that Florentines felt with cities such as Siena (fig. 14-13A) and Pisa (fig. 12-29). Church authorities planned for the Duomo to hold the city's entire population, and although its capacity is only about 30,000 (Florence's population at the time was slightly less than 100,000), the building seemed so large that even Leon Battista Alberti, the renowned 15th-century Italian architect (see "Alberti's *On the Art of Building*," page 620), commented that it seemed to cover "all of Tuscany with its shade." The builders ornamented the cathedral's surfaces, in the old Tuscan fashion, with marble geometric designs, matching the revetment to that of the facing 11th-century Romanesque baptistery of San Giovanni (figs. 12-30 and 14-19, *left*).



14-19A Florence Cathedral, begun 1296.

14-19B Palazzo della Signoria, Florence, 1299–1310.

The vast gulf separating Santa Maria del Fiore from its northern European counterparts becomes evident when comparing the Florentine church with the High Gothic cathedrals of Amiens (fig. 13-22), Reims (fig. 13-24), and Cologne (fig. 13-53A). Gothic architects' emphatic stress on the vertical produced an awe-inspiring upward rush of unmatched vigor and intensity. The French and German buildings express organic growth shooting heavenward, as the pierced, translucent stone tracery of the spires merges with the atmosphere. Florence Cathedral, by contrast, clings to the ground and has no aspirations to flight. All emphasis is on the horizontal elements of the design, and the building rests firmly and massively on the ground. The clearly defined simple geometric volumes of the cathedral show no tendency to merge either into each other or into the sky.

Giotto di Bondone designed the Duomo's campanile in 1334. In keeping with Italian tradition (figs. 12-24, 12-29, and 12-29A), it stands apart from the church. In fact, it is essentially self-sufficient and could stand anywhere else in the city without looking out of place. The same cannot be said of the bell towers of Amiens, Reims, and Cologne cathedrals. They are essential elements of the structures behind them, and it would be unthinkable to detach one of them and place it somewhere else. No individual element of Gothic churches seems capable of an independent existence. One form merges into the next in a series of rising movements pulling the eye upward and never permitting it to rest until it reaches the

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14-20 Andrea Pisano, south doors of the Baptistery of San Giovanni (fig. 12-30), Florence, Italy, 1330–1336. Gilded bronze, doors 16′ × 9′ 2″; individual panels 1′ 7 1/4″ × 1′ 5″.

Andrea Pisano's bronze doors have 28 panels with figural reliefs in French Gothic quatrefoil frames. The lower eight depict Christian virtues. The rest represent the life of John the Baptist.

1 ft.

sky. The Florentine campanile is entirely different. Neatly subdivided into cubic sections, Giotto's tower is the sum of its component parts. Not only could this tower be removed from the building without adverse effects, but also each of the parts—cleanly separated from each other by continuous moldings—seems capable of existing independently as an object of considerable aesthetic appeal. This compartmentalization is reminiscent of the Romanesque style, but it also forecasts the ideals of Renaissance architecture. Artists hoped to express structure in the clear, logical relationships of the component parts and to produce self-sufficient works that could exist in complete independence. Compared with northern European towers, Giotto's campanile has a cool and rational quality more appealing to the intellect than to the emotions.

The facade of Florence Cathedral was not completed until the 19th century, and then in a form much altered from its original design. In fact, until the 17th century, Italian builders exhibited little concern for the facades of their churches, and dozens remain unfinished to this day. One reason for this may be that Italian architects did not conceive the facades as integral parts of the structures but rather, as in the case of Orvieto Cathedral (fig. 14-13), as screens that could be added to the church exterior at any time.

Andrea Pisano. A generation after work began on Santa Maria del Fiore, the Florentines decided also to beautify their 11th-century baptistery (figs. 12-30 and 14-19, *left*) with a set of bronze doors (fig. 14-20) for the south entrance to the building. The sponsors were the members of Florence's guild of wool importers, who competed for business and prestige with the wool manufacturers' association, an important sponsor of the cathedral building campaign. The wool importers' guild hired Andrea Pisano (ca. 1290–1348), a native of Pontedera in the territory of Pisa—unrelated to Nicola and Giovanni Pisano (see "Italian Artists' Names," page 421)—to create the doors. Andrea designed 28 bronze panels for the doors, each cast separately, of which 20 depict episodes from the life of John the Baptist, to whom the baptistery was dedicated. Eight panels (at the bottom) represent personified Christian virtues. The *quatrefoil* (four-lobed, cloverlike) frames are of the type used earlier for reliefs flanking the doorways of Amiens Cathedral (fig. 13-22), suggesting that French Gothic sculpture was one source of Andrea's style. The gilded figures stand on projecting ledges in each quatrefoil. Their proportions and flowing robes also reveal a debt to French sculpture, but the compositions, both in general conception (small groups of figures in stagelike settings) and in some details, owe a great deal to Giotto, for whom Andrea had earlier executed reliefs for the cathedral's campanile, perhaps according to Giotto's designs.

The wool importers' patronage of the baptistery did not end with this project. In the following century, the guild paid for the even more prestigious east doors (fig. 21-10), directly across from the cathedral's west facade, and also for a statue of John the Baptist on the facade of Or San Michele. The latter was a multipurpose building housing a 14th-century tabernacle (fig. 14-20A) by Andrea Orcagna (active ca. 1343–1368) featuring the painting *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Saints* by Bernardo Daddi (active ca. 1312–1348).

14-20A Orcagna, Or San Michele tabernacle, 1355–1359.

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Pisa

Siena and Florence were inland centers of commerce. Pisa was one of Italy's port cities, which, with Genoa and Venice, controlled the rapidly growing maritime avenues connecting western Europe with the lands of Islam, with Byzantium and Russia, and with China. As prosperous as Pisa was as a major shipping power, however, it was not immune from the disruption that the Black Death wreaked across all of Italy and Europe in the late 1340s. Concern with death, a significant theme in art even before the onset of the plague, became more prominent in the years after midcentury.

Camposanto. *Triumph of Death* (FIGS. 14-21 and 14-22) is a tour de force of death imagery. The creator of this immense fresco measuring more than 18 by 49 feet remains disputed. Some art historians attribute the work to FRANCESCO TRAINI (active ca. 1321–1363), while others argue for BUONAMICO BUFFALMACCO (active ca. 1315–1336). Painted on one wall of the Camposanto (Holy Field), the enclosed burial ground adjacent to Pisa's cathedral (FIG. 12-29), the fresco captures the horrors of death, and forces viewers to confront their mortality. The painter rendered each scene with naturalism and emotive power. In the left foreground (FIG. 14-21), stylish young aristocrats mounted on fine horses encounter three coffin-encased corpses in differing stages of decomposition. As the horror of the confrontation with death strikes them, the ladies turn away with delicate disgust, while a gentleman holds his nose. (The animals, horses and dogs, sniff excitedly.) At

14-21 FRANCESCO TRAINI or BUONAMICO BUFFALMACCO, riders discover three corpses, detail of *Triumph of Death*, Camposanto, Pisa, Italy, 1330s. Full fresco, 18′ 6″ × 49′ 2″.

Befitting its location on a wall in Pisa's Camposanto, the enclosed burial ground adjacent to the cathedral, this fresco captures the horrors of death and forces viewers to confront their mortality.

14-22 FRANCESCO TRAINI or BUONAMICO BUFFALMACCO, angels and demons vie for souls, detail of *Triumph of Death*, Camposanto, Pisa, Italy, 1330s. Full fresco, 18′ 6″ × 49′ 2″.

Above a scene of the good life of music and feasting in an orange grove, angels and demons struggle for the souls of the corpses in this dramatic vision of the triumph of death in Pisa's major cemetery.

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14-23 Doge's Palace (looking north), Venice, Italy, begun ca. 1340–1345; expanded and remodeled, 1424–1438.

The delicate patterning in cream- and rose-colored marbles, the pointed and ogee arches, and the quatrefoil medallions of the Doge's Palace constitute a Venetian variation of northern Gothic architecture.

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the far left, Marcarius, an early hermit saint, unrolls a scroll bearing an inscription commenting on the folly of pleasure and the inevitability of death. On the far right (FIG. 14-22), ladies and gentlemen ignore dreadful realities, occupying themselves in an orange grove with music and amusements while all around them angels and demons reminiscent of the grieving angels of Giotto's *Lamentation* (FIG. 14-10) struggle for the souls of the corpses heaped in the foreground.

In addition to these direct and straightforward scenes, the mural contains details conveying more subtle messages. For example, the painter depicted those who appear unprepared for death—and thus unlikely to achieve salvation—as wealthy and reveling in luxury. Given that the Dominicans—an order committed to a life of poverty (see "Mendicant Orders," page 423)—played a role in designing this fresco program, this imagery surely was a warning against greed and lust.

Venice

One of the wealthiest cities of late medieval Italy—and of Europe—was Venice, renowned for its streets of water. Situated on a lagoon on the northeastern coast of Italy, Venice was secure from land attack and could rely on a powerful navy for protection against invasion from the sea. Internally, Venice was a tight corporation of powerful families that, for centuries, provided stable rule by a long series of *doges* (dukes) and fostered economic growth.

Doge's Palace. The Venetian republic's seat of government was the Doge's Palace (FIG. 14-23), situated on the Grand Canal adjacent to Venice's most important church, San Marco (FIG. 9-26). Begun around 1340 to 1345 and significantly remodeled after 1424, Venice's ducal palace was the most ornate public building in medieval Italy. In a stately march, the first level's short and heavy columns support rather severe pointed arches that look strong enough to carry the weight of the upper structure. Their rhythm doubles in the upper arcades, where more slender columns carry *ogee arches* (made up of double-curving lines), which terminate in flamelike tips between medallions pierced with quatrefoils. Each story is taller than the one beneath it, the topmost as high as the two lower arcades combined. Yet the building does not look top-heavy. This is due in part to the complete absence of articulation in the top story and in part to the walls' delicate patterning in cream- and rose-colored marbles, which makes them appear paper thin. The palace in which Venice's dukes conducted state business represents a delightful and charming variant of Late Gothic architecture. Colorful, decorative, light and airy in appearance, their Venetian palace is ideally suited to the unique Italian city that floats between water and air.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Late Medieval Italy

Duecento (13th Century)

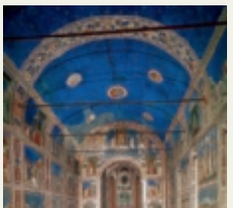
- Diversity of style characterizes the art of 13th-century Italy, with some artists working in the maniera greca, or Italo-Byzantine style, some in the mode of Gothic France, and others in the newly revived classical naturalistic tradition.
- The leading painters working in the Italo-Byzantine style were Bonaventura Berlinghieri and Cimabue, whose most famous pupil was Giotto di Bondone. Both drew inspiration from Byzantine icons and illuminated manuscripts. Berlinghieri's *Saint Francis Altarpiece* is the earliest dated portrayal of Saint Francis of Assisi, who died in 1226.
- Trained in southern Italy in the court style of Frederick II (r. 1197–1250), Nicola Pisano was a master sculptor who settled in Pisa and carved pulpits incorporating marble panels that, both stylistically and in individual motifs, derive from ancient Roman reliefs. Nicola's son, Giovanni Pisano, whose career extended into the 14th century, also was a sculptor of church pulpits, but his work more closely reflects French Gothic sculpture.
- At the end of the 13th century, in Rome and Assisi, Pietro Cavallini and other fresco painters created mural programs foreshadowing the revolutionary art of Giotto.

Berlinghieri, *Saint Francis Altarpiece,* 1235

Nicola Pisano, Pisa Baptistery pulpit, 1259–1260

Trecento (14th Century)

- During the 14th century, Italy suffered the most devastating natural disaster in European history—the Black Death—but it was also the time when Renaissance humanism took root. Although religion continued to occupy a primary position in Italian life, scholars and artists became increasingly concerned with the natural world.
- Art historians from Giorgio Vasari in the 16th century to today regard Giotto di Bondone of Florence as the first Renaissance painter. His masterpiece is the extensive series of frescoes adorning the interior of the Arena Chapel in Padua, where he established himself as a pioneer in pursuing a naturalistic approach to representation, which was at the core of the classical tradition in art. The Renaissance marked the rebirth of classical values in art and society.
- The greatest master of the Sienese school of painting was Duccio di Buoninsegna, whose *Maestà* retains many elements of the maniera greca. However, Duccio relaxed the frontality and rigidity of his figures, and in the *Maestà*'s narrative scenes took a decisive step toward humanizing religious subject matter by depicting actors displaying individual emotions.
- Secular themes also came to the fore in 14th-century Italy, most notably in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's frescoes for Siena's Palazzo Pubblico. His representations of the city and its surrounding countryside are among the first landscapes in Western art since antiquity.
- The prosperity of the 14th century led to many major building campaigns, both religious and secular, including new cathedrals in Florence, Siena, and Orvieto, and new administrative palaces in Florence, Siena, and Venice. The city halls of both Florence and Siena are fortress-like structures with battlements—eloquent testimonies to the internal and external conflicts of the era.
- The 14th-century architecture of Italy underscores the regional character of late medieval art. Orvieto Cathedral's facade, for example, incorporates many elements of the French Gothic vocabulary, but it is a screen masking a timber-roofed structure in the Early Christian tradition with round arches in the nave arcade. By contrast, Florence's Duomo (Santa Maria del Fiore) is a vaulted and domed basilica.



Giotto, Arena Chapel, Padua, 1305–1306

Duccio, *Maestà,* Siena Cathedral, 1308–1311

Duomo, Florence, begun 1296

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▲**15-1a** Sanchi's Great Stupa is a 50-foot-tall earth-and-rubble domical mound topped by a pole marking the axis of the universe. The mound contains relics of the Buddha, which worshipers walk around in order to venerate him.

▶**15-1b** The four gateways to Sanchi's Great Stupa are covered with reliefs depicting the story of the Buddha's life and tales of his past lives, when he accumulated sufficient merit to achieve enlightenment.

15-1 **Great Stupa (looking east), Sanchi, India, third century BCE to first century CE.**

▶**15-1c** The east gate features a scantily clad, sensuous woman called a yakshi. These goddesses personify fertility and vegetation and tie Buddhist iconography to earlier South Asian pictorial traditions.

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SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA BEFORE 1200

15

FRAMING THE ERA

The Great Stupa at Sanchi

In 326 BCE, after conquering the Persian Empire, Alexander the Great (FIGS. 5-67 and 5-70) reached the Indus River, but his troops refused to go forward. Reluctantly, the charismatic Greek king, probably the greatest general of the ancient world, abandoned his dream of conquering India and headed home. After Alexander's death three years later, his chief officers divided his empire among themselves. One of them, Seleucus Nicator (r. 321–281 BCE), reinvaded India, but Chandragupta Maurya (r. 323–298 BCE), founder of the Maurya dynasty, defeated him in 305 BCE and eventually consolidated almost all of present-day India under his domain.

India holds a special position in the history of civilization as the birthplace of two of the modern world's great religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, both of which are examined in this chapter. The person chiefly responsible for the spread of Buddhism was one of Chandragupta's successors, the Buddhist convert King Ashoka (r. 272–231 BCE). Among the most important Buddhist sanctuaries founded during Ashoka's reign (see "Ashoka's Sponsorship of Buddhism," page 448) was the monastery at Sanchi in central India. The site, which remained in use for more than a thousand years, boasts many structures, including several *stupas* (circular mounds housing the Buddha's remains, or *relics*; see "The Stupa," page 450).

The most impressive is the Great Stupa (FIG. 15-1), which in its present form with its tall stone fence and four *toranas* (gates), dates from about 50 BCE to 50 CE. The solid earth-and-rubble dome stands 50 feet high and is topped by a pole marking the axis of the universe. In accordance with Buddhist ritual, to venerate the Buddha's remains, worshipers enter through one of the gateways to the stupa, walk on the lower circular path, then climb the stairs on the south side to *circumambulate* the sacred mound in a clockwise direction at the second level. Carved onto different parts of the Great Stupa are more than 600 brief inscriptions naming donors to the project. Veneration of the Buddha was open to all, not just the monks. In fact, common laypeople, who hoped their gifts would accrue merit for them for future rebirths (see "Buddhism," page 447), made most of the Sanchi dedications. More than a third of the donors who made the stupa's construction possible were women.

The reliefs on the stupa's four toranas depict the story of the Buddha's life and tales of his past lives. In Buddhist belief, everyone has had innumerable past lives, including the Buddha himself. The east torana features a pair of scantily clad, sensuous women called *yakshis*. These goddesses, worshiped throughout India, personify fertility and vegetation and tie Buddhist iconography to the pictorial tradition of earlier South Asian religions.

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SOUTH ASIA

In the third millennium BCE, a great civilization arose over a wide geographic area along the Indus River in Pakistan and extended into India as far south as Gujarat and east beyond Delhi (MAP 15-1). Thus, when Alexander the Great and his army reached India, they encountered a civilization already more than 2,000 years old. In fact, the remains of the first cities in the Indus Valley predate the citadels of Homer's Trojan War heroes (FIGS. 4-16 and 4-19) by a millennium. Archaeologists have dubbed this early South Asian culture the Indus Civilization.

Indus Civilization

The Indus Civilization flourished from about 2600 to 1500 BCE, contemporaneous with some of the great early civilizations of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Aegean (discussed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4). The most important excavated Indus sites are Mohenjo-daro and Harappa in present-day Pakistan.

Mohenjo-daro and Harappa were fully developed cities featuring streets oriented to compass points and multistory houses built of carefully formed and precisely laid kiln-baked bricks. Their inhabitants engaged in trade with cities as far away as modern Iraq, but in sharp contrast to Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Mediterranean world, no surviving Indus building has yet been identified as a temple or a palace.

Mohenjo-Daro. The Indus cities also boasted one of the world's first sophisticated systems of water supply and sewage. Throughout Mohenjo-daro, which probably had a population of around 35,000 at its height, hundreds of wells provided fresh water to homes incorporating some of the oldest recorded private bathing areas and toilet facilities, with drainage into public sewers. In the heart of the city stood the so-called Great Bath, a complex of rooms centered

MAP 15-1 South and Southeast Asian sites before 1200.

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA BEFORE 1200

Indus Civilization

- The earliest South Asian cities in the Indus Valley have rational plans and sophisticated water-supply and sewage systems
- The art of the Indus Civilization is small in scale and has stylistic parallels in Mesopotamian art

Maurya

- Ashoka (r. 272–231 BCE) converts to Buddhism, builds the original Great Stupa at Sanchi, and sets up pillars with animal capitals throughout his kingdom—the oldest large-scale stone artworks in India

Shunga, Satavahana, Kushan

- Successors of the Maurya kings construct stupas and rock-cut chaitya halls in Buddhist monasteries
- The first representations of the Buddha in human form appear, based on prototypes in Greco-Roman art

Gupta and Post-Gupta

- Gupta sculptors establish the canonical image of the Buddha
- The oldest preserved South Asian mural paintings decorate the Buddhist caves of Ajanta
- Hindus begin to build stone temples and carve stone sculptures

Medieval

- Distinct regional styles emerge in South Asian Hindu temple architecture
- Southeast Asian architects build colossal Buddhist and Hindu monuments at Borobudur and Angkor, respectively

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15-2 Great Bath (looking northeast), Mohenjo-daro, Pakistan, ca. 2600–1900 BCE.

The Indus cities of the third millennium BCE had sophisticated water-supply and sewage systems, which made possible this brick complex used for ritual bathing of a kind still practiced in South Asia today.

on a sunken brick pool (FIG. 15-2) 39 feet long, 23 feet wide, and 8 feet deep. The Indus builders made the pool watertight by sealing the joints between the bricks with bitumen, an asphaltlike material also used in Mesopotamia. The bath was probably not a purely recreational facility but rather a place for ritual bathing of the kind still practiced in South Asia today.

Surprisingly, excavators have discovered little art from the long-lived Indus Civilization, and all of the objects found are small. Perhaps the most impressive preserved sculpture represents a robed male figure (FIG. 15-3) with half-closed eyes, a low forehead, and a closely trimmed beard with shaved upper lip. He wears a headband with a central circular emblem, matched by a similar armband. Holes on each side of his neck suggest that he also wore a necklace of precious metal. *Trefoils* (cloverlike designs with three stylized leaves) decorate his elegant robe. They, as well as the circles of the head- and armbands, originally held red paste and shell inlays, as did the eyes.

Scholars often compare the Mohenjo-daro statuette with Sumerian sculptures (FIGS. 2-5 and 2-5A), where the trefoil motif appears in sacred contexts, and refer to the person portrayed as a "priest-king," the ambiguous term also used for some Sumerian leaders. The identity and rank of the Mohenjo-daro figure are uncertain, however. Nonetheless, the elaborate costume and precious materials make clear that he was an elite individual.

15-3 Robed male figure, from Mohenjo-daro, Pakistan, ca. 2000–1900 BCE. Steatite, $6\frac{7}{8}$″ high. National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.

Little art survives from the Indus Civilization, and all of it is small in scale. This bearded figure, which scholars think represents a priest-king, has iconographic similarities to some Sumerian sculptures.

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15-4 Nude male torso, from Harappa, Pakistan, ca. 2000–1900 BCE. Red sandstone, $3\frac{3}{4}''$ high. National Museum, New Delhi.

This miniature Indus figure, with its emphasis on sensuous polished surfaces and swelling curves, displays many of the stylistic traits common to South Asian sculpture for thousands of years.

15-5 Seal with seated figure in yogic posture, from Mohenjo-daro, Pakistan, ca. 2300–1750 BCE. Steatite coated with alkali and baked, $1\frac{3}{8}'' \times 1\frac{3}{8}''$. National Museum, New Delhi.

This seal depicting a (three-faced?) figure wearing a horned headdress and seated in a yogic posture indicates that this important Indian meditative practice began as early as the Indus Civilization period.

Harappa. Quite different in style is the fragmentary miniature red sandstone male figure (FIG. 15-4) found at Harappa. Scholars usually date the statuette, which is less than 4 inches in height, to the beginning of the second millennium BCE, but the date is disputed. Many compare the Indus nude figure with Greek statues of much later date (for example, FIG. 5-35), but the South Asian sculptor's treatment of anatomy sharply separates the Indus statuette from the classical tradition. The highly polished surface of the stone and the swelling curves of the abdomen reveal the Indus artist's desire to capture the fluid movement of a living body, not to fashion a statue conforming to abstract design principles such as balance and harmonious proportion, as Greek sculptors did. This sense of pulsating vigor and the emphasis on sensuous surfaces would continue to be chief characteristics of South Asian sculpture for thousands of years.

Indus Seals. The most commonly found Indus art objects are steatite seals with incised designs. They are similar in many ways to the stamp seals excavated at contemporaneous sites in Mesopotamia (see "Mesopotamian Seals," page 37). Most of the Indus examples have an animal or tiny narrative carved on the face, along with an as-yet-untranslated script. On the back, a *boss* (circular knob) with a hole enabled insertion of a string so that the owner could wear the seal or hang it on a wall. Like the Sumerians, the Indus peoples sometimes used the seals to make impressions on clay, apparently for securing trade goods wrapped in textiles. The animals most frequently represented include the humped bull, elephant, rhinoceros, and tiger. The seal carvers portrayed all the animals in strict profile, as did the painters and relief sculptors of all other early cultures (see "How to Represent an Animal," page 17). Some of the narrative seals indicate that the Indus peoples considered trees sacred, as both Buddhists and Hindus did later. Many scholars have suggested religious and ritual continuities between the Indus Civilization and later Indian culture.

One of the most elaborate seals (FIG. 15-5) depicts a male figure with a horned headdress and, possibly, three faces, who is seated (perhaps with an erect penis) among the profile animals that regularly appear alone on other seals. The figure's position—folded legs with heels pressed together and arms resting on the knees—suggests a *yogic* posture (compare FIG. 15-14). *Yoga* is a method for controlling the body and relaxing the mind. Adherents of later Indian religions practiced yoga to yoke, or unite, themselves to the divine. Although most scholars reject the identification of this figure as a prototype of the multiheaded Hindu god Shiva (FIG. 15-19) as Lord of Beasts, the yogic posture proves that this important Indian meditative practice began as early as the late third or early second millennium BCE.

Vedic and Upanishadic Period

By 1700 BCE, the urban phase of the Indus Civilization had ended in most areas. The production of sculptures, seals, and script gradually ceased, and village life replaced urban culture. Very little art survives from the next thousand years, but the religious foundations laid during this period helped define most later South and Southeast Asian art.

Vedas. The basis for the new religious ideas were the oral hymns of the Aryans, a mobile herding people from Central Asia who occupied the Punjab, an area of northwestern India, in the second millennium BCE. The Aryans ("Noble Ones") spoke Sanskrit, the earliest language yet identified in South Asia. Around 1500 BCE, they composed the first of four Vedas. These Sanskrit compilations of religious learning (*veda* means "knowledge") included hymns intended for priests (called *Brahmins*) to chant or sing. The Brahmins stood at the top of a social hierarchy in South Asia that

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The Buddha, Buddhism, and Buddhist Iconography

LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

The Buddha (Enlightened One) was born sometime early in the fifth century BCE as Prince Siddhartha Gautama, the eldest son of the king of the Shakya clan. A prophecy foretold that he would grow up to be either a world conqueror or a great religious leader. His father preferred the secular role for young Siddhartha and groomed him for kingship by shielding the boy from the hardships of the world. When he was 29, however, the prince rode out of the palace, abandoned his wife and family, and encountered the pain of old age, sickness, and death. Siddhartha responded to the suffering he witnessed by renouncing his opulent life and becoming a wandering *ascetic* searching for knowledge through meditation. Six years later, he achieved complete enlightenment, or buddhahood, while meditating beneath a pipal tree (the Bodhi tree) at Bodh Gaya (Place of Enlightenment) in eastern India. Known from that day on as Shakyamuni ("wise man of the Shakya clan"), the Buddha preached his first sermon in Deer Park at Sarnath. There he set in motion the Wheel (*chakra*) of the Law (*dharma*) and expounded the Four Noble Truths, the core insights of Buddhism: (1) life is suffering; (2) the cause of suffering is desire; (3) one can overcome and extinguish desire; (4) the way to conquer desire and end suffering is to follow the Buddha's Eightfold Path of right understanding, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration. The Buddha's path leads to *nirvana,* the cessation of the endless cycle of painful life, death, and rebirth. The Buddha continued to preach until his death at age 80, probably around 400 BCE.

BUDDHISM

The earliest major school of Buddhism is Theravada (Path of the Elders) Buddhism. Practiced by the historical Buddha's disciples at the monasteries they founded after his death, Theravada Buddhism seeks to aid individuals wishing to follow Shakyamuni Buddha's path to enlightenment and nirvana. The new religion developed and changed over time, however, as the Buddha's teachings spread from India throughout Asia. The second major school of Buddhist thought, Mahayana (Great Path) Buddhism, emerged around the beginning of the Common Era (CE). Mahayana Buddhists refer to Theravada Buddhism as Hinayana (Lesser Path) Buddhism and believe in a larger goal than nirvana for an individual—namely, buddhahood for all. Mahayana Buddhists also revere *bodhisattvas* (Buddhas-to-be), exemplars of compassion who restrain themselves at the threshold of nirvana to aid others in earning merit and achieving buddhahood. Theravada Buddhism became the dominant sect in southern India, Sri Lanka, and mainland Southeast Asia, whereas Mahayana Buddhism took root in northern India and spread to China, Korea, Japan, and Nepal.

A third important Buddhist sect, especially popular in East Asia, venerates the Amitabha Buddha (Amida in Japanese), the Buddha of Infinite Light and Life. The devotees of this Buddha hope to be reborn in the Pure Land Paradise of the West, where the Amitabha resides and can grant them salvation. In Pure Land teachings, people have no possibility of attaining enlightenment on their own, but can achieve Paradise by faith alone.

BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

The earliest (first-century CE) depictions of the Buddha in human form show him as a robed monk. Artists distinguished the Enlightened One from monks and bodhisattvas by *lakshanas,* body attributes indicating the Buddha's suprahuman nature. Among the Buddha's 32 distinguishing marks are an *urna,* or curl of hair between the eyebrows, shown as a dot; an *ushnisha,* a cranial bump shown as hair in the earliest images (FIGS. 15-12, 15-12A, 15-13, and 15-14), but later as part of the head (FIG. 15-15); and, less frequently, palms and soles imprinted with a wheel (FIG. 15-14). Artists also often depicted the Buddha with elongated ears, the result of wearing heavy royal jewelry in his youth, but the enlightened Shakyamuni is rarely bejeweled, though many bodhisattvas are (FIG. 15-16). Sometimes the Buddha appears with a *halo,* or sun disk, behind his head (FIGS. 15-12, 15-12A, 15-14, and 15-15).

Representations of the Buddha also feature a repertoire of *mudras,* or hand gestures, conveying fixed meanings. These include the *dhyana* (meditation) mudra, with the right hand over the left, palms upward (FIG. 15-12); the *bhumisparsha* (earth-touching) mudra, right hand down reaching to the ground, calling the earth to witness the Buddha's enlightenment (FIG. 15-13, *top right*); the *dharmachakra* (turning of the Wheel of the Law, or teaching) mudra, a two-handed gesture with right thumb and index finger forming a circle (FIG. 15-15); and the *abhaya* (do not fear) mudra, right hand up, palm outward, a gesture of protection or blessing (FIGS. 15-12A; 15-13, *bottom left*; and 15-14).

Episodes from the Buddha's life are among the most popular subjects in all Buddhist artistic traditions. No single text provides the complete or authoritative narrative of the Buddha's life and death. Thus numerous versions and variations exist, allowing for a rich artistic repertoire. Four of the most important events are his birth at Lumbini from the side of his mother, Queen Maya (FIG. 15-13, *top left*); the achievement of buddhahood while meditating beneath the Bodhi tree at Bodh Gaya (FIG. 15-13, *top right*); the Buddha's first sermon at Sarnath (FIGS. 15-13, *bottom left,* and 15-15); and his attainment of nirvana (*parinirvana*) when he died at Kushinagara (FIGS. 15-13, *bottom right,* and 15-29).

Buddhists established monasteries and monuments at the four sites where these key events occurred, although the Buddha himself disapproved of all luxury, including lavish religious shrines featuring costly figural art.

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may be of pre-Aryan origin. Below the priests were the warriors, traders, and manual laborers (including artists and architects), respectively. The Aryan religion centered on sacrifice, the ritual enactment of often highly intricate and lengthy ceremonies in which the priests placed items, such as milk and soma (an intoxicating drink), into a fire, which would carry these sacrifices to the gods in the heavens. If the Brahmins performed these rituals accurately, the gods would fulfill the prayers of those who sponsored the sacrifices. These gods, primarily male, included Indra, Varuna, Surya, and Agni—gods associated, respectively, with rain, the ocean, the sun, and fire. The Aryans apparently did not create images of these deities.

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THE PATRON'S VOICE

Ashoka's Sponsorship of Buddhism

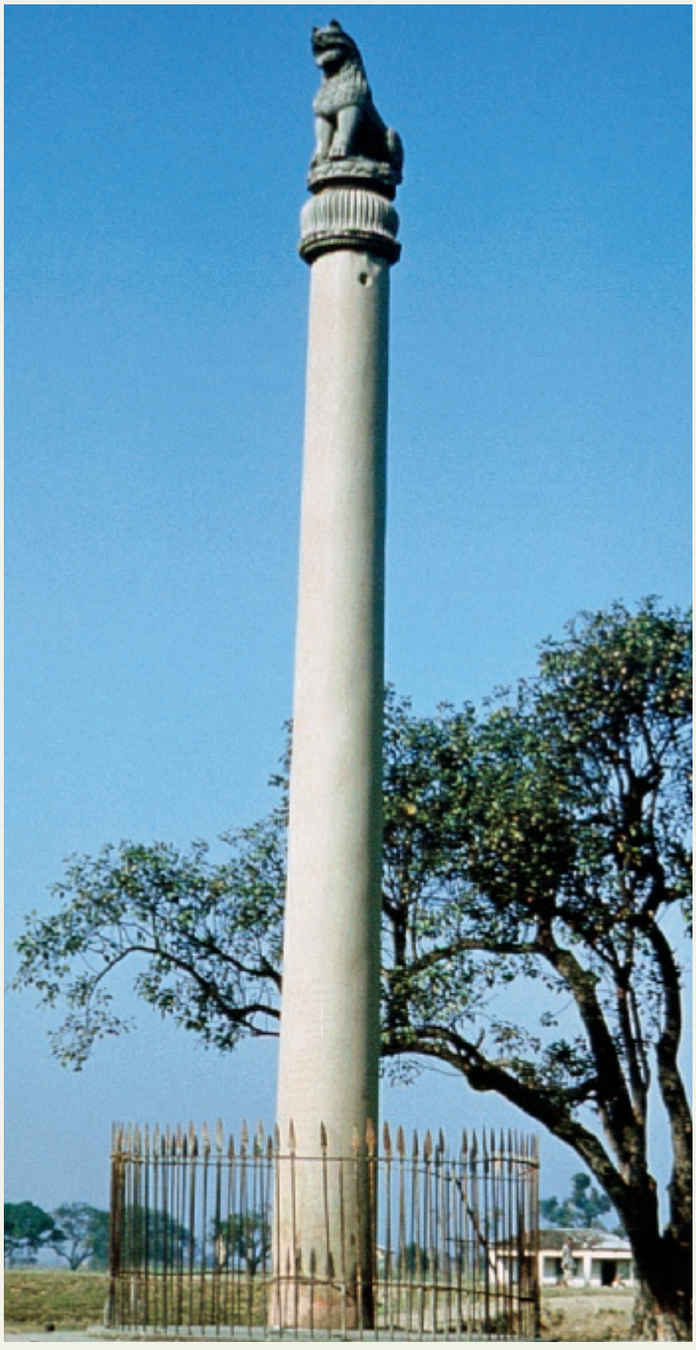
The reign of the Maurya king Ashoka marks both the beginning of monumental stone art and architecture in India and the first official sponsorship of Buddhism. The effect of Ashoka's conversion to Buddhism on the later history of art and religion in Asia cannot be overstated. An edict carved into a rock at Dhauli in the ancient region of Kalinga (roughly equivalent to the modern state of Orissa on the Bay of Bengal) records Ashoka's embrace of nonviolence and of the Buddha's teachings after an especially bloody conquest that claimed more than 100,000 lives. The inscription also captures Ashoka's missionary zeal, which spread Buddhism far beyond the boundaries of his kingdom.

> The Beloved of the Gods [Ashoka], conqueror of the Kalingas, is moved to remorse now. For he has felt profound sorrow and regret because the conquest of a people previously unconquered involves slaughter, death, and deportation. . . . [King Ashoka] now thinks that even a person who wrongs him must be forgiven . . . [and he] considers moral conquest [conquest by dharma] the most important conquest. He has achieved this moral conquest repeatedly both here and among the peoples living beyond the borders of his kingdom. . . . Even in countries which [King Ashoka's] envoys have not reached, people have heard about dharma and about [the king's] ordinances and instructions in dharma. . . . This edict on dharma has been inscribed so that my sons and great-grandsons who may come after me should not think new conquests worth achieving. . . . Let them consider moral conquest the only true conquest.*

Ashoka formulated a legal code based on the Buddha's dharma and inscribed his laws on towering monolithic pillars (columns) set up throughout his kingdom. Ashoka's pillars, one of which still stands at Lauriya Nandangarh (FIG. 15-6), reached 30 to 40 feet high and were the first large-scale stone artworks in India. The pillars penetrated deep into the ground, connecting earth and sky, forming an *axis mundi* (axis of the universe), a pre-Buddhist concept that became an important motif in Buddhist architecture. The columns stood along pilgrimage routes leading to Buddhist monasteries at sites associated with the Buddha and on the roads leading to Pataliputra.

Crowning the Lauriya Nandangarh column is a seated lion, the king of beasts and a royal motif in Mauryan iconography. (Texts refer to the Buddha, the son of a king, as the lion of the Shakya clan; see "The Buddha," page 447.) Lions are common figures in the art of many cultures, but the relief frieze of geese below the lion's paws is a distinctly Indian motif. The Indic peoples believed that flying geese were a link between Heaven and Earth. Their presence on an axis mundi is therefore highly appropriate.

*Rock Edict XIII. Translated by N. A. Nikam and Richard McKeon, *The Edicts of Asoka* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 27–30.



15-6 Lion pillar, Lauriya Nandangarh, India, ca. 245 BCE.

Ashoka formulated a legal code based on the Buddha's teachings and inscribed those laws on pillars throughout his kingdom. Crowning this column is a capital in the form of a lion, a Mauryan royal motif.

Upanishads. The next phase of South Asian urban civilization developed east of the Indus heartland, in the Ganges River valley. Here, from 800 to 500 BCE, religious thinkers composed a variety of texts called *Upanishads.* Among the innovative ideas in the Upanishads were *samsara* and *karma.* Samsara is the belief that individuals are born again after death in an almost endless round of rebirths. The type of rebirth can vary. One can be reborn as a human being, an animal, or even a god. An individual's past actions (karma), either good or bad, determine the nature of future rebirths.

Buddhism. Hinduism and Buddhism (see "The Buddha, Buddhism, and Buddhist Iconography," page 447), the two major modern religions originating in Asia, developed in the late centuries

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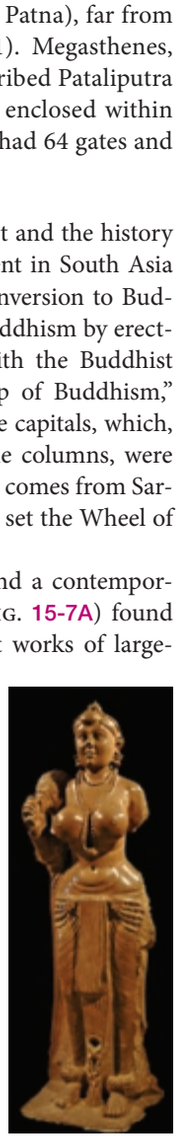
BCE and the early centuries CE. Hinduism, the dominant religion in India today, discussed in more detail later, has its origins in Aryan religion. The founder of Buddhism was the Buddha, who advocated the path of *asceticism,* or self-discipline and self-denial, as the means to free oneself from attachments to people and possessions, thus ending rebirth. Both Buddhists and Hindus believe that people can escape from the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth by merging the individual self into the vital force of the universe. Buddhists call this escape *nirvana* ("cessation"). Hindus call it *moksha* ("liberation"). Unlike their predecessors in South Asia, both Hindus and Buddhists use images of gods and holy persons in religious rituals. To judge from surviving works, Buddhism has the older artistic tradition. The earliest Buddhist monuments date to the Maurya period.

Maurya Dynasty

The dynasty that Chandragupta Maurya founded after his victory over Seleucus in 305 BCE (see "The Great Stupa at Sanchi," page 443) encompassed a vast territory corresponding roughly to India today. The capital was Pataliputra (modern Patna), far from the center of the Indus Civilization (MAP 15-1). Megasthenes, Seleucus's ambassador to the Maurya court, described Pataliputra in his book on India as a large and wealthy city enclosed within mighty timber walls so extensive that the circuit had 64 gates and 570 towers.

Ashoka's Columns. For both the history of art and the history of religion, by far the most important development in South Asia under the Maurya dynasty was King Ashoka's conversion to Buddhism. Ashoka commemorated his embrace of Buddhism by erecting numerous columns (FIG. 15-6) inscribed with the Buddhist law code he adopted (see "Ashoka's Sponsorship of Buddhism," page 448). Capping Ashoka's pillars were elaborate capitals, which, like the *monolithic* (one-piece stone) shafts of the columns, were carved from a single block of sandstone. The finest comes from Sarnath, where the Buddha gave his first sermon and set the Wheel of the Law into motion (see "Buddhism," page 447).

The 7-foot-tall Sarnath capital (FIG. 15-7) and a contemporaneous statue representing a fertility goddess (FIG. 15-7A) found near the Mauryan capital are among the earliest works of large-scale sculpture in South Asia. Stylistically, the capital owes much to ancient Mesopotamia and Persia, especially the Achaemenid art of Persepolis and Susa (FIG. 2-26), but, like that of the Lauriya Nandangarh capital, its iconography is Buddhist. Two pairs of back-to-back lions stand on a round *abacus* decorated with four wheels and four animals symbolizing the four quarters of the world. The highly polished lions once carried a large stone wheel on their backs. The wheel (*chakra*) is a reference to the Wheel of the Law but also indicated Ashoka's stature as a *chakravartin* ("holder of the wheel"), a universal king imbued with divine authority. The open mouths of the four lions facing the four quarters of the world may signify the worldwide announcement of the Buddha's message. Similar groups of stone lions appear also on some of the toranas of the Great Stupa (FIG. 15-1) at Sanchi.



15-7A Yakshi with fly whisk, Didarganj, mid-third century BCE.

15-7 **Lion capital of the pillar set up by Ashoka at Sarnath, India, ca. 250 BCE. Polished sandstone, 7′ high. Archaeological Museum, Sarnath.**

The capitals of Ashoka's pillars are stylistically similar to Achaemenid works. The lions on this capital from Sarnath supported the Wheel of the Law. Texts refer to the Buddha as the lion of the Shakya clan.

Shunga, Satavahana, and Kushan Dynasties

The Maurya dynasty came to an abrupt end when its last ruler was assassinated by one of his generals, who founded a new dynasty in his own name. The Shungas, however, never ruled an empire as extensive as the Maurya kingdom. The Shunga realm comprised only central India. The Satavahanas, who controlled the Deccan plateau to the south, usurped Shunga power in the early first century BCE. By the middle of that century, an even greater empire, the Kushan, had risen in northern India. Its most celebrated king was Kanishka, who came to power during the late first or early second century CE and set up capitals at Peshawar and other sites in Gandhara. The Kushans grew rich on trade between China and the west along one of the main caravan routes bringing the luxuries of the Orient to the Roman Empire (see "Silk and the Silk Road," page 477). Kanishka even struck coins modeled on the imperial coinage of Rome, some featuring Greco-Roman deities, but Kanishka's coins also carried portraits of himself and images of the Buddha and various Hindu deities.

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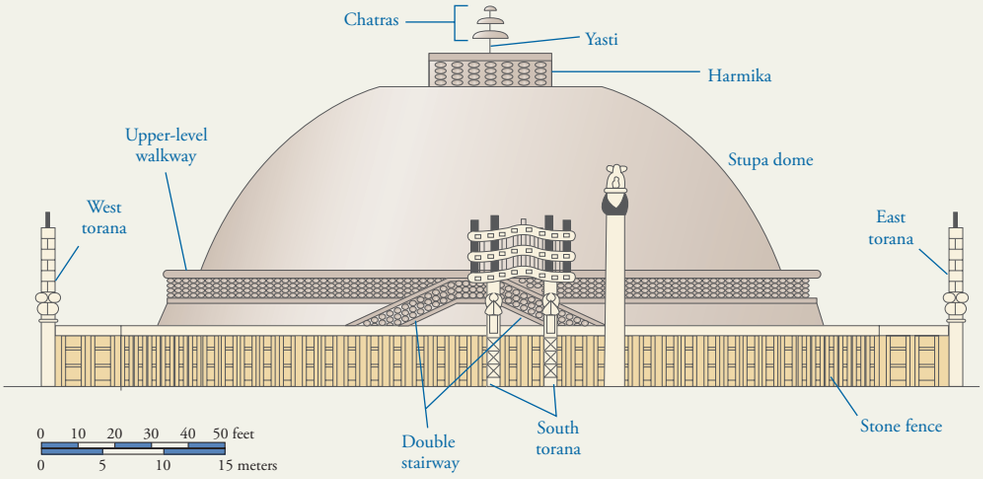
The Stupa

An essential element of Buddhist sanctuaries is the *stupa,* a large circular mound modeled on earlier South Asian burial mounds of a type familiar in many other ancient cultures (FIGS. 4-20 and 6-6). The stupa was not a tomb, however, but a monument housing relics of the Buddha. When the Buddha died, his followers placed his cremated remains in eight reliquaries, or containers, similar in function to the later reliquaries housed in medieval churches at pilgrimage sites throughout the Christian world (see "The Veneration of Relics," page 349). But unlike their Western equivalents, which were put on display, the Buddha's relics were buried in solid earthen mounds (stupas) that could not be entered. In the mid-third century BCE, Ashoka opened the original eight stupas and spread the Buddha's relics among thousands of stupas in all corners of his realm.



15-8 Diagram of the Great Stupa (FIG. 15-1), Sanchi, India, third century BCE to first century CE.

Sanchi's Great Stupa is a mandala, a sacred diagram of the universe, with the cardinal points marked by toranas. At the mound's summit is a yasti, or pole, corresponding to the axis of the universe.

Buddhists venerate the Buddha's remains by *circumambulation,* walking around the stupa in a clockwise direction. The circular movement, echoing the movement of the earth and the sun, brings the devotee into harmony with the cosmos. Stupas come in many sizes, from tiny handheld objects to huge structures, such as the Great Stupa at Sanchi (FIG. 15-1), constructed originally by Ashoka and later enlarged.

The monumental stupas are three-dimensional *mandalas,* or sacred diagrams of the universe. The domed stupa itself represents the world mountain, with the cardinal points marked by *toranas,* or gateways (FIGS. **15-8** and **15-9**). The *harmika,* positioned atop the stupa dome, is a stone fence or railing that encloses a square area symbolizing the sacred domain of the gods. At the harmika's center, a *yasti,* or pole, corresponds to the axis of the universe, a motif already present in Ashoka's pillars (see "Ashoka," page 448, and FIG. 15-6). Three *chatras,* or stone disks, assigned various meanings, crown the yasti. The yasti rises from the mountain-dome and passes through the harmika, thus uniting this world with the heavenly Paradise. A stone fence often encloses the entire structure, clearly separating the sacred space containing the Buddha's relics from the profane world outside.

15-9 East torana of the Great Stupa (FIG. 15-1), Sanchi, India, mid-first century BCE to early first century CE. Sandstone, 34′ high.

Reliefs cover every surface of the four gateways to the Great Stupa (FIG. 15-1) at Sanchi. They represent the life and past lives of Shakyamuni, but at this date the Buddha never appears in human form.

Sanchi. The unifying characteristic of this age of regional dynasties in South Asia was the patronage of Buddhism. In its present form, the great Buddhist monastery at Sanchi (see "The Great Stupa at Sanchi," page 443, and FIG. 15-1) dates to this period. It consists of many buildings constructed over the centuries, including large stupas (see "The Stupa," above), *viharas* (monks' living quarters),

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chaitya halls (halls with rounded, or *apsidal,* ends for housing smaller stupas), and temples for sheltering images.

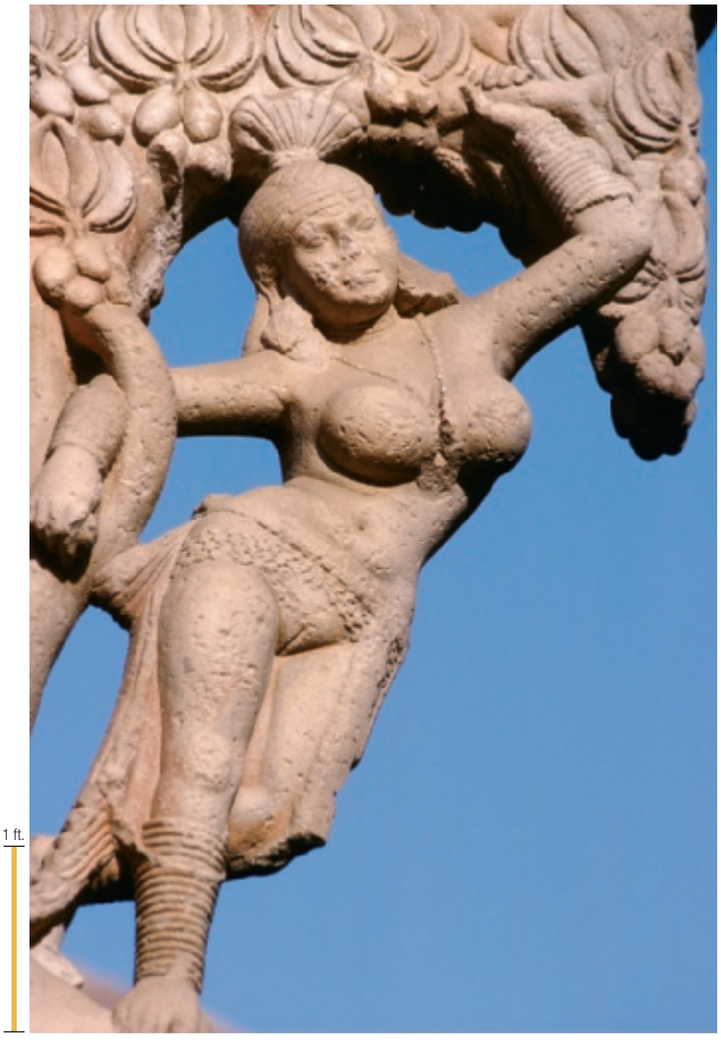
Marking the four compass points of the Great Stupa (FIGS. 15-1 and 15-8) at Sanchi are 34-foot-tall sandstone toranas consisting of two piers connected by three slightly curved *architraves* (crossbars). The Sanchi toranas probably reflect the form of earlier Indian wood gates, but the richness of their ornamentation is without precedent.

The capitals of the piers below the architraves vary in form from torana to torana. Those of the east gate (FIG. 15-9) depict elephants carrying riders holding banners (FIG. 15-1c). They appear to take part in an honorific procession. Dwarfs and lions adorn the capitals at other compass points. At the top of each pier was a fly-whisk bearer (compare FIG. 15-7A) standing beside the Buddha's Wheel of the Law. Only one remains in place on the east gate. Crowning the wheel is a *triratna,* a tripartite symbol of the three jewels of Buddhism—the Buddha himself, his dharma, and the *sangha* (the Buddhist monastic order).

Relief sculptures cover every surface of the toranas, front, back, and sides. An inscription on the south torana attributes one of the reliefs to a local guild of ivory carvers. The reliefs depict episodes from the Buddha's life and tales of his past lives (*jatakas*), but the Sanchi sculptors never represented the Buddha himself. Symbols of his presence—for example, footprints, the seat of his enlightenment, a stupa—appear instead. The rich decoration of the toranas stands in sharp contrast to the austerity of the hemispherical stupa they frame.

Also carved on the east torana and serving as a bracket linking the lowest architrave with the piers is a *yakshi* (FIG. 15-10). These sensuous, nearly nude goddesses were worshiped throughout India. They personify fertility and vegetation and were long-established statuary types (FIG. 15-7A) in the repertoire of South Asian sculptors. The Sanchi yakshi reaches up to hold a mango tree branch while pressing her left foot against the trunk, which causes the tree to flower. Buddhist artists later adopted this pose, with its rich associations of procreation and abundance, for representing the Buddha's mother, Maya, giving birth (FIG. 15-13, *top left*). Thus South Asian artists adopted pan-Indian symbolism, such as the woman under the tree, when formulating Buddhist iconography.

Karle. The chaitya hall (FIG. 15-11) carved out of the living rock at Karle in imitation of earlier timber halls is the best early example of a Buddhist stupa hall. Datable around 50 to 100 CE, the Karle chaitya hall has a pillared *ambulatory* (here a horseshoe-shaped aisle), which enables worshipers to circumambulate the stupa at the back of the sacred cave. The acoustics are excellent for devotional chanting. At nearly 45 feet high and 125 feet long, the chaitya hall surpasses in size even the rock-cut chamber (FIG. 3-23A) of the temple of the Egyptian pharaoh Ramses II. Elaborate capitals atop



15-10 Yakshi, detail of the east torana (FIG. 15-9) of the Great Stupa (FIG. 15-1), Sanchi, India, mid-first century BCE to early first century CE. Sandstone, 5′ high.

Yakshis are nearly nude women who personify fertility and vegetation. The Sanchi yakshis make mango trees flower. Artists later used the motif for Queen Maya giving birth to the Buddha (FIG. 15-13).

15-11 Interior of the chaitya hall, Karle, India, ca. 50–100 CE.

The rock-cut 125-foot-long chaitya hall at Karle has a pillared ambulatory, enabling worshipers to circumambulate the stupa in the apse of the cave. The acoustics are excellent for devotional chanting.

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15-12 Meditating Buddha, from Gandhara, Pakistan, second century CE. Gray schist, 3′ 7½″ high. National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Many early portrayals of the Buddha in human form come from Gandhara and depict the Enlightened One as a robed monk. The style of this Gandharan Buddha owes much to Greco-Roman art.

the rock-cut pillars depict men and women riding on elephants (compare the Sanchi east torana, FIGS. 15-1c and 15-9). Outside, amorous couples (*mithunas*) flank the entrance. Like the yakshis at Sanchi, these auspicious figures symbolize the creative life force.

Gandhara. The first anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha probably appeared in the first century CE. Scholars still debate what brought about this momentous shift in Buddhist iconography, but a major factor was the changing perception of the Buddha himself. Originally revered as an enlightened mortal, the Buddha increasingly became regarded as a divinity. Consequently, the Buddha's followers desired images of him to worship.

Many early portrayals of the Buddha in human form come from the Gandhara region. A second-century CE statue (FIG. 15-12) carved in gray schist, the local stone, shows the Buddha, with halo, ushnisha, and urna, dressed in a monk's robe, seated in a cross-legged yogic posture similar to that of the male figure with a horned headdress on the Indus seal (FIG. 15-5). The Buddha's hands overlap, palms upward, in the dhyana mudra, the gesture of meditation (see "Buddhist Iconography," page 447). This statue and similar Gandharan representations of the Buddha, standing (FIG. 15-12A) as well as seated, owe a great deal to Greco-Roman art, both in the treatment of body forms, such as the sharp, arching brows and continuous profile of forehead and nose (compare FIG. 5-42), and in the draping of the togalike garment (compare FIG. 7-70).

15-12A Standing Buddha, Gandhara, second to third century CE.

One of the earliest pictorial narratives in which the Buddha appears in human form also comes from Gandhara: the frieze (FIG. 15-13) in the Freer Gallery of Art depicting, in chronological order from left to right, the Buddha's birth at Lumbini, his enlightenment at Bodh Gaya, his first sermon at Sarnath, and his death at Kushinagara. At the left, Queen Maya gives birth to Prince Siddhartha, who emerges from her right hip. Receiving him is the god Indra. Elegantly dressed ladies, one with a fan of peacock feathers, suggest the opulent court life that the Buddha left behind. In the next scene, the Buddha sits beneath the Bodhi tree while the soldiers and demons of the evil Mara attempt to distract him from his quest for knowledge. They are unsuccessful, and the Buddha then preaches the Eightfold Path to nirvana in Deer Park at Sarnath. The sculptor set the scene by placing two deer and the Wheel of the Law beneath the figure of the Buddha. In the final section of the frieze, the parinirvana, the Buddha lies dying among his devotees, some of whom wail in grief, while one monk, who realizes that the Buddha has been permanently released from suffering, remains tranquil in meditation.

Although the iconography of the frieze is Buddhist, with roots in earlier South Asian art—the representation of Queen Maya giving birth to Prince Siddhartha, for example, derives from depictions of yakshis (FIG. 15-10)—Roman reliefs must have served as stylistic models for the sculptors. For example, the distribution of standing and equestrian figures over the relief ground, with those behind the first row seemingly suspended in the air, is familiar in Roman art of the second and third centuries CE (FIGS. 7-64 and 7-69). The figure of the Buddha on his deathbed has parallels in Roman reliefs (FIG. 7-10A) and in the reclining figures on the lids of Roman sarcophagi (FIG. 7-60). The type of hierarchical composition in which a large central figure sits between balanced tiers of smaller onlookers is also common in Roman imperial art (FIG. 7-77).

Mathura. Contemporaneous with but stylistically distinct from the Gandharan sculptures are the Buddha images from Mathura, a city about 90 miles south of Delhi that was also part of the Kushan Empire. The Mathura statues (for example, FIG. 15-14) have closer links to the Indian portrayals of *yakshas,* the male counterparts of the yakshis. Indian artists represented yakshas as robust, powerful males with broad shoulders and open, staring eyes. Mathura Buddhas, carved from red sandstone, as was the Harappa nude man (FIG. 15-4), retain these characteristics but wear a monk's robe (with right shoulder bare) and lack the yakshas' jewelry and other signs of wealth. The robe appears almost transparent, revealing the full, fleshy body beneath. In the example illustrated here, the Buddha sits in a yogic posture on a lion throne under the Bodhi tree, attended by fly-whisk bearers. He raises his right hand palm-out in the abhaya gesture, indicating to worshipers that they

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15-13 The life and death of the Buddha, frieze from Gandhara, Pakistan, second century CE. *Top:* the Buddha's birth and his enlightenment at Bodh Gaya; *bottom:* the Buddha's first sermon at Sarnath and his death at Kushinagara. Schist, 2′ $2\frac{3}{8}$″ × 9′ $6\frac{1}{8}$″. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

This Gandharan frieze is one of the earliest pictorial narrative cycles in which the Buddha appears in human form. It recounts the Buddha's life story from his birth at Lumbini to his death at Kushinagara.

need have no fear. His hands and feet bear the mark of the Wheel of the Law, one of the Buddha's 32 lakshanas (see "The Buddha," page 447). The inscription reveals that a Buddhist nun named Amoha-asi dedicated the sculpture "to the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings."

The Gupta and Post-Gupta Periods

Around 320* a new empire arose in north-central India. The Gupta emperors chose Pataliputra as their capital, deliberately associating themselves with the prestige of the former Maurya Empire. The heyday of this dynasty was under Chandragupta II (r. 375–415), whose very name recalled the first Maurya emperor. The Guptas were great patrons of art and literature.

Sarnath. Under the Guptas, artists formulated what became the canonical image of the Buddha, combining the Gandharan monastic robe covering both shoulders (FIGS. 15-12, 15-12A, and 15-13) with the soft, full-bodied Buddha figures with clinging garments of Mathuran sculpture (FIG. 15-14). These disparate styles beautifully

*From this point on, all dates in this chapter are CE unless otherwise stated.

15-14 Buddha seated on a lion throne, from Mathura, India, second century CE. Red sandstone, 2′ $3\frac{1}{2}$″ high. Archaeological Museum, Mathura.

Stylistically distinct from the Gandharan Buddhas are those of Mathura. In this statue depicting the Buddha under the Bodhi tree, the enlightened Shakyamuni has the body type of a yaksha, but wears a monk's robe.

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15-15 Seated Buddha preaching first sermon, from Sarnath, India, second half of fifth century. Tan sandstone, 5′ 3″ high. Archaeological Museum, Sarnath.

Gupta artists formulated the canonical sculpted image of the Buddha, combining the Gandharan monastic-robe type with the Mathuran soft, full-bodied figure attired in clinging garments.

merge in a fifth-century statue (FIG. 15-15) of the Buddha from Sarnath. The statue's smooth, unadorned surfaces conform to the Indian notion of perfect body form and emphasize the figure's spirituality. The Buddha's eyes are downcast in meditation, and he holds his hands in front of his body in the Wheel-turning gesture, preaching his first sermon. Below the Buddha is a scene with the Wheel of the Law at the center between two (now partially broken) deer symbolizing Deer Park at Sarnath. Buddha images such as this one became so popular that temples housing Buddha statues largely superseded the stupa as the norm in Buddhist sacred architecture.

Ajanta. In most times and places, mural paintings, because of their more fragile nature, are much less frequently preserved than stone statues and reliefs. An exception to that rule during the Gupta period is the complex of Buddhist caves at Ajanta, where examples of both sculptures (FIG. 15-15A) and painted wall and ceiling decoration of the highest quality abound (see "The Painted Caves of Ajanta," page 455, and FIG. 15-16).

15-15A Cave 19, Ajanta, second half of fifth century.

Hinduism. Buddhism and Hinduism are not monotheistic religions, as are, for example, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Instead, Buddhists and Hindus approach the spiritual through many gods and varying paths, which permits mutually tolerated differences. In fact, in Hinduism, the Buddha was one of the 10 incarnations of Vishnu, one of the three principal Hindu deities (see "Hinduism and Hindu Iconography," page 456).

Udayagiri. More early Buddhist than Hindu art has survived in India because the Buddhists constructed their monasteries with durable materials such as stone and brick. But in the Gupta period, Hindu stone sculpture and architecture began to rival the great Buddhist monuments of South Asia. The oldest Hindu cave temples are at Udayagiri, near Sanchi. They date to the early fifth century, some 600 years after the first Buddhist examples. Although the Udayagiri temples are architecturally simple and small, the site boasts large-scale relief sculptures showing an already fully developed religious iconography. One of these rock-cut reliefs (FIG. 15-17), set in a very large but shallow niche, shows a 13-foot-tall Vishnu in his incarnation as the boar Varaha. The avatar has a human body and a boar's head. Vishnu assumed this form when he rescued the earth—personified as the goddess Bhudevi clinging to the boar's tusk—from being carried off to the bottom of the ocean. Vishnu stands with one foot resting on the coils of a snake king (note the multiple hoods behind his human head), who represents the conquered demon that attempted to abduct the earth. Rows of gods and sages form lines to witness the event.

The relief served a political as well as a religious purpose. The patron of the relief was a local king who honored the great Gupta king Chandragupta II in a nearby inscription dated to the year 401. Many scholars believe that the local king wanted viewers to see Chandragupta (who had visited the site) as saving his kingdom by ridding it of its enemies in much the same way that Varaha saved the earth.

Badami. During the sixth century, the Huns brought down the Gupta Empire, and various regional dynasties rose to power. In the Deccan plateau of central India, the Chalukya kings ruled from their capital at Badami. There, Chalukya sculptors carved a series of reliefs in the walls of halls cut into the sandstone cliff above the city. One relief (FIG. 15-18), datable to the late sixth century, shows Shiva dancing the cosmic dance, his 18 arms swinging rhythmically in an arc. Some of the hands hold objects, and others form prescribed mudras. At the lower right, the elephant-headed Ganesha tentatively mimics the god. Shiva's bull stands at the left. Artists often represented Hindu deities as part human and part animal (FIG. 15-17) or, as in the Badami relief, as figures with multiple body parts. Such composite and multilimbed forms indicate that the subjects are not human but suprahuman gods with supernatural powers.

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MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

The Painted Caves of Ajanta

Art historians assume that India had a rich painting tradition in ancient times, but nearly all early Indian painting has disappeared. Ancient artists often used perishable painting surfaces, such as palm leaf and wood, that do not fare well in the tropical climate in much of the subcontinent. At Ajanta in the Deccan region, however, paintings cover the walls, pillars, and ceilings of several caves datable to the second half of the fifth century—that is, contemporaneous with the classic sculpted image of the Buddha from Sarnath (FIG. 15-15). The painted wall reproduced here (FIG. 15-16) is found in cave 1 at Ajanta. The bodhisattva Padmapani sits among a crowd of musicians, monkeys, and devotees, both princes and commoners. With long, dark hair hanging down below a jeweled crown, he stands holding his attribute—a blue lotus flower—in his right hand. The painter rendered with finesse the sensuous form of the richly attired bodhisattva, gently modeling the figure with gradations of color and delicate highlights and shading, especially evident in the face and neck. The artist also carefully considered the placement of the painting in the cave, putting it on the left wall of the entrance to the antechamber of the main shrine. From that location, the bodhisattva gazes downward at worshipers entering the antechamber on their way to the rock-cut Buddha image in a cell at the back of the cave.

To create the Ajanta murals, the painters—professional lay artists rather than monks—first applied two layers of clay mixed with straw and other materials to the walls. They then added a third layer of fine white lime plaster. Unlike true fresco painting (see "Fresco Painting," page 428), in which painters apply colors to wet plaster, the Indian painters waited for the lime to dry. This method produces less durable results, and the Ajanta murals have suffered water damage over the centuries. The artists next outlined the figures in dark red and painted in the details of faces, costumes, and jewelry. The Ajanta palette consisted of six basic water-soluble colors, produced mostly from local minerals: white, from lime; black, from soot; red and yellow, from ocher; and green, from glauconite. Blue, used sparingly, came from costly lapis lazuli imported from Afghanistan. The last step was to polish the painted surface with a smooth stone.

15-16 Bodhisattva Padmapani, wall painting in the antechamber of cave 1, Ajanta, India, second half of fifth century.

In this early example of Indian painting, the Ajanta artist rendered the sensuous form of the richly attired bodhisattva with gentle gradations of color and delicate highlights and shadows.

15-17 *Boar Avatar of Vishnu Rescues the Earth*, cave 5, Udayagiri, India, early fifth century. Sandstone, relief 22′ × 13′; Vishnu 12′ 8″ high.

The oldest Hindu cave temples are at Udayagiri, a site that also boasts some of the earliest Hindu stone sculptures, such as this huge sandstone relief of Vishnu as the boar Varaha rescuing the earth.

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Hinduism and Hindu Iconography

Unlike Buddhism, Hinduism recognizes no founder or great prophet. Hinduism also has no descriptive definition, but means "the religion of the Indians." Both *India* and *Hindu* have a common root in the name of the Indus River. The practices and beliefs of Hindus vary tremendously, but the literary origins of Hinduism date to the Vedic period, and some aspects of Hindu practice apparently were already present in the Indus Civilization of the third millennium BCE. Ritual sacrifice by Brahmin priests is central to Hinduism, as it was for the Aryans. The goal of sacrifice is to please a deity in order to achieve release (*moksha,* "liberation") from the endless cycle of birth, death, and rebirth (*samsara*) and become one with the universal spirit.

Not only is Hinduism a religion of many gods, but the Hindu deities have various natures and take many forms. This multiplicity suggests the all-pervasive nature of the Hindu gods. The three most important deities are the gods Shiva and Vishnu and the goddess Devi. Each of the three major sects of Hinduism today considers one of these three to be supreme—Shiva in Shaivism, Vishnu in Vaishnavism, and Devi in Shaktism. (*Shakti* is the female creative force.)

Shiva is the Destroyer, but, consistent with the multiplicity of Hindu belief, he is also a regenerative force. In the latter role, Shiva can be represented in the form of a *linga* (a phallus or cosmic pillar). When Shiva appears in human form in Hindu art, he frequently has multiple limbs and heads (FIGS. **15-18**, 15-19, and 15-28), signs of his suprahuman nature, and matted locks piled atop his head, crowned by a crescent moon. Sometimes he wears a serpent scarf and has a third eye on his forehead (the emblem of his all-seeing nature). Shiva sometimes rides the bull ***Nandi*** (FIG. 15-18) and often carries a *trident,* a three-pronged pitchfork.

Vishnu is the Preserver of the Universe. Artists frequently portray him with four arms (FIG. 15-21 and 15-35) holding various attributes, including a conch-shell trumpet and discus. He sometimes reclines on a serpent floating on the waters of the cosmic sea (FIGS. 15-21 and 15-35). When the evil forces of the universe become too strong, he descends to earth to restore balance and assumes different forms (*avatars,* or incarnations), including a boar (FIG. 15-17), fish, and tortoise, as well as ***Krishna,*** the divine lover (FIG. 33-8), and even the Buddha himself.

Devi is the Great Goddess who takes many forms and has many names. Hindus worship her alone or as a consort of male gods (***Parvati*** or ***Uma,*** wife of Shiva; ***Lakshmi,*** wife of Vishnu), as well as ***Radha,*** lover of Krishna (FIG. 33-8). She has both benign and horrific forms. She both creates and destroys. In one manifestation, Devi is ***Durga,*** a multiarmed goddess who often rides a lion (FIG. 15-22A). Her son is the elephant-headed ***Ganesha*** (FIG. 15-18).

The stationary images of deities in Hindu temples are often made of stone. Hindus periodically remove portable images of their gods, often of bronze (FIG. 15-28), from the temple, particularly during festivals, to enable many worshipers to take *darshan* (seeing the deity and being seen by the deity) at one time. In temples dedicated to Shiva, the stationary form is the linga.

15-18 Dancing Shiva, rock-cut sandstone relief, cave 1, Badami, India, late sixth century.

Shiva here dances the cosmic dance and has 18 arms, some holding objects, others forming mudras. Hindu gods often have multiple limbs to indicate their suprahuman nature and divine powers.

Elephanta. Another portrayal of Shiva as a suprahuman being is in a third Hindu cave site, on Elephanta, an island in Mumbai's harbor that early Portuguese colonizers named after a life-size stone elephant sculpture there. A king of the Kalachuri dynasty took control of Elephanta in the sixth century, and he may have commissioned the largest of the island's cave temples. Just inside the west entrance to the cave is a shrine housing Shiva's linga, the god's emblem. Deep within the temple, in a niche once closed off with wood doors, is a nearly 18-foot-high rock-cut image (FIG. **15-19**) of Shiva as Mahadeva, the Great God or Lord of Lords. Mahadeva appears to emerge out of the depths of the cave as worshipers' eyes become accustomed to the darkness. This image of Shiva has three faces, each showing a different aspect of the deity. (A fourth, unseen at the back, is implied—the god has not emerged fully from the rock.) The central face expresses Shiva's quiet, balanced demeanor. The clean planes of the face contrast with the richness of the piled hair encrusted with jewels. The two side faces differ significantly. The one on the viewer's right is a woman's, with framing hair curls. The left face is that of a grimacing man with a curling mustache who wears a cobra as an earring. The female (Uma) indicates the creative aspect of Shiva. The fierce male (Bhairava) represents Shiva's destructive side. Shiva holds these two opposing forces in check, and the central face expresses their balance. The cyclic destruction and creation of the universe, which the side faces also symbolize, are part of Indian notions of time, matched by the cyclic pattern of death and rebirth (samsara).

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1 ft.

15-19 Shiva as Mahadeva, cave 1, Elephanta, India, ca. 550–575. Basalt, Shiva 17′ 10″ high.

This immense rock-cut image of Shiva as Mahadeva (Great God) emerges out of the depths of the Elephanta cave as worshipers' eyes adjust to the darkness. The Hindu god has both male and female faces.

Deogarh. The excavated cave shrines just considered are characteristic of early Hindu religious architecture, but temples constructed using quarried stone became more important as Hinduism evolved over the centuries. As they did with their cave temples, the Hindus initially built rather small and simple temples, but decorated them with narrative reliefs displaying a fully developed iconography. The Vishnu Temple (FIG. 15-20) at Deogarh in north-central India, datable to the early sixth century, is among the first Hindu temples constructed with stone blocks. A simple square structure, it has an elaborately decorated doorway at the front and a relief in a niche on each of the other three sides. Sculpted guardians and mithunas protect the doorway at Deogarh, because it is the transition point between the dangerous outside world and the protected sacred interior. The temple culminates in a tall tower, originally at least 40 feet high.

The sandstone reliefs in the three niches of the Deogarh temple depict important episodes in the saga of Vishnu. On the south (FIG. 15-21), Vishnu sleeps on the coils of the giant serpent Ananta, whose multiple heads form a kind of umbrella around the god's face. While Lakshmi massages her husband's legs (he has cramps as he gives birth), the four-armed Vishnu dreams the universe into reality. A lotus plant (said to have grown out of Vishnu's navel) supports the four-headed Hindu god of creation, Brahma. Flanking him are other important Hindu divinities, including Shiva on his bull. Below are six figures. The four at the right are personifications of Vishnu's various powers. They will defeat the pair of armed demons at the left. The sculptor carved all the figures in the classic Gupta style, with smooth bodies and clinging garments (compare FIG. 15-15).

15-20 Vishnu Temple (looking north), Deogarh, India, early sixth century.

The Vishnu Temple at Deogarh is one of the first masonry Hindu temples. It is a simple square sandstone building with a tower, originally at least 40 feet tall. Narrative reliefs adorn the sides and back.

15-21 *Vishnu Asleep on the Serpent Ananta,* sandstone relief panel on the south facade of the Vishnu Temple (FIG. 15-20), Deogarh, India, early sixth century.

Sculptors carved the reliefs of the Vishnu Temple at Deogarh in classic Gupta style. In the south panel, the four-armed Vishnu sleeps on the serpent Ananta as he dreams the universe into reality.

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Early Medieval Period

During the several centuries corresponding to the early medieval period in Europe, the early Islamic period in Mesopotamia and Persia, the Tang and Song dynasties in China, and the Hakuho, Nara, and Heian periods in Japan, regional dynasties ruled parts of India. Among the most important of these kingdoms were the Palas and Chandellas in northern India and the Pallavas and Cholas in the south. Whereas Buddhism spread rapidly throughout eastern Asia, in medieval India it gradually declined, and the various local kings vied with one another to build glorious shrines to the Hindu gods.

Mamallapuram. In addition to cave temples and masonry temples, Indian architects created a third, rarer, type of monument: freestanding temples carved out of rocky outcroppings. Some of the earliest and most impressive are at Mamallapuram, south of Madras on the Bay of Bengal, where they are called *rathas,* or "chariots" (that is, vehicles of the gods). In the late seventh century, the Pallava dynasty ordered five rathas (FIG. 15-22) carved out of a single huge granite boulder jutting out from the sand. The group is of special interest because it illustrates the variety of temple forms during this period—all based on earlier wood structures—before a standard masonry type of temple became the norm in southern India.

The largest Mamallapuram ratha, the Dharmaraja (FIG. 15-22, *left*), dedicated to Shiva, is an early example of the typical southern-style temple with stepped-pyramid *vimana* (see "Hindu Temples," page 460). The tower ascends in pronounced tiers of cornices decorated with miniature shrines. The lower walls include carved columns and figures of deities inside niches. The Bhima ratha to the right, dedicated to Vishnu, has a rectangular plan and an arcuated roof. The next ratha, the Arjuna, is a smaller example of the southern Indian type. At the end of the row (not visible in FIG. 15-22) sits the very small Draupadi ratha, modeled on a thatched hut and dedicated to Durga, a form of the supreme Hindu goddess Devi. The carving of the two largest temples was never finished.

Mamallapuram is also of special interest because of the wealth of preserved relief sculptures with Hindu themes, among them a 9-foot-high panel showing the warrior goddess Durga slaying the demon Mahisha (FIG. 15-22A). By far the largest of the Mamallapuram reliefs (FIG. 15-23)—featuring life-size figures—is universally recognized as a masterwork of Hindu narrative art, but scholars have not been able to agree on what its subject is (see "The Ganges River or the Penance of Arjuna?," page 459).

15-22A *Durga Slaying Mahisha,* Mamallapuram, seventh century.

15-22 Rock-cut rathas (looking southwest), Mamallapuram, India, second half of seventh century. From *left* to *right:* Dharmaraja, Bhima, and Arjuna rathas.

Indian architects also created temples by sculpting them from the living rock. The seventh-century rathas ("chariots" of the gods) at Mamallapuram were all carved from a single huge granite outcropping.

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A SECOND OPINION

The Ganges River or the Penance of Arjuna?

One of the most impressive rock-cut reliefs in the world, illustrated here (FIG. 15-23), is a Pallava dynasty commission at Mamallapuram, a site famous for its Hindu rathas (FIG. 15-22) fashioned out of huge granite boulders along the shore of the Bay of Bengal. The relief features scores of life-size figures carved by the Pallava sculptors into a rocky outcropping that has a natural cleft at the center, which they utilized to help tell the story. But which story?

Most scholars identify the immense (80-foot-long, 20-foot-high) anecdote-filled composition as the *Descent of the Ganges River.* According to the Hindu myth, an ascetic named Bhagiratha deprived himself for a thousand years in the hope of persuading the gods to permit the Ganges River to flow down to earth from Heaven to purify the ashes of his ancestors and fertilize the ground with its water. When the gods agreed, humans feared that the torrential current from the sky would destroy earth, so the god Shiva (see "Hinduism and Hindu Iconography," page 456) volunteered to absorb the water in his matted hair, where it meandered for centuries until it gently flowed to the ground. The Mamallapuram relief may depict the final chapter of this story, when the river's waters reach earth's surface. The sculptors located the stream in the boulder's cleft and represented gods, humans, and animals on either side. All the living beings of earth are witnesses to the miracle. At the top of the relief just to the left of the cleft is Bhagiratha, an emaciated, bearded old man balancing his weight on one leg with his arms raised over his head, the standard pose in Hindu sculpture for a person performing penance. Next to him is the four-armed god Shiva. The gesture of Shiva's front left arm connotes the bestowal of a gift. To the right of the cleft, almost at ground level, are life-size adult elephants and their offspring. Atop the boulder, the Pallavas installed a cistern to collect rainwater, which could be released to flow down the cleft in reenactment of the story. This harnessing of nature to bring a story to life is the most remarkable aspect of this extraordinary monument.

The relief may not represent the descent of the Ganges, however. An alternative interpretation of the composition is that it represents the penance of Arjuna, one of the legendary Pandava brothers, who begged Shiva to provide him with weapons in the war between his family and their rivals, the Kurus. Arjuna performed his penance beside a river.

It is also possible that the Pallavas intended the tableau to be *multivalent*—that is, intentionally subject to more than one interpretation, an approach to narrative art well documented in many artistic cultures.

15-23 ***Descent of the Ganges River*** **(or** ***Penance of Arjuna*****), rock-cut relief, Mamallapuram, India, first half of seventh century CE. Granite, 20′ high.**

Pallava sculptors carved scores of life-size figures to left and right of a natural cleft into which water flowed in order to bring to life the story of either the Ganges River's descent from Heaven or Arjuna's penance.

Thanjavur. About a century later than the rathas of Mamallapuram is the rock-cut temple complex at Ellora (FIG. 15-23A), an important forerunner of the freestanding Hindu temples of the medieval period in South Asia. One of the most impressive of these later temples is the Rajarajeshvara Temple (FIG. 15-24) at Thanjavur, dedicated in 1010 to Shiva as the Lord of Rajaraja. The temple is one of many constructed by the Cholas, whose territories extended into part of Sri Lanka and even Java. The Rajarajeshvara Temple was of unprecedented size—in fact, it was the largest and tallest

15-23A Kailasanatha Temple, Ellora, second half of eighth century.

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Hindu Temples

The Hindu temple is the home of the gods on earth and the place where they make themselves visible to humans. At the core of all Hindu temples is the *garbha griha* ("womb chamber"), which houses images or symbols of the deity—for example, Shiva's linga (see "Hinduism," page 456). Only Brahmin priests may enter this inner sanctuary and make offerings to the gods. Worshipers, however, may stand at the threshold and behold the deity, made present by its image. In the elaborate multiroomed temples of later Hindu architecture, the worshipers and priests progress through a series of ever more sacred spaces, usually on an east–west axis. Hindu priests and architects attached great importance to each temple's plan and sought to make it conform to the sacred geometric diagram (*mandala*) of the universe.

Architectural historians, following ancient Indian texts, divide Hindu temples into two major typological groups tied to geography. The most important distinguishing feature of the **northern** style of temple erected at Khajuraho (FIG. 15-25) and elsewhere is its beehivelike tower or *shikhara* ("mountain peak"), capped by an *amalaka,* a ribbed cushionlike form, derived from the shape of the amala fruit (believed to have medicinal powers). Amalakas appear on the corners of the lower levels of the shikhara too. Northern temples also have smaller towerlike roofs over the halls (*mandapas*) leading to the garbha griha.

Southern temples—for example, the Rajarajeshvara Temple (FIG. 15-24) at Thanjavur—can easily be recognized by the flat roofs of their pillared mandapas and by their shorter towered shrines, called *vimanas,* which lack the curved profile of their northern counterparts and resemble multilevel pyramids.

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15-24 Rajarajeshvara Temple (looking southeast), Thanjavur, India, ca. 1010.

The Rajarajeshvara Temple at Thanjavur is an example of the southern type of Hindu temple. Two flat-roofed mandapas lead to the garbha griha in the base of its 210-foot-tall pyramidal sandstone vimana.

15-25 Vishvanatha Temple (looking north), Khajuraho, India, ca. 1000.

The Vishvanatha Temple is a northern Hindu temple type. It has four towers, each taller than the preceding one, symbolizing Shiva's mountain home. The largest tower is the beehive-shaped sandstone shikhara.

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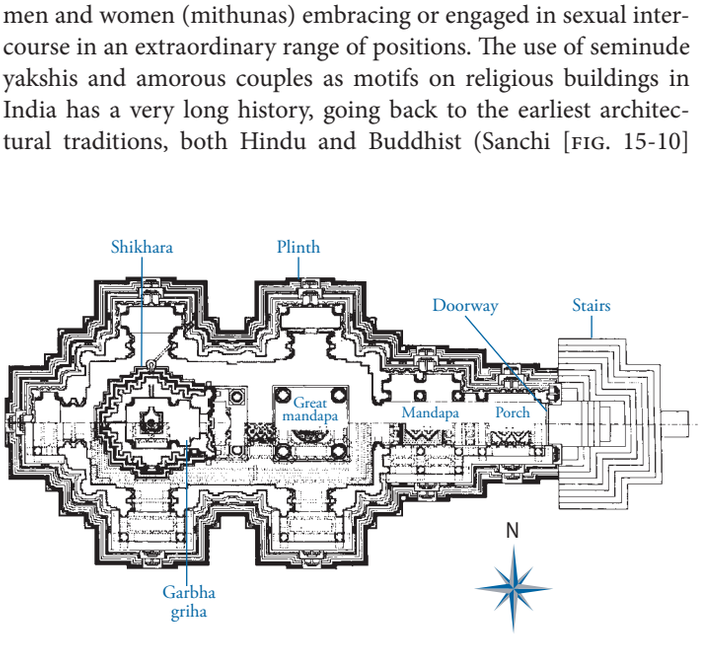
temple (210 feet high) in India at the time. It is a prime example of the southern type of Hindu temple with flat-roofed *mandapas* and pyramidal towers (see "Hindu Temples," page 460, and FIG. 15-24).

The temple stands inside a walled precinct. It consists of a stairway leading to two flat-roofed mandapas, the larger one having 36 pillars, and to the garbha griha in the base of the enormous pyramidal vimana, which is as much an emblem of the Cholas' secular power as of their devotion to Shiva. On the exterior walls of the lower stories are numerous reliefs in niches depicting the god in his various forms.

Khajuraho. At the same time that the Cholas were building the Rajarajeshvara Temple at Thanjavur in the south, the Chandella dynasty was constructing northern-style temples at Khajuraho. The Vishvanatha Temple (FIG. 15-25) is one of more than 20 imposing sandstone temples at that site. Vishvanatha (Lord of the World) is another of the many names for Shiva. Dedicated in 1002, his Khajuraho temple has three towers over the mandapas, each rising higher than the preceding one, leading to the tallest tower at the rear, in much the same way that the foothills of the Himalayas, Shiva's home, rise to meet their highest peak. The mountain symbolism applies to the interior plan (FIG. 15-26) of the Vishvanatha Temple as well. Under the tallest tower, the shikhara, is the garbha griha, the small and dark inner sanctuary chamber, like a cave, which houses the image of the deity. Thus temples such as the Vishvanatha symbolize mountains with caves, comparable to the cave temples at Elephanta and other Indian sites. In all cases, the deity reveals himself or herself within the cave and takes various forms in sculptures. The temple-mountains, however, are not intended to appear natural but rather are perfect mountains designed using ideal mathematical proportions.

The reliefs of Thanjavur's Rajarajeshvara Temple are typical of southern temple decoration, which is generally limited to images of deities. The exterior walls of Khajuraho's Vishvanatha Temple are equally typical of northern temples in the profusion of sculptures (FIG. 15-27) depicting mortals as well as gods, especially pairs of men and women (mithunas) embracing or engaged in sexual intercourse in an extraordinary range of positions. The use of seminude yakshis and amorous couples as motifs on religious buildings in India has a very long history, going back to the earliest architectural traditions, both Hindu and Buddhist (Sanchi [FIG. 15-10] and Karle). As in the earlier examples, the erotic sculptures of Khajuraho may suggest fertility and the propagation of life and serve as auspicious protectors of the sacred precinct. The intertwined couples may also allegorically illustrate the South Asian philosophical principle, originating in the Upanishad era, that the ultimate goal of the worshiper is to achieve the union of the human soul with the divine. In this interpretation of the erotic imagery, the bliss of sexual union parallels the bliss of salvation that results from the union of the individual with the infinite.

Some scholars have suggested that the presence of so many figures in the Khajuraho reliefs whose role is to assist or direct the acrobatic sexual couplings is a reference to the *tantric* (esoteric) movement popular in northern India at the time, which emphasized the role of religious teachers in aiding devotees to unite with the divine.



15-26 Plan of the Vishvanatha Temple, Khajuraho, India, ca. 1000.

Under the shikhara of the Vishvanatha Temple is the garbha griha, the dark inner sanctuary chamber resembling a cave, which houses the image of the deity. Only priests can enter the garbha griha.

15-27 Mithuna reliefs, detail of the north side of the Vishvanatha Temple (FIG. 15-25), Khajuraho, India, ca. 1000.

The purpose of the erotic sandstone reliefs of the Vishvanatha Temple may be to suggest the propagation of life and that sexual union parallels the bliss of the union of the human soul with the divine.

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15-28 Shiva as Nataraja, from Tamil Nadu, India, ca. 1100. Bronze, 2′ 11¼″ high. British Museum, London.

One of many portable images of the gods used in Hindu worship, this solid-bronze statuette of Shiva as Lord of the Dance depicts the god balancing on one leg atop a dwarf representing ignorance.

Shiva as Nataraja. Portable objects also play an important role in Hinduism. The statuette illustrated here (FIG. 15-28) comes from Tamil Nadu and recalls the sixth-century relief (FIG. 15-18) in the Badami cave representing the god Shiva. Cast in solid bronze around 1000, it is one of many examples of moveable images of deities created under the Chola kings and still used in Hindu rituals today. Here, Shiva dances as Nataraja (Lord of the Dance) by balancing on one leg atop Apasmara, the dwarf of ignorance, which the god stamps out as he dances. Shiva extends all four arms, two of them touching the flaming nimbus encircling him. These two upper hands also hold a small drum (right hand) and a flame (left hand). Shiva creates the universe to the drumbeat's rhythm. The small fire represents destruction. Shiva's lower left hand points to his upraised foot, indicating the foot as the place where devotees can find refuge and enlightenment. The god's lower right hand, raised in the abhaya mudra, tells worshipers to come forward without fear. As Shiva spins, his matted hair comes loose and spreads like wings on both sides of his head.

At times, worshipers insert poles into the holes on the base of the Shiva statuettes to carry them, but even when stationary, the Tamil Nadu statuette would not appear as it does in FIG. 15-28. Rather, when Hindus worship the Shiva Nataraja, they dress the image, cover it with jewels, and garland it with flowers. The only bronze part visible is the face, marked with colored powders and scented pastes. Considered the embodiment of the deity, the image is not a symbol of the god but the god itself. All must treat the image as a living being. Worship of the deity involves caring for him as if he were an honored person. Bathed, clothed, given foods to eat, and taken for outings, the image also receives gifts—songs, lights (lit oil lamps), pleasant scents (incense), and flowers, things the god can enjoy through the senses. The food given to the god is particularly important, because he eats the "essence," leaving the remainder for the worshiper. The food is then *prasada* (grace), sacred because it came in contact with the divine. In an especially religious household, the deity resides as an image and receives the food for each meal before the family eats. When the god resides in a temple, it is the duty of the priests to feed, clothe, and take care of him.

The Chola dynasty ended in the 13th century, a time of political, religious, and cultural change in South Asia. At this point, Buddhism survived in only some areas of India. It soon died out completely there. At the same time, Islam, which had arrived in India as early as the eighth century, became a potent political force with the establishment of the Delhi sultanate in 1206. Hindu and Islamic art assumed preeminent roles in India in the 13th century (see Chapter 33).

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon) is an island located at the very tip of the Indian subcontinent. Theravada Buddhism, stressing worship of the historical Buddha (Shakyamuni Buddha), arrived in Sri Lanka as early as the third century BCE. With the demise of Buddhism in India, Sri Lanka now has the longest Buddhist tradition in the world.

Gal Vihara. One of the largest sculptures in South Asia is the 46-foot-long recumbent Buddha (FIG. 15-29) carved out of a rocky outcropping at Gal Vihara. It is the most impressive of three colossal rock-cut sculptures in the monastery that flourished at this site north of Polonnaruwa during the 11th and 12th centuries. To the left of the Buddha, much smaller in scale, stands his cousin and chief disciple, Ananda, arms crossed, mourning Shakyamuni's death. Although more than a half millennium later in date, the Sri Lankan representation of the Buddha's parinirvana reveals its sculptor's debt to the classic Gupta sculptures of India, with their clinging garments, rounded faces, and distinctive renditions of hair (compare FIG. 15-15). Owing to its geographic location, Sri Lanka played a major role in the spread of Theravada Buddhism and Buddhist art to Southeast Asia.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Art historians once considered the art of Southeast Asia (MAP 15-1) an extension of Indian civilization. Because of the Indian character of many Southeast Asian monuments, scholars hypothesized that Indian artists had constructed and decorated them and that Indians had colonized Southeast Asia. However, no such Indian colonization ever occurred. The expansion of Indian culture to Southeast Asia during the first millennium CE has many parallels in other eras and places—for example, the spread of Greek culture and art to Asia Minor and Italy during the closing centuries BCE. Buddhism, Hinduism, Buddhist and Hindu art and architecture, and South Asian culture in general had enormous appeal and were eagerly embraced by Southeast Asian societies. What follows is a brief introduction to the extraordinarily diverse art and architecture of the many regions and cultures of Southeast Asia.

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15-29 ***Death of the Buddha* (*Parinirvana*), Gal Vihara, near Polonnaruwa, Sri Lanka, 11th to 12th century. Granulite, Buddha 10′ × 46′.**

The sculptor of this colossal recumbent Sri Lankan Buddha emulated the classic Gupta style of a half millennium earlier in the figure's clinging robe, rounded face, and coiffure.

Myanmar

Buddhism spread from India to Myanmar (formerly Burma) at an early date, and the Schwedagon Pagoda (FIG. 33-16) in Rangoon is one of the most famous and luxurious Buddhist shrines in Asia. Centuries older, however, and of more complex design is the Ananda Temple (FIG. 15-30) in Bagan, dedicated to the Buddha's favorite disciple, who figures prominently in the rock-cut sculptural group at Gal Vihara (FIG. 15-29). Bagan was a thriving center of Theravada Buddhism, where Burmese kings built more than 2,000 Buddhist shrines between the 11th century and 1287, when Kublai Khan, the new Mongol emperor of China (see "Yuan Dynasty," page 1060), attacked the city and brought its prosperity to an end.

King Kyanzittha (r. 1084–1113) began construction of the Ananda Temple in 1091. The structure is of stucco-coated brick, the favored building material in medieval Burma, and soars 165 feet from the ground. The temple's plan consists of a square central block with four projecting arms of equal length. Each arm has a door leading to the interior, where the worshiper finds an inner and

15-30 Ananda Temple, Bagan, Myanmar, begun 1091.

The beehive-shaped spire of Bagan's Ananda Temple is 165 feet high and resembles the shikhara of a northern Hindu temple, underscoring the diverse sources of Buddhist architecture in Myanmar.

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15-31 Aerial view of Borobudur, Java, Indonesia, ca. 800.

Borobudur is a gigantic, unique Buddhist monument. Built on nine terraces with some 1,500 stupas and more than 2,000 statues and reliefs, it takes the form of a cosmic mountain, which worshipers circumambulate.

15-32 Sudhana visits Bodhisattva Manjushri, sandstone relief, Borobudur, Java, Indonesia, ca. 800.

Consistent with the teachings of Mahayana Buddhism, in order to attain enlightenment, Sudhana seeks the guidance of various bodhisattvas. In this relief panel at Borobudur, Sudhana visits Bodhisattva Manjushri.

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15-33 Seated Buddha and hollow stupas on the highest of the three circular terraces of Borobudur, Java, Indonesia, ca. 800.

Near the summit of Borobudur are three circular terraces with hollow stupas, some housing a seated statue of the Buddha preaching. At the very top of the monument is the largest, sealed stupa.

an outer square corridor for circumambulating the center. In niches in the central block are four standing statues of the Buddha, each almost 34 feet tall, facing the four cardinal directions. The exterior takes the form of six terraces with a stupa at the four corners of the uppermost level and, at the center, a colossal central beehive-shaped spire resembling the shikhara of a northern Hindu temple (see "Hindu Temples," page 460). The mixture of forms underscores the diverse sources of Buddhist architecture in Myanmar and of Southeast Asian art and architecture in general.

Java

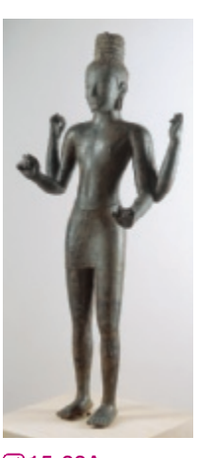
Buddhism and Hinduism arrived in Indonesia in the fifth century, and monuments of both religions are to be found throughout the islands of the modern nation-state. The most spectacular, exceeding in size anything in South Asia, is Borobudur on the island of Java, which was the most important Indonesian art center from the 8th to the 10th century.

Borobudur. Unique in both form and meaning, Borobudur is a Buddhist monument of colossal size (note the tiny visitors to the site in the aerial view, FIG. 15-31), measuring about 400 feet per side at the base and about 98 feet tall. Built over a small hill on nine terraces accessed by four stairways aligned with the cardinal compass points, Borobudur contains more than two million blocks of volcanic stone. Worshipers ascending the massive structure on their way to the summit encounter 504 life-size Buddha images, 1,460 narratives, and some 1,500 stupas of various sizes.

Scholars debate the intended meaning of Borobudur. Most think it is a constructed cosmic mountain, a three-dimensional mandala where worshipers symbolically pass through various realms on their way to ultimate enlightenment. As they circumambulate the structure in a clockwise direction so that their right side always faces the holy center of the monument, pilgrims first see reliefs illustrating the karmic effects of different kinds of human behavior, then reliefs depicting episodes of the Buddha's earlier lives (jatakas), and, farther up, events from the life of Shakyamuni. The narrative relief cycle culminates with the life of Sudhana, who seeks out many bodhisattvas during his search for enlightenment. In the relief illustrated here (FIG. 15-32), Sudhana visits Bodhisattva Manjushri. The prominence of the Sudhana cycle is consistent with Mahayana, as opposed to Theravada, Buddhist teaching, which emphasizes the role of bodhisattvas in the quest for enlightenment and liberation.

On the circular terraces near the summit, each stupa is hollow and houses a statue of the seated Buddha (FIG. 15-33), who preaches using the Wheel-turning mudra. At the very top is the largest, sealed stupa. It may once have contained another Buddha image, but the builders may also have left it empty to symbolize the formlessness of true enlightenment.

Although scholars have interpreted the iconographic program in different ways, all agree on two essential points: that Borobudur is dependent on Indian art, literature, and religion, and that nothing comparable exists in India itself. Borobudur's sophistication, complexity, and originality underline how completely the Javanese, and Southeast Asians in general, had absorbed, rethought, and reformulated Indian religion and art by 800. In Thailand, for example, sculptors created a unique iconography for bodhisattvas (FIG. 15-33A) combining Buddhist and Hindu elements.



15-33A Bodhisattva Maitreya, Prakhon Chai, eighth to ninth century.

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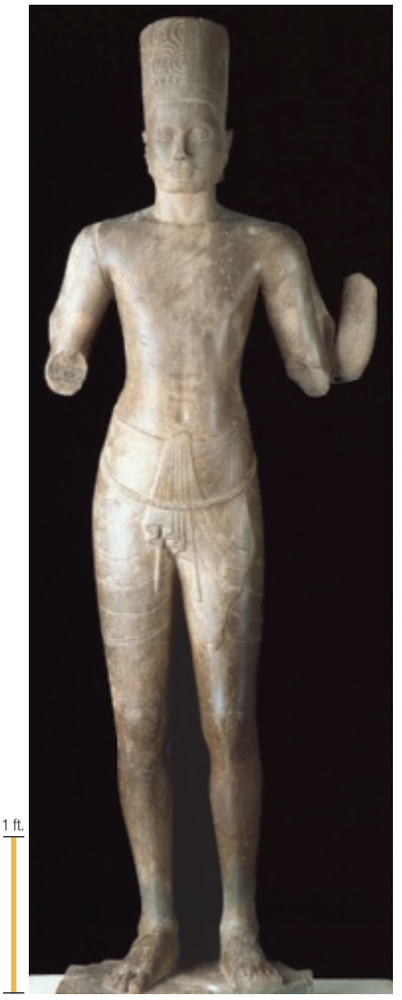
Cambodia

In 802, at about the same time that the Javanese built Borobudur, the Khmer king Jayavarman II (r. 802–850) founded the Angkor empire, which ruled Cambodia until the mid-15th century and sponsored the construction of hundreds of monuments, including gigantic Hindu and Buddhist temples. For at least two centuries before the founding of Angkor, the Khmer (the predominant ethnic group in Cambodia) produced Indian-related sculpture of exceptional quality. Images of Hindu deities, especially Vishnu, were particularly important during the pre-Angkorian period.

Harihara. A life-size sandstone statue (FIG. 15-34) from Prasat Andet shows the Hindu god Harihara, who combines the identities of Vishnu and Shiva. To represent the composite god, the sculptor divided the statue vertically, with Shiva on the god's right side, Vishnu on his left. The tall headgear reflects the division most clearly. The Shiva half, embellished with the winding locks of an ascetic, contrasts with the kingly Vishnu's plain miter. Attributes (now lost) held in the four hands would also have helped differentiate the two sides. Stylistically, the Cambodian statue, like the Sri Lankan parinirvana group (FIG. 15-29), derives from Gupta-era Indian sculptures (FIG. 15-15). But unlike almost all stone sculptures in India, carved in relief on slabs or stelae, this Khmer image is in the round. The Harihara's broken arms and ankles vividly attest to the vulnerability of this format. The Khmer sculptors, however, wanted their statues to be seen from all sides in the center of the garbha grihas of brick temples.



15-34 Harihara, from Prasat Andet, Cambodia, early seventh century. Sandstone, 6′ 3″ high. National Museum, Phnom Penh.

Harihara is a composite of Shiva (the god's right side) and Vishnu (on the left). Stylistically indebted to Gupta sculpture, the Khmer statue is freestanding so that it can be viewed from all sides.

Vishnu on the Cosmic Ocean. The Khmer kings were exceedingly powerful and possessed enormous wealth. A fragmentary bronze statue (FIG. 15-35) portraying Vishnu lying on the cosmic ocean testifies to both the sumptuous nature of much Khmer art and to the mastery of Khmer foundry workers. The surviving portion is about 8 feet long. In complete form, at well over 20 feet long, the Vishnu statue was among the largest bronzes of the ancient and medieval worlds, surpassed only by such lost wonders as the statue of Athena (FIG. 5-46) in the Parthenon and the 120-foot-tall colossus of the Roman emperor Nero (see "The Golden House of Nero," page 206). Originally, gold and silver inlays and jewels embellished the Vishnu image, and the god wore a separate miter on his head. The subject of the gigantic statue is the same as that carved in relief (FIG. 15-21) on the Deogarh Vishnu Temple. Vishnu lies asleep on the cosmic ocean at the moment of the creation of the universe. In the myth, a lotus stem grows from Vishnu's navel, its flower supporting Brahma, the creator god. In this statue, Vishnu probably had a waterspout emerging from his navel, indicating his ability to create the waters as well as to create Brahma and protect the earth. The statue was displayed in West Mebon, an island temple in the western *baray* (reservoir) of Angkor.

Angkor Wat. For more than four centuries, successive kings worked on construction of the Angkor site. Founded by Indravarman (r. 877–889), Angkor is an engineering marvel, a vast complex of temples and palaces within a rectangular grid of canals and reservoirs fed by local rivers. Each of the Khmer kings built

15-35 *Vishnu Lying on the Cosmic Ocean,* from West Mebon, Angkor, Cambodia, 11th century. Bronze, 4′ × 7′ $\frac{5}{8}$″. National Museum of Cambodia, Phnom Penh.

This fragmentary hollow-cast bronze statue was originally more than 20 feet long and inlaid with gold, silver, and jewels. It portrays Vishnu asleep on the cosmic ocean at the moment of the universe's creation.

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15-36 Aerial view of Angkor Wat (looking northwest), Angkor, Cambodia, first half of 12th century.

Angkor Wat, built by Suryavarman II to associate the Khmer king with the god Vishnu, has five sandstone towers symbolizing the five peaks of Mount Meru, the sacred mountain at the center of the universe.

a temple mountain, or *wat,* at Angkor and installed his personal god—Shiva, Vishnu, or the Buddha—on top and gave the god part of his own royal name, implying that the king was a manifestation of the deity. The Khmer believed that when the king died, the god reabsorbed him, because he had been the earthly portion of the deity during his lifetime, so they worshiped the king's image as the god. This concept of kingship approaches deification of the ruler, familiar in many other societies, such as ancient Egypt (see "Life after Death in Ancient Egypt," page 57).

Of all the Khmer kings' monuments, Angkor Wat (FIG. 15-36) is the most spectacular. Built by Suryavarman II (r. 1113–1150), who greatly expanded the Khmer empire through military conquest, Angkor Wat is the largest of the many Khmer religious complexes. The temple-mountain rises from a huge rectangle of land delineated by a moat measuring about 5,000 by 4,000 feet. Like the other Khmer temples, the purpose of Angkor Wat was to associate the king with his personal god, in this case Vishnu.

The centerpiece of the vast complex is a tall stepped stone tower surrounded by four smaller towers connected by covered galleries. The five towers symbolize the five peaks of Mount Meru, the sacred mountain at the center of the universe. Two more circuit walls with galleries, towers, and gates enclose the central block. Thus, as worshipers progress inward through the complex, the towers rise ever higher, paralleling the towers of Khajuraho's Vishvanatha Temple (FIG. 15-25), but in a more complex sequence and on a much grander scale.

Throughout Angkor Wat, sandstone reliefs glorify both Vishnu in his various avatars and Suryavarman II. A relief (FIG. 15-37) on the inner wall of the lowest gallery shows the king holding court. Suryavarman II sits on an elaborate wood throne, its bronze legs rising as cobra heads. Kneeling retainers, smaller than the king because they are lesser figures in the Khmer hierarchy, hold a forest of umbrellas and fans, emblems of Suryavarman's exalted rank. In the reliefs of Angkor Wat, religion and politics are united.

15-37 King Suryavarman II holding court, detail of a sandstone relief in the lowest gallery on the south side of Angkor Wat, Angkor, Cambodia, first half of 12th century.

The reliefs of Angkor Wat glorify Vishnu in his various incarnations and Suryavarman II, whom the sculptor here depicted holding court and surrounded by his attendants, all of smaller scale than the king.

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15-38 Bayon (*top:* general view; *left:* towers), Angkor Thom, Angkor, Cambodia, ca. 1200.

Jayavarman VII embraced Buddhism instead of Hinduism. His most important temple, the Bayon, has sandstone towers carved with giant faces probably depicting either the bodhisattva Lokeshvara or the king himself.

Bayon. At the end of the 12th century, Jayavarman VII (r. 1181–1219) ruled over much of mainland Southeast Asia and built more during his reign than all the Khmer kings preceding him combined. His most important temple, the Bayon (FIG. 15-38, *top*), is a complicated monument constructed with unique circular terraces surmounted by towers carved with giant faces (FIG. 15-38, *left*). Jayavarman turned to Buddhism from the Hinduism embraced by the earlier Khmer rulers, but he adapted his new creed to make the Buddha and the bodhisattva Lokeshvara (Lord of the World) into divine prototypes of the king, in the Khmer tradition. The faces on the Bayon towers perhaps portray Lokeshvara, intended to indicate the watchful compassion emanating in all directions from the capital. Other researchers have proposed that the faces depict Jayavarman himself, but that is less likely. In any case, the king's great experiment in religion and art was short-lived, but it also marked the point of change in Southeast Asia when Theravada Buddhism began to dominate most of the mainland. Chapter 33 chronicles this important development.

During the first to fourth centuries, Buddhism also spread to other parts of Asia—to China, Korea, and Japan. Although the artistic traditions in these countries differ greatly from one another, they share, along with Southeast Asia, a tradition of Buddhist art and an ultimate tie with India. Chapters 16 and 17 trace the changes that Buddhist art underwent in East Asia, along with the region's other rich artistic traditions.

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THE BIG PICTURE

South and Southeast Asia before 1200

Indus Civilization ca. 2600–1500 BCE

- One of the world's earliest civilizations arose in the Indus Valley in the third millennium BCE. Indus cities, such as Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, had streets oriented to the compass points and sophisticated water-supply and sewage systems.
- Little art survives from the Indus Civilization, mainly seals with incised designs and small-scale sculptures, such as the statue of a priest-king from Mohenjo-daro. Indus sculptures have stylistic parallels with the art of Mesopotamia, with which the South Asian cities engaged in trade.

Great Bath, Mohenjo-daro, ca. 2600–1900 BCE

Maurya Dynasty 323–185 BCE

- Chandragupta Maurya (r. 323–298 BCE), founder of the dynasty bearing his name, established his capital at Pataliputra in northeastern India and repelled the Greeks from South Asia in 305 BCE.
- The greatest Maurya ruler was Ashoka (r. 272–231 BCE), who converted to Buddhism and spread the Buddha's teachings throughout South Asia. Ashoka was the builder of the original Great Stupa at Sanchi and set up 30- to 40-foot-tall pillars with animal capitals throughout his kingdom. These columns, the first monumental stone artworks in India, owe a stylistic debt to Achaemenid Persian sculpture, but the iconography is Buddhist.

Lion capital, Sarnath, ca. 250 BCE

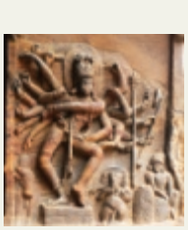
Shunga, Satavahana, and Kushan Dynasties ca. 185 BCE–320 CE

- The unifying characteristic of this age of regional dynasties in South Asia was the patronage of Buddhism. In addition to the stupa, the chief early type of Buddhist sacred architecture was the pillared rock-cut chaitya hall.
- The first representations of the Buddha in human form probably date to the first century CE. Gandharan Buddha statues owe a strong stylistic debt to Greco-Roman art.
- By the second century CE, the iconography of the life of the Buddha from his birth at Lumbini to his death at Kushinagara was well established.

Meditating Buddha, Gandhara, second century CE

Gupta and Post-Gupta Periods ca. 320–647

- Gupta sculptors formulated the canonical Buddha image in the fifth century, combining Gandharan iconography with a soft, full-bodied figure in clinging garments.
- The Gupta-period Buddhist caves of Ajanta are the best surviving examples of early mural painting in India.
- The oldest Hindu large-scale stone temples and sculptures date to the fifth and sixth centuries, including the rock-cut reliefs of Udayagiri, Badami, and Elephanta, and the Vishnu Temple at Deogarh.



Dancing Shiva, Badami, late sixth century

Medieval Period 7th to 12th Centuries

- Several distinctive South Asian regional styles emerged in Hindu religious architecture during the medieval period. Northern temples, such as the Vishvanatha Temple at Khajuraho, feature a series of small towers leading to a tall beehive-shaped tower, or shikhara, over the garbha griha. Southern temples, such as the Rajarajeshvara Temple at Thanjavur, have flat-roofed pillared halls (mandapas) leading to a pyramidal tower (vimana).
- In Southeast Asia, medieval art and architecture reflect Indian prototypes, but many local styles developed. The most distinctive monuments of the period are Borobudur on Java and the temples of the Khmer kings at Angkor in Cambodia.

Angkor Wat, first half of 12th century

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▲**16-1a** One of the greatest archaeological discoveries ever made was this army of life-size terracotta soldiers that guarded the immense burial mound of Qin Shi Huangdi, the First Emperor of China.

▲**16-1b** The army, which also included bronze horses and chariots, guarded the emperor's still-unexcavated burial mound. The historian Sima Qian reported that the mound covered a treasure-filled palace for the afterlife.

16-1 **Army of the First Emperor of Qin in pits next to his burial mound, Lintong, China, Qin dynasty, ca. 210 BCE. Painted terracotta, average figure 5′ 10$\frac{7}{8}$″ high.**

▶**16-1c** Qin Shi Huangdi's army consists of thousands of terracotta soldiers and horses from common molds. By varying the combination of parts and the coloration, the sculptors individualized every figure.

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CHINA AND KOREA TO 1279

16

FRAMING THE ERA

China's First Emperor

One of the greatest archaeological discoveries ever made anywhere came to light in 1974 when farmers digging a well in a village near Lintong in Shaanxi Province discovered some broken terracotta statues. Chinese excavators soon concluded that they belonged to the immense burial mound of Qin Shi Huangdi—the "First Emperor of Qin" (from which "China" derives). Shi Huangdi brought an end to more than two centuries of political and social turmoil by conquering all rival states and uniting an area equal to about half of present-day China into an empire he ruled from 221 to 210 BCE.

Like many other powerful monarchs throughout history, during his lifetime China's First Emperor began construction of a tomb that would become his home in the eternal afterlife. For its construction, Shi Huangdi conscripted more than 700,000 laborers. His burial mound at Lintong remains unexcavated, but Chinese archaeologists believe that it contains a vast treasure-filled underground funerary palace designed to match the fabulous palace the emperor occupied while alive. The historian Sima Qian (136–85 BCE) described both palaces, but scholars did not take his account seriously until the discovery of pits around the tomb containing life-size painted terracotta statues (FIG. 16-1) of soldiers and horses, as well as bronze horses and chariots. The army of sculptures, which probably numbered 8,000 or more, served as the First Emperor's bodyguard deployed in perpetuity outside his tomb.

Today, the Lintong army consists of about 2,000 statues of cavalry, chariots, archers, lancers, and hand-to-hand fighters. The huge assemblage testifies not only to the power and wealth of Shi Huangdi but also to a high degree of organization in the Qin imperial workshop. Manufacturing this army of statues required a veritable army of sculptors and painters, as well as a large number of huge kilns. The First Emperor's artisans could have opted to use the same molds over and over again to produce thousands of identical soldiers standing in strict formation. In fact, they did employ the same molds repeatedly for different parts of the statues, but assembled the parts in many different combinations. Consequently, the stances, arm positions, garment folds, equipment, coiffures, and facial features vary, sometimes slightly, sometimes markedly, from statue to statue. Additional hand modeling of the cast body parts before firing enabled the sculptors to differentiate the figures even more. The Qin painters undoubtedly added further variations to the appearance of the terracotta army. The result of these efforts was a brilliant balance of uniformity and individuality.

The First Emperor's tomb exemplifies the grandiose building projects that characterized the many Chinese imperial dynasties to follow, including China's Great Wall, which in its original form dates to Shi Huangdi's reign.

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CHINA

East Asia is a vast area, varied both topographically and climatically. Dominated by the huge land mass of China (MAP 16-1), the region also encompasses the peninsula of Korea and the islands of Japan. China's landscape includes sandy plains, mighty rivers, towering mountains, and fertile farmlands.

China's political and cultural boundaries have varied over the millennia, and at times China has expanded to about twice the area of the United States, encompassing Tibet, Xinjiang, Mongolia, Manchuria, and parts of Korea. Today, China boasts the world's largest population and is ethnically diverse. The spoken language varies so much that speakers of different dialects do not understand one another. The written language, however, which employs *characters* (signs recording spoken words, even if those words are spoken differently in the various dialects), has made possible a shared Chinese literary, philosophic, and religious tradition.

Neolithic Age

Discoveries in recent decades have expanded the already rich Chinese archaeological record enormously and have provided evidence of settled village life as far back as the seventh or early sixth millennium BCE, of rice agriculture before 5000 BCE, and of ceramic production even before the invention of the potter's wheel in the fourth millennium BCE. Excavators have uncovered Neolithic sites with large multifamily houses constructed of wood, bamboo, wattle, daub, and mud plaster and equipped with hearths. Some of these

MAP 16-1 **China during the Tang dynasty.**

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CHINA AND KOREA TO 1279

Neolithic to Shang

- Chinese ceramists produce sophisticated pottery before the invention of the potter's wheel
- Shang artists perfect the piece-mold technique of bronze-casting

Zhou and Qin

- Zhou artists excel in fashioning luxurious objects in bronze, lacquer, and jade
- The First Emperor of Qin builds an immense burial mound guarded by 8,000 terracotta soldiers

Han and Six Dynasties

- Han buildings feature interlocking clusters of wood brackets
- The earliest Chinese image of the Buddha dates to the Zhou dynasty
- Xie He formulates "six canons" of Chinese painting

Tang

- Chang'an, the Tang capital, is the most magnificent city in the world
- Chinese figure painting on silk scrolls reaches its greatest heights
- Tang emperors sponsor major Buddhist temples
- Koreans embrace Buddhism during the Unified Silla Kingdom (r. 668–935)

Liao and Song

- The Liao dynasty (r. 907–1125) builds the world's tallest wood building
- Song China (r. 960–1279) becomes the world's most technologically advanced society
- Landscape painting enjoys a golden age under the Song emperors
- In Korea, Goryeo (r. 918–1392) potters produce fine celadon pottery

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MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Chinese Earthenwares and Stonewares

China has a very long and rich ceramic history, beginning in Neolithic times with the makers of pots in prehistoric villages. The ceramists of the Majiayao Culture of the third millennium BCE, for example, showed a flair for shaping carefully prepared and kneaded clay into diverse, often dramatic and elegantly decorated vessel forms (FIG. 16-2). Until Chinese potters developed true *porcelains* (extremely fine, hard white ceramics; see "Chinese Porcelain," page 1063) in the 10th century during the Song dynasty, they produced only two types of clay vessels or objects—*earthenwares* and *stonewares.* For both types, potters used clays colored by mineral impurities, especially iron compounds ranging from yellow to brownish-black.

The clay bodies of earthenwares (FIG. 16-2), fired at low temperatures in open pits or simple kilns, remain soft and porous, thus enabling liquids to seep through. Chinese artists also used the low-fire technique to produce terracotta sculptures, even life-size figures of humans and animals (FIG. 16-1). Over time, Chinese potters developed kilns enabling them to fire their clay vessels at much higher temperatures—more than 2000° Fahrenheit. These elevated temperatures produce stonewares (named for their stonelike hardness and density).

Potters in China excelled at the various techniques commonly used to decorate earthenwares and stonewares. Most of these decorative methods depend on changes occurring in the kiln to chemical compounds found in clay as natural impurities. When fired, many compounds change color dramatically, depending on the conditions in the kiln. For example, if little oxygen remains in a hot kiln, iron oxide (rust) turns either gray or brownish-black, whereas an abundance of oxygen produces a reddish hue (see "Greek Vase Painting," page 110).

Chinese potters also decorated vessels simply by painting their surfaces. In one of the oldest decorative techniques, the potters applied *slip* (a mixture of clay and water resembling a fine, thin mud)—by painting, pouring, or dipping—to a clay body not yet fully dry. The natural varieties of clay produced a broad, if not bright, range of colors, as seen in the Neolithic vessels illustrated here. But Chinese potters often added compounds such as iron oxide to the slip to change or intensify the colors. After the vessels had partially dried, the potters could incise lines through the slip down to the clay body to produce designs such as those seen in later Chinese stonewares (FIG. 16-25). Chinese artists also inlaid designs, cutting them into plain vessel surfaces and then filling them with slip or soft clay of a contrasting color. These techniques spread throughout East Asia (FIG. 16-33).

16-2 Majiayao Culture vases, from Gansu Province, China, ca. 2600–2300 BCE.

Neolithic potters of the Majiayao Culture of the third millennium BCE produced vessels of many different shapes and decorated them with abstract motifs in red and brownish-black on a cream-colored ground.

To produce a hard, glassy surface after firing, potters coated plain or decorated vessels with a *glaze,* a finely ground mixture of minerals. They often used clear or highly translucent glazes, but opaque, richly colored glazes also became common. Sometimes painters let the thick glazes run down the side of a vase or a figurine (FIG. 16-21) to produce dramatic effects.

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early villages also had pens for domesticated animals, kilns for pottery production, pits for storage and refuse, and cemeteries for the dead. Chinese Neolithic artisans produced impressive artworks, especially from jade and clay.

Majiayao Pottery. Some of the finest ceramics of any Neolithic civilization have been found in China. Especially noteworthy are the decorated *earthenware* vessels (FIG. 16-2) fashioned by the potters of the Majiayao Culture, which arose along the upper Yellow River in eastern Gansu and northern Sichuan provinces around 3300 BCE (see "Chinese Earthenwares and Stonewares," above). The multiplicity of shapes suggests that Majiayao pottery served a wide variety of functions in daily life, but as is often the case, most of the finds come from graves, where they could serve the deceased in the afterlife. The painted decoration is in red and brownish-black on a cream-colored ground. Some vessels include stylized animal motifs, but most feature abstract designs. The ceramics display a highly refined aesthetic sensibility. The painters brilliantly integrated a variety of angular and curvilinear geometric motifs, including stripes, zigzags, lozenges, circles, spirals, and waves.

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Shang Bronze-Casting

Among the finest bronzes of the second millennium BCE are those that Shang artists created using piece molds. The Shang bronze-workers began the process by producing a solid clay model of the desired object. When the model dried to durable hardness, they pressed damp clay around it to form a mold that hardened but remained somewhat flexible. At that point, they carefully cut the mold in pieces, removed the pieces from the model, and baked the pieces in a kiln to form hard earthenware sections. Sculptors then carved the intricate details of the relief decoration into the inner surfaces of the piece molds. Next, the artists shaved the original model to reduce its size to form a core for the piece mold. They next reassembled the mold around the model using bronze spacers to preserve a void between the model and the mold—a space equivalent to the layer of wax used in the lost-wax method (see "Hollow-Casting Life-Size Bronze Statues," page 129). The Shang bronze-casters then added a final clay layer on the outside to hold everything together, leaving open ducts for pouring molten bronze into the space between the model and the mold and for venting gases. Once the mold cooled, they broke it apart, removed the new bronze vessel, and cleaned and polished it.

Shang bronzes show mastery in casting rivaling that of any other ancient civilization. The great numbers of cast-bronze vessels strongly suggest well-organized workshops. Shang bronzes held wine, water, grain, or meat for sacrificial rites. Each vessel's shape matched its intended purpose. All are densely covered with abstract and animal motifs. On the vessel illustrated here—a *guang* (FIG. 16-3), shaped like a covered gravy boat and used for pouring wine for libations—the multiple designs and their fields of background spirals integrate so closely with the guang's form that they are not merely an external embellishment but an integral part of the sculptural whole. A horned animal forms the front of the lid, and at the rear is a horned head with a bird's beak. Another horned head appears on the handle. On the cylindrical base of the guang is a motif common on Shang bronzes that originated in Neolithic China—a *taotie* mask, consisting of an abstract face with a pair of raised eyes. Various animals—owls and elephants, for example—as well as more abstract composite creatures swarm over the surface of the upper part of the guang. The fabulous animal forms, real and imaginary, are not purely decorative. The multitude of shapes suggest metamorphosis and may refer to the ability of the Shang kings and priests to communicate with the world of spirits.

16-3 Guang, probably from Anyang, China, Shang dynasty, 12th or 11th century BCE. Bronze, 6½″ high. Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (Avery Brundage Collection).

Shang artists perfected casting complex-shaped and densely decorated bronze vessels. The animal forms, real and imaginary, and the taotie mask on this guang are probably connected with the world of spirits.

Shang Dynasty and Sanxingdui

During the past century, archaeologists have begun to confirm the existence of China's earliest royal dynasties, long thought to have been mythical. In 1959, for example, at Yanshi in Henan Province, excavators found what may be traces of the Xia (ca. 2000–1600 BCE), China's oldest dynasty, although the evidence is not yet conclusive. Much better documented is the Shang dynasty (ca. 1600–ca. 1050 BCE), the first great Chinese dynasty of the Bronze Age. The Shang kings ruled from a series of royal capitals in the Yellow River valley and vied for power and territory with the rulers of neighboring states. In 1928, excavations at Anyang (ancient Yin) brought to light the last Shang capital. There, archaeologists found a large number of objects—turtle shells, animal bones, and bronze containers—inscribed in the earliest form of the Chinese language. These fragmentary records and the other finds at Anyang provide important information about the Shang kings and their affairs. They reveal a warlike, highly stratified society. Walls of pounded earth protected Shang cities. Servants, captives, and even teams of charioteers with chariots and horses accompanied Shang kings to their tombs, a practice also documented in Mesopotamia at the Royal Cemetery at Ur (see "Royal Cemetery, Ur," page 35). The Shang appear to have revered their ancestors and to have offered sacrifices to the spirits of the dead to protect the living. Shang priests used *oracle bones*—bones inscribed with a question that the priests believed was answered by the cracks produced when the bone was heated—to communicate with the spiritual world.

The excavated furnishings of Shang tombs include weapons and a great wealth of objects in jade, ivory, lacquer, and bronze. Not only the kings received lavish burials. The tomb of Fu Hao, the wife of Wu Ding (r. ca. 1215–1190 BCE), is an early example of an extraordinarily rich burial of a Chinese woman, something far more common in China (FIGS. 16-6 and 16-20) than in most ancient societies in the West as well as elsewhere in Asia. Fu Hao's tomb contained an ivory beaker inlaid with turquoise and more

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A SECOND OPINION

Sanxingdui

In 1986, archaeologists exploring Sanxingdui, near Chengdu in southwestern China, excavated pits that yielded a treasure of elephant tusks and objects in gold, bronze, jade, and clay of types never before discovered. The finds attest to an independent kingdom of enormous wealth contemporaneous with the better-known Shang dynasty that flourished at Anyang in northern China. Because the Sanxingdui artifacts are markedly different in style and iconography from contemporaneous Shang artworks, art historians have had to revise their opinions about the character of Bronze Age art in China.

The most dramatic find at Sanxingdui is a bronze statue (FIG. 16-4) more than 8 feet tall. Chinese representations of the human figure on this scale are otherwise unknown at this early date. The Sanxingdui statue matches anything from Anyang in masterful casting technique. Very different in subject and style from the Shang bronzes, the huge bronze figure initially shocked art historians, who had formed their opinions about Bronze Age Chinese aesthetics based solely on Shang material. The figure—of unknown identity—is highly stylized, with elongated proportions and large, staring eyes. It stands on a base composed of four legs formed of what are probably stylized elephant heads and trunks. The statue tapers gently as it rises, and the figure gradually becomes rounder. Just below the neck, great arms branch dramatically outward, ending in oversized hands that once held an object, most likely one of the many elephant tusks buried in pit 2 with the bronze statue. Surface decorations of squared spirals and hook-pointed curves are all that link this over-life-size statue with the small-scale and intricate Shang piece-mold bronze vessels (FIG. 16-3).

Systematic excavations and chance finds will probably produce more surprises in the future and cause art historians to revise once again their opinions about Chinese art in the second half of the second millennium BCE.

16-4 Standing male figure, from pit 2, Sanxingdui, China, ca. 1200–1050 BCE. Bronze, 8′ 5″ high, including base. Sanxingdui Museum, Sanxingdui.

Excavations at Sanxingdui have revealed a civilization contemporaneous with the Shang but with a different artistic aesthetic. This over-life-size statue has elongated proportions and large, staring eyes.

than a thousand jade and bronze objects. The Chinese used many of the vessels found in Shang tombs in sacrifices to ancestors and in funerary ceremonies. In some cases, families set up shrines for ancestor worship above the burial sites. More than 30 distinct shapes can be found in museum collections today. Shang bronzes were also essential items in the sacrificial rites performed by the king and were treasured by later emperors. More than 2,000 years later, for example, the Song emperor Huizong (FIG. 16-24) avidly collected Shang bronzes and even sent agents to Anyang to acquire additional examples for his collection. Shang artists cast their elaborate bronze vessels in piece molds (see "Shang Bronze-Casting," page 474).

Sanxingdui. During the past several decades, excavations by Chinese archaeologists have greatly augmented historical understanding of the Bronze Age—and caused scholars to reevaluate their conclusions about the stylistic and iconographic character of the art of this formative era (see "Sanxingdui," above).

Zhou Dynasty

Around 1050 BCE, the Zhou, former vassals of the Shang, captured Anyang and overthrew their Shang overlords, establishing a new dynasty and a new concept of kingship, namely that the monarch was the Son of Heaven and had a divine mandate to rule on Earth. The Zhou dynasty brought peace and stability and proved to be the longest lasting in China's history—so long that historians divide the Zhou era into two periods: Western Zhou (ca. 1050–771 BCE) and Eastern Zhou (770–256 BCE). The dividing event is the transfer of the Zhou capital from Chang'an (modern Xi'an) in the west to Luoyang in the east. The authority of the Eastern Zhou kings did not go unchallenged, however, and the closing centuries of Zhou rule include a long period of warfare among competing states (Warring States Period, ca. 475–221 BCE). The Zhou fell to one of these states, the Qin, in 256 BCE (see "China's First Emperor," page 471).

Zhou Jade. Under the Zhou, the development of markets and the introduction of bronze coinage brought heightened prosperity and a taste for lavish products, such as bronzes inlaid with gold and silver. Late Zhou bronzes feature scenes of hunting, religious rites, and magic practices. These may relate to the subjects and compositions of lost paintings mentioned in Zhou literature. Other materials favored in the late Zhou period were *lacquer*—a varnishlike substance made from the sap of the Asiatic sumac, used to decorate wood furniture and other objects (see "Lacquered Wood," page 1066, and FIG. 34-10)—and jade (see "Chinese Jade," page 476).

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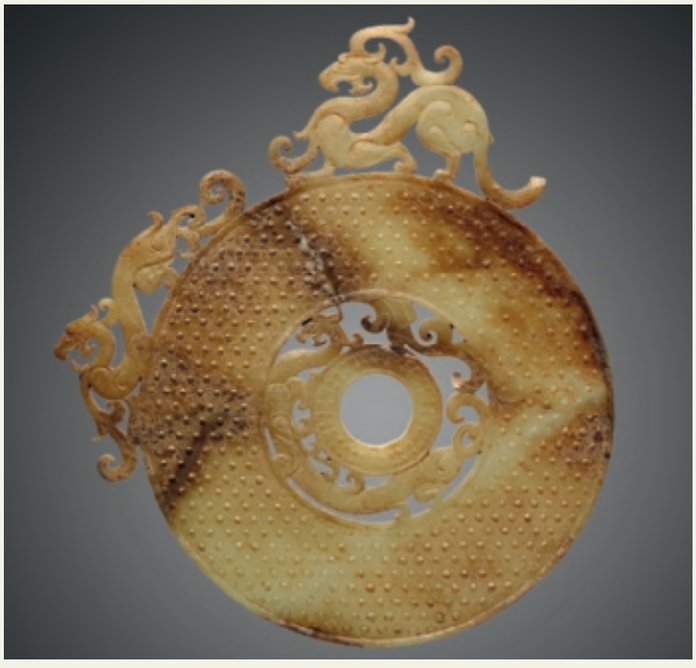
Chinese Jade

The Chinese first used jade—or, more precisely, nephrite—for artworks and ritual objects in the Neolithic period. Nephrite polishes to a more lustrous, slightly buttery finish than jadeite (the stone that Chinese sculptors preferred from the 18th century on), which is quite glassy. Both stones are beautiful, come in colors other than the well-known green, and are tough, hard, and heavy. In China, those qualities became metaphors for the fortitude and moral perfection of superior persons. The Chinese also believed that jade possessed magical qualities capable of protecting the dead. In one Han dynasty tomb, for example, archaeologists discovered the bodies of a prince and princess dressed in suits composed of more than 2,000 jade pieces sewn together with gold wire.

Because of its extreme hardness, jade could not be carved with the stone tools used by Neolithic sculptors. Researchers have tried to explain how these early artists were able to cut, shape, and incise the nephrite objects found at many Neolithic Chinese sites. The sculptors probably used cords embedded with sand to incise lines into the surfaces. Sand placed in a bamboo tube drill could perforate the hard stone, but the process would have been long and arduous, requiring great patience as well as superior skill.

Even after the invention of bronze tools, Chinese sculptors still had to rely on grinding and abrasion rather than simple drilling and chiseling to produce their intricately shaped, pierced, and engraved works. An exceptionally elaborate, superbly fashioned example of jade sculpture is the *bi* (FIG. 16-5) said to have come from a royal Eastern Zhou tomb at Jincun. Rows of raised spirals, created by laborious grinding and polishing, decorate the disk itself. Within the inner circle and around the outer edge of the bi are elegant dragons. The Chinese thought that dragons inhabited the water and flew between Heaven and Earth (compare FIG. 16-6), bringing rain, so these creatures long have been symbols of good fortune in East Asia. They also symbolized the rulers' power to mediate between Heaven and Earth. To sculpt the dragons on the bi from Jincun required long hours of work to pierce through the hard jade. The bi testifies to this Zhou sculptor's mastery in fashioning intricate and complex objects from this very challenging material.



16-5 Bi disk with dragons, from Jincun(?), near Luoyang, China, Eastern Zhou dynasty, fourth to third century BCE. Nephrite, $6\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City.

This unusually elaborate, intricately shaped jade bi required hours of grinding, piercing, engraving, and polishing. Dragons were Chinese symbols of good fortune and flew between Heaven and Earth.

The manufacture of jade objects for burial with the dead, beginning in Neolithic times, reached a peak of technical perfection during the Zhou dynasty. Among the most common finds in tombs of the period are *bi* disks—for example, FIG. 16-5, which is, however, unusually elaborate and of superior quality. Bi disks are thin, flat circular pieces of jade with a hole in the center, which may have symbolized the circle of Heaven. These disks were status symbols in life as well as treasured items the dead took with them to the afterlife. After a battle, for example, the victors forced their defeated foes to relinquish their bi disks as symbols of their submission. The disks also had high monetary value.

Qin and Han Dynasties

The two-and-a-half-century-long Warring States Period was a tumultuous era in China's history, but it was also a time of intellectual and artistic upheaval, when conflicting schools of philosophy, including Legalism, Daoism, and Confucianism, emerged. The king who finally restored order and constructed China's first Great Wall—Qin Shi Huangdi (see "China's First Emperor," page 471)—employed brutal methods to consolidate his power, repressing all schools of thought other than Legalism, which espoused absolute obedience to the state's authority and advocated strict laws and punishments. More positively, the First Emperor established a centralized bureaucracy with standardized written language, weights and measures, and coinage.

Chinese historians long have condemned Shi Huangdi for his ruthless totalitarian rule, but the bureaucratic system he put in place long outlasted his reign. Its success was due in large part to the First Emperor's decision to replace the regional feudal lords who administered China under the Zhou kings with talented salaried administrators and to reward merit rather than to favor high birth.

Han. Soon after the First Emperor's death, the people who had suffered under his reign revolted, assassinated his corrupt and incompetent son, and founded the Han dynasty in 206 BCE. The Han ruled China for four centuries, integrating many of the Qin reforms in a more liberal governing policy. They also extended China's southern and western boundaries, penetrating far into Central Asia (present-day Xinjiang). Han merchants even traded indirectly with distant Rome via the so-called Silk Road (see "Silk and the Silk Road," page 477). Also of long-lasting significance was the rise to prominence under the Han kings of two major Chinese

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Silk and the Silk Road

Silk is the finest natural fabric ever produced. It comes from the cocoons of caterpillars called silkworms. The manufacture of silk was a well-established industry in China by the second millennium BCE, and early examples of painting on silk—for example, the Han silk banner (FIG. 16-6) of the marquise of Dai—have luckily been preserved. The basic procedures probably have not changed much in almost 4,000 years. Farmers today still raise silkworms from eggs, which they place in trays. The farmers also must grow mulberry trees or purchase mulberry leaves, the silkworms' only food source. Eventually, the silkworms form cocoons out of very fine filaments extruded as liquid from their bodies. The filaments soon solidify with exposure to air. Before the transformed caterpillars emerge as moths and badly damage the silk, the farmers kill them with steam or high heat. They soften the cocoons in hot water and unwind the filaments onto a reel. The filaments are so fine that workers generally unwind the threads from 5 to 10 cocoons together to bond into a single strand while the filaments are still soft and sticky. Later, the silkworkers twist several strands together to form a thicker yarn and then weave the yarn on a loom to produce silk cloth. Both the yarn and the cloth can be dyed, and the silk fabric can be decorated by weaving threads of different colors together in special patterns (*brocades*) or by stitching in threads of different colors (*embroidery*). Many Chinese artists painted directly on plain silk.

Greatly admired throughout most of Asia, Chinese silk and the secrets of its production gradually spread throughout the ancient world. The Romans knew of silk as early as the second century BCE and treasured it for garments and hangings. Silk came to the Romans along the ancient fabled Silk Road, actually a network of caravan tracts across Central Asia linking China and the Mediterranean world (MAP 16-1). The western part, between the Mediterranean region and India, developed first, due largely to the difficult geographic conditions to India's northeast. In Central Asia, the caravans had to skirt the Taklamakan Desert, one of the most inhospitable environments on earth, as well as climb high, dangerous mountain passes. Very few traders traveled the entire distance. Along the way, goods usually passed through the hands of people from many lands, who often only dimly understood the ultimate origins and destinations of what they traded. The Roman passion for silk ultimately led to the modern name for the caravan routes, but silk was far from the only product traded along the way. Gold, ivory, gems, glass, lacquer, incense, furs, spices, cotton, linens, exotic animals, and other merchandise precious enough to warrant the risks passed along the Silk Road.

Ideas moved along these trade routes as well. Most important perhaps, travelers on the Silk Road brought Buddhism to China from India in the first century CE, opening a significant new chapter in both the history of religion and the history of art in China.

16-6 Funerary banner, from tomb 1 (tomb of the marquise of Dai), Mawangdui, China, Han dynasty, ca. 168 BCE. Painted silk, 6′ $8\frac{3}{4}$″ × 3′ $\frac{1}{4}$″. Hunan Provincial Museum, Changsha.

Archaeologists found this T-shaped silk banner draped over the coffin of the marquise of Dai, who is shown at the center awaiting her ascent to immortality in Heaven, the realm of the red sun and silvery moon.

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philosophical schools, one of which—Confucianism—became the official Han philosophy under Emperor Wu (r. 141–87 BCE), the seventh Han monarch; see "Daoism and Confucianism," page 486).

Marquise of Dai. One of the most important discoveries of Han art occurred in 1972, when archaeologists excavated the tomb of the marquise of Dai at Mawangdui, near Changsha, the capital of China's Hunan Province. The tomb contained a rich array of goods for use during burial ceremonies and for accompanying the deceased noblewoman into the afterlife. Among the finds were decorated lacquer utensils, various textiles, and an astonishingly well-preserved corpse in the innermost of four nested sarcophagi. Most remarkable of all, however, was the unearthing of a painted T-shaped silk banner (FIG. 16-6) draped over the marquise's coffin.

The marquise's funerary banner is an early masterpiece of painting on silk. Scholars generally agree that the area within the cross at the top of the T represents Heaven. Most of the vertical section below is the human realm. At the very bottom is the Underworld. In the heavenly realm, dragons and immortal beings appear between and below two orbs—the red sun and its symbol, the raven, on the right, and the silvery moon and its symbol, the toad, on the left. Below, the standing figure on the first white platform near the center of the vertical section is probably the marquise of Dai herself—one of the first portraits in Chinese art. The woman awaits her ascent to Heaven, where she can attain immortality. The artist depicted her funeral nearer the bottom. Between these two sections are two intertwining dragons whose serpentine bodies cross through a bi disk (compare FIG. 16-5). Their tails reach down to the Underworld and their heads point to Heaven, unifying the entire composition.

Wuwei Flying Horse. Han sculptors also excelled in bronze-casting. Of the many surviving bronze figurines of this period, those discovered in 1969 in the tomb of Governor-General Zhang are of special interest. The brick tomb, at Wuwei in Gansu Province, contained almost 100 cast-bronze sculptures of horses, chariots, and soldiers—a miniature version of the life-size army (FIG. 16-1) guarding the tomb of the First Emperor of Qin, which appears to have become a model for less magnificent burials elsewhere in China. The figurine illustrated here (FIG. 16-7) represents a distinctive breed of horse from Turkestan. It differs from all the others in Zhang's tomb because it is not prancing or standing still but galloping—or, more accurately, flying, because one hoof rests on a swallow with spread wings. The sculptor posed the horse with its head tilted to one side but presented the animal's body in a pure profile. (Compare the horses pulling carts in the reliefs [FIG. 16-9] of the Wu family shrine.) The Wuwei horse has an even more elegant silhouette, with its legs spread widely and its tail lifted behind it like a fifth leg, balancing the curved neck and the rear left leg. Zhang's airborne horse suggests that the journey from his tomb will take him heavenward to an eternal afterlife.

16-7 Flying horse, from the tomb of Governor-General Zhang, Wuwei, China, Han dynasty, late second century CE. Bronze, 1′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″ high. Gansu Provincial Museum, Lanzhou.

Found in a late Han dynasty tomb, this cast-bronze galloping, flying horse has one hoof on a swallow with spread wings, suggesting the deceased's heavenward journey to an eternal afterlife.

16-8 Incense burner (boshan), from the tomb of Prince Liu Sheng, Mancheng, China, Han dynasty, ca. 113 BCE. Bronze with gold inlay, $10\frac{3}{8}$″ high. Hebei Provincial Museum, Shijiazhuang.

The treasures buried with Prince Liu Sheng included this censer in the form of the sacred mountain peaks of the Isles of the Immortals in the Eastern Sea, where Daoists could achieve everlasting life.

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Prince Liu Sheng. Precious gifts to the dead also came to light in 1968, when Chinese archaeologists discovered two rock-cut tombs at Mancheng in Hebei Province, about 90 miles southwest of Beijing. Buried in the tombs were Prince Liu Sheng, who died in 113 BCE, and his wife, Dou Wan. In both tombs, excavators found a treasure trove of early Han dynasty funerary goods, including two complete burial suits, each consisting of more than 2,000 pieces of jade (see "Chinese Jade," page 476) fastened by threads of gold.

Of higher artistic interest than the costly jade suits is Liu Sheng's bronze incense burner (*boshan*; FIG. 16-8) in the form of a sacred mountain. Han Daoists (see "Daoism and Confucianism," page 486) believed that everlasting life could be achieved in the sacred mountains of the Isles of the Immortals in the Eastern Sea. The prince's bronze boshan has a deep hemispherical bowl and an elegant base decorated with intertwining dragons (compare FIG. 16-6). The wavy lines of gold inlay on the bowl represent the Eastern Sea. Above rise the jagged peaks of the sacred mountains of Daoist immortals. Inhabiting the mountains, which project like fingers from the bowl and form the cover of the boshan, are relief figures of humans, animals, and birds. Holes pierced in the mountains allowed the smoke emanating from the bowl to escape.

The finds in the Mancheng tombs attest both to the immense wealth of the imperial family (Liu Sheng was a stepbrother of Wu, the emperor who embraced Confucianism) and to Han artists' mastery of bronze-casting.

Wu Family Shrines. Excavations of Han dynasty tombs have also uncovered some of the finest examples of Chinese stone sculpture. The most important are the pictorial narratives on the walls of the Wu family shrines in a cemetery at Jiaxiang in Shandong Province. The shrines, which all honor Wu men, date between 147 and 168 CE and are simple in form, consisting of three low walls and a pitched roof. On the interior surfaces, sculptors carved flat polished images that stand out against an equally flat, though roughly textured, ground. The subjects include legendary and historical events, and perhaps also scenes picturing the deceased. Among the historical scenes is a representation of the third-century BCE hero Jing Ke's attempt to assassinate the tyrannical First Emperor of Qin.

On the slab shown in FIG. 16-9, a *rubbing* (an impression made by pressing dampened paper over the surface and rubbing ink onto the portions adhering to the relief carving) taken from the shrine wall, the archer at the upper left is probably the hero Yi. He saves the earth from scorching by shooting down the nine extra suns, represented as ravens in the Fusang tree. (The small orbs below the raven and sun on the marquise of Dai's banner [FIG. 16-6] probably allude to the same story.) The lowest zone shows a procession of umbrella-carriages moving to the left. Above, underneath the overhanging eaves of a two-story mansion, robed men bearing gifts pay homage to a central figure of uncertain identity, represented as larger and therefore more important (*hierarchy of scale*). Two men kneel before the larger figure. Women occupy the upper story. At the center and facing forward is another figure that the artist singled out as the most important. The identities of the individual figures are unknown. Interpretations vary widely, and in the past decade, scholars have discovered that some of the Wu reliefs have recarved inscriptions, leading them to question even the traditional date of the slab. Nonetheless, these scenes of homage and loyalty are consistent with the Confucian ideals of Han society (see "Daoism and Confucianism," page 486).

16-9 The archer Yi and a reception in a mansion, Wu family shrine, Jiaxiang, China, Han dynasty, 147–168 CE. Rubbing of a stone relief, 3′ × 5′.

The Wu family shrines depict both legendary and historical subjects. Here, the hero Yi shoots down suns, represented as ravens, to save the earth from scorching. To the right is a ceremonial scene in a Han mansion.

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Chinese Wood Construction

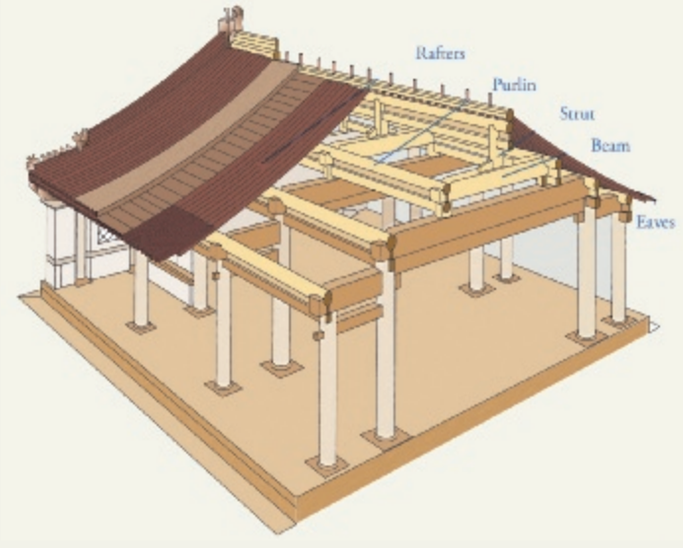
Although the basic unit of Chinese architecture, the rectangular hall with columns supporting a roof, was common in many ancient civilizations, Chinese buildings have two major distinguishing features: the curving silhouettes of their roofs and their method of construction. The Chinese, like other ancient peoples, used wood to construct their earliest buildings. Although those structures do not survive, scholars believe that many of the features giving East Asian architecture its distinctive character may date to the Zhou dynasty. Even the simple buildings reproduced in Han stone reliefs (FIG. 16-9) and clay models (FIG. **16-10**) reveal a style and a method of construction long basic to China.

The typical Chinese hall has a pitched roof that projects beyond the outer walls. Timber columns, lintels, and *brackets* provide the support. The walls have no weight-bearing function but serve only as screens separating inside from outside and room from room. The colors of Chinese buildings, predominantly red, black, yellow, and white, are also distinctive. Chinese wood architecture is customarily multicolored throughout, save for certain parts left in natural color, such as railings made of white marble. The builders usually painted the screen walls and the columns red. Chinese designers often chose dazzling combinations of colors and elaborate patterns for the beams, brackets, eaves, rafters, and ceilings. Artists painted or lacquered the surfaces to protect the timber from rot and wood parasites, as well as to produce an arresting aesthetic effect.

The drawing reproduced here (FIG. **16-11**) shows the basic construction method of Chinese architecture, with the major components of a Chinese building labeled. The builders laid *beams* between columns, decreasing the length of the beams as the structure rose. The beams supported vertical *struts,* which in turn supported higher beams and eventually the *purlins* running the length of the building and carrying the roof's sloping *rafters.* Unlike the rigid elements of the triangular trussed timber roof common in the West, which produce flat sloping rooflines, the varying lengths of the Chinese cross beams and the variously placed purlins can create curved profiles. Early Chinese roofs have flat profiles (FIGS. 16-9 and 16-10), but curving rafters (FIGS. 16-11, 16-17, and 16-26) later became the norm, not only in China but throughout East Asia. The interlocking clusters of brackets were capable of supporting roofs with broad overhanging *eaves,* another typical feature of Chinese architecture. Multiplication of the *bays* (spaces between the columns) could extend the building's length to any dimension desired, although each bay could be no wider or longer than the length of a single tree trunk. The proportions of the structural elements could be fixed into *modules* (basic units), allowing for standardization of parts and thus rapid construction. The Chinese wood construction system was so sophisticated that highly skilled workers could fit the parts together without using any adhesive substance, such as mortar or glue, and still build very large, stable structures capable of standing for centuries.

16-10 Model of a house, Han dynasty, first century CE. Painted earthenware, 4′ 4″ high. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City.

This Han house model provides invaluable information about the form, coloration, and construction methods of Chinese architecture. The flat profile of the rooflines is typical of earlier Chinese buildings.



16-11 Chinese raised beam construction (after L. Liu).

Chinese walls have no weight-bearing function. They serve only as screens separating inside from outside and room from room. Tang dynasty and later buildings usually have curved rafters and eaves.

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Han Houses and Palaces. No remains of Han domestic buildings survive, but ceramic models of houses deposited in Han tombs, together with representations such as those in the Wu family shrines, provide information about Chinese residential architecture and construction techniques during the early centuries CE. An unusually large painted earthenware model (FIG. 16-10) reproduces a Han house with an entrance gate and small courtyard leading to three floors of living quarters and a lookout tower. Each story has a sharply projecting tiled roof resting on a framework of timber posts, lintels, and brackets. This construction method typifies much Chinese architecture even today (see "Chinese Wood Construction," page 480). Descriptions of Han palaces suggest that they were grandiose versions of the type of house reproduced in this model but with more luxurious decoration, including mural paintings and walls of lacquered wood.

Six Dynasties

For three-and-a-half centuries, from 220 to 581,* civil strife divided China into competing states. Scholars variously refer to this era as the Six Dynasties or Northern and Southern Dynasties period. In the history of this extremely complex era, one development deserves special mention—the occupation of northern China by peoples who were not ethnically Han Chinese and who spoke non-Chinese languages. It was in the northern states, connected to India by the desert caravan routes of the Silk Road (see "Silk and the Silk Road," page 477), that Buddhism first took root in China during the Han dynasty. Certain practices shared with Daoism (see "Daoism and Confucianism," page 486), such as withdrawal from ordinary society, helped Buddhism gain an initial foothold in the north. But Buddhism's promise of hope beyond the troubles of this world earned it an ever-broader audience due to the upheavals under the Six Dynasties. In addition, the fully developed Buddhist system of thought attracted intellectuals. Buddhism never fully displaced Confucianism and Daoism, but it did prosper throughout China for centuries and had a profound effect on the further development of the religious forms of those two native traditions.

Zhao Buddha. A gilded bronze statuette (FIG. 16-12) in San Francisco representing Shakyamuni, the historical Buddha, bears an inscription giving its date as 338. Although some scholars have argued that the inscription is a later addition, most art historians accept the statuette as the earliest precisely datable Chinese image of the Buddha, created during the Later Zhao dynasty (319–351). The oldest Chinese Buddhist texts describe the Buddha as golden and radiating light. This no doubt accounts for the choice of gilded bronze as the sculptor's medium. In both style and iconography, this early Buddha resembles the prototype conceived and developed at Gandhara (FIGS. 15-12, 15-12A, and 15-13). The Chinese figure recalls its presumed South Asian models in the flat, relief-like handling of the robe's heavy concentric folds; the ushnisha (cranial bump) on the head; and the cross-legged position. So new was the iconography and its meaning, however, that the Chinese sculptor misrepresented the canonical dhyana mudra, or meditation gesture (see "The Buddha, Buddhism, and Buddhist Iconography," page 447). Here, the Buddha clasps his hands across his stomach. In South Asian art (for example, FIG. 15-12), the Buddha turns his palms upward, with thumbs barely touching in front of his torso.

*From this point on, all dates in this chapter are CE unless otherwise stated.

16-12 Shakyamuni Buddha, from Hebei Province, Later Zhao dynasty, Six Dynasties, 338. Gilded bronze, 1′ 3½″ high. Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (Avery Brundage Collection).

This earliest datable Chinese image of the Buddha is stylistically indebted to Gandharan prototypes (FIG. 15-12), but the sculptor, unfamiliar with Buddhist iconography, misrepresented the dhyana mudra.

Lady Feng's Heroism. Secular arts also flourished under the Six Dynasties, as rulers sought calligraphers and painters to lend prestige to their courts. The most famous early Chinese painter with whom extant works can be associated is GU KAIZHI (ca. 344–406). Gu was a friend of important members of the Eastern Jin dynasty (317–420) and won renown as a calligrapher, a painter of court portraits, and a pioneer of landscape painting. A *handscroll* (see "Chinese Painting Materials and Formats," page 489) attributed to Gu in the 11th century is not by his hand, but it exemplifies the key elements of his art. Called *Admonitions of the Instructress*

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ARTISTS ON ART

Xie He's Six Canons

China has a long and rich history of scholarship on painting, preserved today in copies of texts from as far back as the fourth century and in citations to even earlier sources. Few of the first texts on painting survive, but later authors often quoted them, preserving parts of some important works for posterity. Thus, educated Chinese painters and their clients could steep themselves in a rich art historical tradition. Perhaps the most famous subject of later commentary is the set of six "canons" (laws) of painting that the art critic and painter Xie He (active ca. 500–530) formulated in the early sixth century. The canons, as translated by James Cahill, are as follows:

1. Engender a sense of movement through spirit consonance.
2. Use the brush with the bone method.
3. Responding to things, depict their forms.
4. According to kind, describe appearances [with color].
5. Dividing and planning, positioning and arranging.
6. Transmitting and conveying earlier models through copying and transcribing.*

Xie employed only four characters for each of these succinct and cryptic laws. Several variant translations have been proposed, and scholars actively debate the precise meaning of each canon. Interpreting the canons in connection with extant paintings is often difficult, but nonetheless offers valuable insights into what the Chinese of Xie's day and later valued in painting.

The simplest canons to understand are the third, fourth, and fifth, because they show Chinese painters' concern for accuracy in rendering forms and colors and for care in composition, artistic concerns common in many cultures. However, separating form and color into different laws gives written expression to a distinctive feature of early Chinese painting. Painters such as Gu Kaizhi (FIG. 16-13) and Yan Liben (FIG. 16-19) used an outline-and-color technique. Their brushed-ink outline drawings employ flat applications of color. To suggest volume, they used ink shading along edges, such as drapery folds.

Also noteworthy is the order of the laws, suggesting that Chinese painters' primary concern was to convey the vital spirit of their subjects and their own sensitivity to that spirit, a distinctly Daoist goal (see "Daoism and Confucianism," page 486). Next in importance was the handling of the brush and the careful placement of strokes, especially of ink. The sixth canon also speaks to a standard Chinese painting practice: copying. Chinese painters, like painters in other cultures throughout history, trained by copying the works of their teachers and other artists (see, for example, "Artistic Training in Renaissance Italy," page 434). In addition, Chinese artists often copied famous paintings as sources of forms and ideas for their own works and to preserve great works created using fragile materials. In China, as elsewhere, change and individual development occurred in constant reference to the past, the artists always preserving some elements of it.

*James Cahill, "The Six Laws and How to Read Them," *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 372–381.

16-13 Attributed to Gu Kaizhi, *Lady Feng and the Bear,* detail of *Admonitions of the Instructress to the Court Ladies,* Six Dynasties, late fourth century. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk, detail 9 3/4″ high; full scroll 11′ 4 1/2″ long. British Museum, London.

The style of Gu Kaizhi's handscroll, which features an outline-and-color technique, accords well with Xie He's painting ideals, which emphasize the importance of representing inner vitality and spirit.

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to the Court Ladies, the horizontal scroll contains painted scenes and accompanying explanatory text. The seven illustrated stories all recount historical examples of wifely virtue.

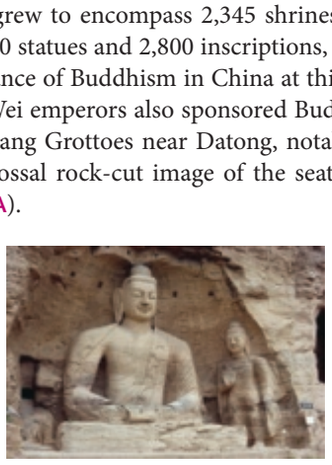
Like all Chinese handscrolls, this one was unrolled and read from right to left, with only a small section exposed for viewing at one time. The section illustrated here (FIG. 16-13) records a virtuous act of heroism—Lady Feng saving her emperor's life by placing herself between her husband and a bear that had escaped from a circus. Lady Feng's courage and selflessness in risking her own life to save the emperor were perfect models of Confucian behavior (see "Daoism and Confucianism," page 486). As in many early Chinese paintings, the artist set the figures against a blank background with only a minimal setting for the scene, although in other works, Gu provided landscape settings for his narratives. The figures' poses and fluttering drapery ribbons convey a clear quality of animation in concert with the individualized facial expressions. This style accords well with painting ideals expressed in texts of the time, when representing inner vitality and spirit took precedence over reproducing surface appearances (see "Xie He's Six Canons," page 482).

Meeting of Two Buddhas. A gilded bronze statuette (FIG. 16-14) shows how the sculptors of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534) transformed the Gandhara-derived style of earlier Buddhist art in China (FIG. 16-12). Dated 518, the piece was probably a private devotional object in a domestic setting or a votive offering in a temple. It represents the meeting of Shakyamuni Buddha (at the viewer's right) and Prabhutaratna, the Buddha who had achieved nirvana in the remote past, as recounted in the Lotus Sutra, an encyclopedic collection of Buddhist thought and poetry. When Shakyamuni was preaching on Vulture Peak, Prabhutaratna's stupa miraculously appeared in the sky. Shakyamuni opened it and revealed Prabhutaratna himself, who had promised to be present whenever the Lotus Sutra was preached. Shakyamuni sat beside him and continued to expound the Lotus Sutra's teachings. The meeting of the two Buddhas symbolized the continuity of Buddhist thought across the ages.

Behind each Buddha is a *mandorla* (flamelike almond-shaped *nimbus*). Both figures sit in the *lalitasana* pose—one leg folded and the other hanging down. This standard pose, which indicates relaxation, underscores the ease of communication between the two Buddhas. Their bodies have elongated proportions, and their smiling faces have sharp noses and almond-shaped eyes. The folds of the garments drop like a waterfall from their shoulders to their knees and spill over onto the pedestal, where they form sharp ridges resembling the teeth of a saw. The rhythmic sweep and linear elegance of the folds recall the brushwork of contemporaneous Chinese painting.

1 in.

Buddhist Caves. The Northern Wei dynasty was also responsible for beginning work at the great Longmen cave complex near Luoyang, further developed under the Tang dynasty (FIG. 16-16). Modeled on the cave temples of India, the Longmen and other Chinese complexes feature rock-cut shrines decorated with sculptures and paintings. The Longmen site alone eventually grew to encompass 2,345 shrines and more than 100,000 statues and 2,800 inscriptions, attesting to the importance of Buddhism in China at this time. The Northern Wei emperors also sponsored Buddhist caves at the Yungang Grottoes near Datong, notably cave 20 with its colossal rock-cut image of the seated Buddha (FIG. 16-14A).



16-14A Seated Buddha, cave 20, Yungang, ca. 460–470.

16-14 Shakyamuni and Prabhutaratna, from Hebei Province, Northern Wei dynasty, 518. Gilded bronze, $10\frac{1}{4}$″ high. Musée Guimet, Paris.

The sculptor of this statuette transformed the Gandhara-derived style of earlier Chinese Buddhist art (FIG. 16-12). The bodies have elongated proportions, and the garment folds form sharp ridges.

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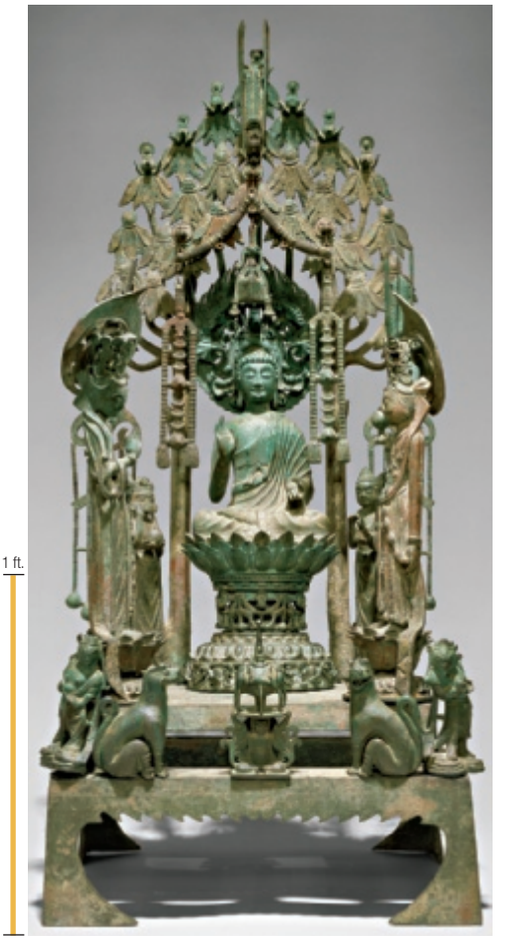
Sui and Tang Dynasties

The emperors of the short-lived Sui dynasty (r. 581–618) succeeded in reuniting China for the first time since the fall of the Han three-and-a-half centuries before. The new rulers established a centralized government, sponsored Buddhist art and architecture, and prepared the way for the brilliant Tang dynasty. Fortunately, despite the brevity of the 37-year Sui reign, some artworks of the highest quality survive.

Sui Altarpiece. One of the preserved Sui masterpieces is a small altarpiece (FIG. 16-15) with an incense-burner base now in Boston, dated by inscription to 593. Dedicated by eight mothers—another example of the significant role that Chinese women played as art patrons—the cast-bronze altarpiece was displayed in a Buddhist shrine, probably in Xi'an. The central figure is Amitabha, the Buddha of the Western Pure Land (see "Buddhism," page 447), seated with crossed legs on a jeweled lotus throne with his right hand raised in the abhaya (fear-not) mudra and a flame halo framing his head. Flanking him are two famous bodhisattvas: at the left, Bodhisattva Dashizhi, who clasps his hands in prayer, and Bodhisattva Guanyin (compare FIGS. 16-18A and 16-25A), who holds a pomegranate. Behind them are four other disciples. The setting is Amitabha's Pure Land Paradise (compare FIG. 16-18), which the Sui sculptor conjured by placing the Buddha and his followers beneath a lush canopy of tall trees with jewels in the leaves, and chimes and pearl ropes hanging from the branches. The elegant proportions of the figures and the gentle smiles on the faces imbue the group with a special charm. Below, two figures holding thunderbolts and two seated lions guard the entrance to the Western Paradise.



16-15 Altarpiece with Amitabha and attendants, from Xi'an(?), China, Sui dynasty, 593 CE. Gilt bronze, 2′ 6 1/8″ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (gift of Mrs. W. Scott Fitz and Edward Jackson Holmes, 1922).

In this Sui altarpiece, Amitabha sits on a jeweled lotus throne in his Pure Land Paradise beneath a canopy of trees with pearl ropes and chimes. Flanking him are two bodhisattvas and other disciples.

Tang. Under the Tang emperors (r. 618–907), China entered a period of unequaled magnificence (MAP 16-1). Chinese armies marched across Central Asia, prompting an influx of foreign peoples, wealth, and ideas into China. Traders, missionaries, and other travelers journeyed to the cosmopolitan Tang capital at Chang'an, and the Chinese, in turn, ventured westward. Chang'an, laid out on a grid scheme, occupied more than 30 square miles. It was the greatest city in the world during the seventh and eighth centuries.

Vairocana Buddha. In its first century, the new dynasty continued to support Buddhism and to sponsor great monuments for Buddhist worshipers. One of the most spectacular Tang Buddhist sculptures is carved into the face of a cliff in the Longmen cave complex first developed by the Northern Wei dynasty. The colossal relief (FIG. 16-16), which dominates the entire site, features a central figure of the Buddha 44 feet tall—seated. An inscription records that the project was completed in 676 when Gaozong (r. 649–683) was the Tang emperor and that in 672, the empress Wu Zetian underwrote a substantial portion of the considerable cost with her private funds. Wu Zetian was an exceptional woman by any standard, and when Gaozong died in 683, she declared herself emperor and ruled until 705, when she was forced to abdicate at age 82.

Wu Zetian's Buddha is the Vairocana Buddha—not the historical Buddha portrayed in earlier Chinese artworks (FIGS. 16-12, 16-14, and 16-14A), but the Mahayana Cosmic Buddha, the

16-16 Vairocana Buddha, disciples, and bodhisattvas, Fengxian Temple, Longmen caves, Luoyang, China, Tang dynasty, completed 676. Limestone, Buddha 44′ high.

Empress Wu Zetian sponsored these colossal rock-cut sculptures. The Tang artists represented the Mahayana Cosmic Buddha in serene majesty, suppressing surface detail in favor of simplicity and dignity.

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16-17 Main hall (looking north) of the Nanchan Temple, Mount Wutai, Lijiazhuang, China, Tang dynasty, 782.

One of the rare preserved examples of Tang architecture, the main hall of the Nanchan Temple on Mount Wutai is an early example of bracketed wood construction and of a tiled roof with a curved silhouette.

Buddha of Boundless Space and Time (see "Buddhism," page 447). Flanking him are two of his monks, attendant bodhisattvas, and guardian figures—all smaller than the Buddha but still of gigantic size. The sculptors represented the Buddha in serene majesty. An almost geometric regularity of contour and smoothness of planes emphasize the volume of the massive figure. The folds of his robes fall in a few concentric arcs. The artists suppressed surface detail in the interest of simplicity and dignity.

Nanchan Temple. The Tang rulers embellished their empire with extravagant structures, colorfully painted and of colossal size, furnished with items of great luxury and elaborate gold, silver, and bronze ornaments. Unfortunately, because most Chinese buildings were constructed of wood (see "Chinese Wood Construction," page 480), few Tang buildings survive. A notable exception is the Nanchan Temple on Mount Wutai in Shanxi Province, the oldest extant Buddhist temple in China. It lacks the costly embellishment of imperial structures in the capital, but its main hall (FIG. 16-17) features a tiled roof with a curved profile, an early example of the kind of roof that, in bolder fashion, became the norm in later Chinese architecture (FIGS. 16-11, 16-26, 34-1, and 34-6). Curved eaves were not present in the buildings depicted in the Wu family shrines (FIG. 16-9) or in models of Han dynasty houses (FIG. 16-10).

Dunhuang Grottoes. The westward expansion of the Tang Empire increased the importance of Dunhuang, the westernmost gateway to China on the Silk Road (MAP 16-1). Dunhuang long had been a wealthy, cosmopolitan trade center, a Buddhist pilgrimage destination, and home to thriving communities of Buddhist monks and nuns of varied ethnicity, as well as to adherents of other religions. In the course of several centuries beginning under the Six Dynasties, the Chinese cut hundreds of sanctuaries into the soft rock of the cliffs near Dunhuang. Known today as the Mogao Grottoes and in antiquity as the Caves of a Thousand Buddhas, the Dunhuang cave temples are best known for their mural paintings (FIG. 16-18), but they also contain sculpted images of painted unfired clay and stucco, and painted silk scrolls (FIG. 16-18A). The earliest recorded dedication of a cave at Dunhuang was in 366, but the oldest extant caves date to the early fifth century. The Dunhuang Grottoes are especially important because in 845, the

1 ft.

16-18 *Paradise of Amitabha*, cave 172, Dunhuang, China, Tang dynasty, mid-eighth century. Wall painting, 10′ high.

This richly detailed, brilliantly colored mural aided worshipers at Dunhuang in visualizing the wonders of the Pure Land Paradise promised to those who had faith in Amitabha, the Buddha of the West.

16-18A
Bodhisattva Guanyin, Dunhuang, late 9th or early 10th century.

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Daoism and Confucianism

Daoism and Confucianism are both philosophies and religions native to China. Both schools of thought attracted wide followings during the Warring States Period (ca. 475–221 BCE), when political turbulence led to social unrest.

Daoism emerged out of the metaphysical teachings attributed to Laozi (604?–531? BCE) and Zhuangzi (370?–301? BCE). It takes its name from Laozi's treatise *Daodejing* (*The Way and Its Power*). Daoist philosophy stresses an intuitive awareness, nurtured by harmonious contact with nature, and shuns everything artificial. Daoists seek to follow the universal path, or principle, called the Dao, whose features cannot be described but only suggested through analogies. For example, the Dao is said to be like water, always yielding but eventually wearing away the hard stone that does not yield. For Daoists, strength comes from flexibility and inaction. Historically, Daoist principles encouraged retreat from society in favor of personal cultivation in nature and the achievement of a perfect balance between *yang,* active masculine energy, and *yin,* passive feminine energy.

Confucius (Kong Fuzi, or Master Kong, 551–479 BCE) was born in the state of Lu (roughly equivalent to modern Shandong Province) to an aristocratic family that had fallen on hard times. From an early age, he showed a strong interest in the rites and ceremonies that helped unite people into an orderly society. As he grew older, he developed a deep concern for the suffering caused by the civil conflict of his day, and adopted a philosophy that he hoped would lead to order and stability. The *junzi* ("superior person" or "gentleman") who possesses *ren* ("human-heartedness") and *li* ("etiquette") personified the ideal social order Confucius sought. Although the term *junzi* originally assumed noble birth, in Confucian thought anyone can become a junzi by cultivating the virtues Confucius espoused, especially empathy for suffering, pursuit of morality and justice, respect for ancient ceremonies, and adherence to traditional social relationships, such as those between husband and wife, parent and child, elder and younger sibling, older and younger friend, and ruler and subject.

Confucius's disciple Mencius (or Mengzi, 371?–289? BCE) developed his master's ideas further, stressing that the deference to age and rank at the heart of the Confucian social order brings a reciprocal responsibility. For example, a king's legitimacy depends on the goodwill of his people. A ruler should share his joys with his subjects, and he will know that his laws are unjust if they bring suffering to the people.

Confucius spent much of his adult life trying to find rulers willing to apply his teachings, but he died in disappointment. However, he and Mencius profoundly influenced Chinese thought and social practice. Chinese traditions of venerating deceased ancestors and outstanding leaders encouraged the development of Confucianism as a religion as well as a philosophic tradition. Eventually, Han emperor Wu established Confucianism as the state's official doctrine in the second century BCE. Thereafter, it became the primary subject of the civil service exams required for admission into and advancement within government service.

Confucian and Daoist are broad, imprecise terms that scholars often use to distinguish aspects of Chinese culture stressing social responsibility and order (Confucian—for example, FIGS. 16-13 and 16-19) from those emphasizing cultivation of individuals, often in reclusion (Daoist—for example, FIGS. 16-23 and 16-27). But both philosophies share the idea that anyone can cultivate wisdom or ability, regardless of birth.

16-19 Attributed to YAN LIBEN, *Emperor Xuan and Attendants,* detail of *The Thirteen Emperors,* Tang dynasty, ca. 650. Handscroll, ink and colors on silk, detail 1′ 8¼″ high; full scroll 17′ 5″ long. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

This handscroll portrays 13 Chinese rulers as Confucian exemplars of moral and political virtue. Yan Liben, a celebrated Tang painter, was a master of line drawing and colored washes.

emperor Wuzong instituted a major persecution, destroying 4,600 Buddhist temples and 40,000 shrines and forcing the return of 260,500 monks and nuns to lay life. Wuzong's policies did not affect Dunhuang, then under Tibetan rule, so the site preserves much of the type of art lost elsewhere.

Paradise of Amitabha (FIG. 16-18), in Dunhuang cave 172, shows how the splendor of the Tang era and religious teachings could come together in a powerful image. Buddhist Pure Land sects, especially those centered on Amitabha, the Buddha of the West, had captured the popular imagination under the Six Dynasties and continued to flourish during the Tang dynasty. Pure Land teachings asserted that individuals had no hope of attaining enlightenment through their own power because of the waning of the Buddha's law. Instead, they could obtain rebirth in a realm free

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from spiritual corruption simply through faith in Amitabha's promise of salvation. Richly detailed, brilliantly colored pictures steeped in the opulence of the Tang dynasty, such as this one, greatly aided worshipers in gaining faith by visualizing the wonders of the Pure Land Paradise. Amitabha sits in the center of a raised platform against a backdrop of ornate buildings characteristic of the Tang era (compare FIG. 16-17). The Buddha's principal bodhisattvas and lesser divine attendants surround him. Before them a celestial dance takes place. Bodhisattvas had strong appeal in East Asia as compassionate beings ready to achieve buddhahood but dedicated to humanity's salvation. Some received direct worship and became the main subjects of sculpture and painting.

Yan Liben. Although few examples of Tang painting exist today, many art historians regard the early Tang dynasty as the golden age of Chinese figure painting. In perfect accord with contemporaneous and later Chinese poets' and critics' glowing descriptions of Tang painting style are the unrestored portions of *The Thirteen Emperors* (FIG. 16-19), a masterpiece of line drawing and colored washes long attributed to YAN LIBEN (d. 673). Born into an aristocratic family and the son of a famous artist, Yan was prime minister under the emperor Gaozong as well as a celebrated painter. This handscroll depicts 13 Chinese rulers from the Han to the Sui dynasties. Its purpose was to portray these historical figures as exemplars of moral and political virtue, in keeping with the Confucian ideal of learning from the past (see "Daoism and Confucianism," page 486). Each emperor stands or sits in an undefined space. The emperor's greater size relative to his attendants immediately establishes his superior stature. Simple shading in the faces and the robes gives the figures an added semblance of volume and presence.

The detail in FIG. 16-19 represents Emperor Xuan of the Chen dynasty (557–589) seated among his attendants, two of whom carry the ceremonial fans that signify his rank and also serve to focus the viewer's attention on him. Xuan stands out from the others also because of his dark robes. His majestic serenity contrasts with his attendants' animated poses, which vary sharply from figure to figure, lending vitality to the composition.

Tomb of Yongtai. The wall paintings in the tomb of the Tang princess Yongtai (684–701) at Qianxian, outside ancient Chang'an (present-day Xi'an) near the Lintong burial mound of the First Emperor (FIG. 16-1), enable art historians to analyze court painting styles unobscured by problems of authenticity and reconstruction. When she was 17 years old, Yongtai was either murdered or forced to commit suicide by Wu Zetian, sponsor of the colossal rock-cut image of the Vairocana Buddha (FIG. 16-16) at Luoyang. Yongtai's underground tomb dates to 706, however, because her formal burial had to await Wu Zetian's death.

Adorning the walls of the main chamber (FIG. 16-20) of Yongtai's tomb are paintings of palace ladies and their attendants—images of pleasant court life to accompany the princess into her afterlife. The figures appear as if on a shallow stage, but the artist did not provide any indications of background or setting. The attendants, arranged in two rows behind the ladies whom they serve, assume a variety of poses, some seen full-face, others in three-quarter views, from both the front and the back. The compositional device of pairing figures facing into and out of the picture space appears often in paintings of this period and effectively conveys depth. Thick, even contour lines describe full-volumed faces and suggest solid forms beneath the drapery, all with the utmost economy. This simplicity of form and line, along with the measured rhythm of the poses, enhances the dignity of the figures represented.

Tang Ceramic Sculpture. Tang ceramists also achieved renown and produced thousands of earthenware figures of people, domesticated animals, and fantastic creatures for burial in tombs. These statuettes attest to a demand for ceramic sculpture by a much wider group of patrons than ever before, but terracotta funerary sculpture has a long history in China. (The most spectacular example is the ceramic army of the First Emperor of Qin; FIG. 16-1.) The subjects of the Tang figurines are also much more diverse than in earlier periods. The depiction of a broad range of foreigners, including Central Asian musicians on camels, accurately reflects the cosmopolitanism of Tang China and the robust exchange of goods and ideas along the Silk Road (see "Silk and the Silk Road," page 477).

16-20 Ladies of the palace, replicas in situ of the mural paintings in the tomb of Princess Yongtai, Qianxian, China, Tang dynasty, 706. Figures 5′ 10″ high. Original murals transferred to the Shaanxi History Museum, Xi'an.

The paintings in this Tang princess's tomb depict scenes of pleasant court life. The muralist used thick, even contour lines and did not provide any setting, but the composition effectively conveys depth.

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16-21 Neighing horse, from a tomb in northern China, Tang dynasty, eighth to ninth century. Glazed earthenware, 1′ 8″ high. Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Mrs. Robert Solomon gift).

Tang ceramists achieved renown for their earthenware figurines decorated with colorful lead glazes that the painters let run in dramatic streams down the sides when a piece was fired, as in this statuette.

The artists painted some figurines with colored slips and decorated others, such as the spirited, handsomely adorned neighing horse illustrated here (FIG. 16-21), with colorful lead glazes that run in dramatic streams down the objects' sides when fired (see "Chinese Earthenwares and Stonewares," page 473). The popularity of the horse as a subject of Chinese art (compare FIGS. 16-1a and 16-7) reflects the importance the emperors placed on the quality of their stables. The breed represented here is powerful in build. Its beautifully arched neck terminates in a small, elegant head. Richly harnessed and saddled, the horse testifies to its rider's nobility.

Song and Liao Dynasties

The last century of Tang rule brought many popular uprisings and the empire's gradual disintegration. After an interim of internal strife known as the Five Dynasties period (907–960), General Zhao Kuangyin succeeded in consolidating the country once again. He established himself as the first emperor (r. 960–976) of the Song dynasty (960–1279), which ruled China from a capital in the north at Bianliang (modern Kaifeng) during the Northern Song period (960–1127). The Song emperors curtailed many of the hereditary privileges of the elite class. They also made political appointments on the basis of scores on civil service examinations, and education became a more important prerequisite for Song officials than high birth.

The three centuries of Song rule—including the Southern Song period (1127–1279) when the Song dynasty retreated in the face of invaders from Manchuria to a new capital at Lin'an (modern Hangzhou) in southern China—were also a time of extraordinary technological innovation. Under the Song dynasty, the Chinese invented the magnetic compass for sea navigation, printing with moveable clay type, paper money, and gunpowder. Song China was the most technologically advanced society in the world in the early second millennium, as well as the cultural center of Asia, renowned for philosophy, scholarship, poetry, and art.

Li Cheng. For many art historians, the Song era is the golden age of Chinese landscape painting, which first emerged as a major artistic genre under the Six Dynasties. An early Northern Song master was LI CHENG (919–967), the son and grandson of government officials who were also distinguished scholars. Li too became a scholar, but he is best remembered as a pioneer of landscape painting. *A Solitary Temple amid Clearing Peaks* (FIG. 16-22) is perhaps his finest work. In this *hanging scroll* (see "Chinese Painting Materials and Formats," page 489), Li placed a temple, bridges, and wine shops in the foreground and middle ground, seen against the dramatic backdrop of a towering mountain and cascading streams. Although the setting is rustic, Li imposed a firm compositional order upon the built and natural environment, with the main "solitary temple" on the central axis. Nonetheless, the sketchy application of diluted ink to the silk scroll creates a dreamlike atmosphere. Li had many followers and imitators and exerted a major influence on the later development of Chinese landscape painting.

Fan Kuan. Although Li Cheng and many other Northern Song painters worked for the imperial court, FAN KUAN (ca. 960–1030) was a Daoist recluse (see "Daoism and Confucianism," page 486) who shunned the cosmopolitan life of Bianliang. He believed that nature was a better teacher than were other artists, and he spent long periods in the mountains studying configurations of rocks and trees and the effect of sunlight and moonlight on natural forms. Just as centuries later Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) would credit Italian Renaissance artists with the exploration and perfection of naturalistic painting (see "Giorgio Vasari's *Lives*," page 648), so did Song critics laud Fan and his contemporaries as the first masters of the recording of light, shade, distance, and texture—several centuries earlier than in Europe. Yet the comparison with 15th- and 16th-century Italy is misleading. Chinese landscape painters did not aim to produce portraits of specific places seen from a fixed viewpoint. They did not seek to imitate or reproduce nature. Rather, they sought to capture the essence of nature and its immeasurably vast spaces using brush and ink on silk. Their paintings are not representations of unique rock or tree formations but spiritual

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Chinese Painting Materials and Formats

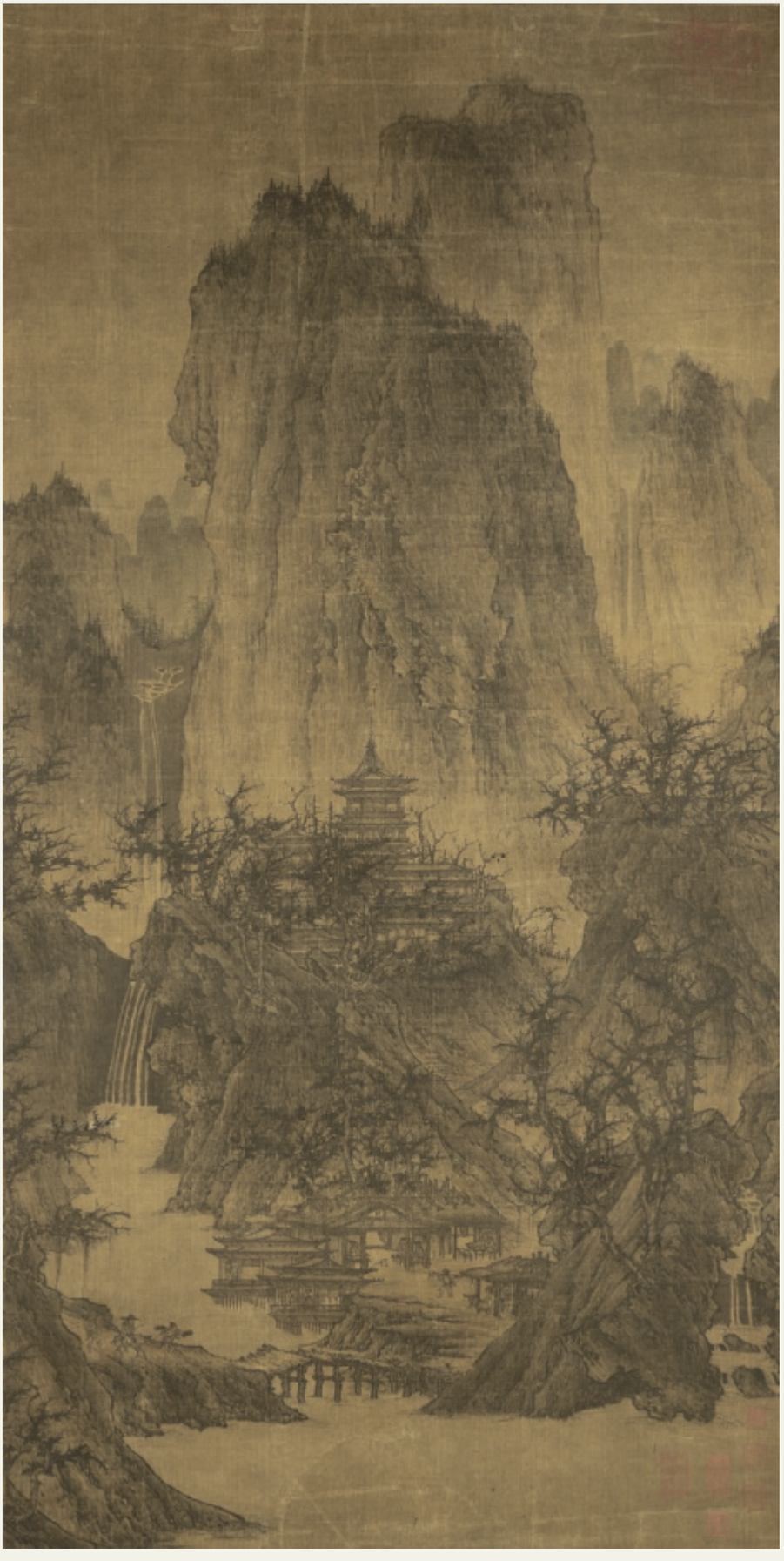
Mural paintings in caves (FIG. 16-18) were popular in China, as they were in South Asia (FIG. 15-16), but Chinese artists also employed several other materials and formats for their works.

The basic requirements for paintings not on walls were the same as for writing—a round tapered brush, soot-based ink, and either silk or paper. The Chinese were masters of the brush. For contours and interior details, they sometimes used modulated lines that elastically thicken and thin to convey depth and mass. In other works, scroll painters used *iron-wire lines* (thin, unmodulated lines with a suggestion of tensile strength) to define each figure in their paintings.

Chinese painters also used richly colored minerals as pigments, finely ground and suspended in a gluey medium, and watery washes of mineral and vegetable dyes.

The formats of Chinese paintings on silk or paper tend to be personal and intimate, and they are usually best viewed by only one or two people at a time. The most common types are listed here.

- ***Hanging scrolls*** (FIGS. 16-18A, 16-22, 16-23, 16-28, and 16-29) Chinese painters often mounted pictures on, or painted directly on, unrolled vertical scrolls for display on walls.
- ***Handscrolls*** (FIGS. 16-13, 16-19, 16-24, and 16-27A) Artists also frequently attached paintings to, or painted directly on, long, narrow scrolls that the viewer unrolled horizontally, section by section from right to left.
- ***Album leaves*** (FIGS. 16-27 and 34-15) Many Chinese artists painted small panels on paper leaves, which collectors placed in albums.
- ***Fans*** (FIG. 34-14) Stiff round or arched folding fans were also popular painting formats.



16-22 **LI CHENG, *A Solitary Temple amid Clearing Peaks,* Northern Song period, ca. 960. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 3′ 8″ × 1′ 10″. Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (William Rockhill Nelson Trust).**

In this Northern Song hanging scroll by Li Cheng, the sketchy application of diluted ink to silk creates a dreamlike atmosphere. Li's landscapes had enormous appeal, and he had many followers.

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16-23 Fan Kuan, *Travelers among Mountains and Streams,* Northern Song period, early 11th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 6′ $7\frac{1}{4}$″ × 3′ $4\frac{1}{4}$″. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Fan Kuan, a Daoist recluse, spent long days in the mountains studying the effects of light on rock formations and trees. He was one of the first masters at recording light, shade, distance, and texture.

communications with nature—perfect complements to Daoist philosophy and the quest for enlightenment.

In *Travelers among Mountains and Streams* (fig. 16-23), Fan, following Li's example (fig. 16-22), painted a vertical landscape of massive mountains rising from the distance. But in Fan's mountainscape, painted in Huashan in Shaanxi Province, there are few buildings, and they are hard to find (in the middle ground at the right). The overwhelming natural forms dwarf those temples and the few human and animal figures (for example, the mule train in the lower right corner), which the artist reduced to minute proportions. The nearly 7-foot-long silk hanging scroll cannot contain nature's grandeur, and the landscape continues in all directions beyond its borders. Fan showed some elements from level ground (for example, the great boulder in the foreground), and others obliquely from the top (the shrubbery on the highest cliff). The shifting perspectives direct viewers' eyes on a vicarious journey through the mountains. To appreciate the painted landscape fully, observers must focus not only on the larger composition but also on intricate details and on the character of each brushstroke. Numerous "texture strokes" help model massive forms and convey a sense of tactile surfaces. For the face of the mountain, for example, Fan employed small, pale brush marks, the kind of texture strokes the Chinese call "raindrop strokes."

Huizong. A century after Fan Kuan painted in the mountains of Shaanxi, Huizong (1082–1135; r. 1101–1126) assumed the Song throne at Bianliang. Less interested in governing than in cultivating the arts, the new emperor brought the country to near bankruptcy and lost much of the Song's territory to the armies of the Tartar Jin dynasty (1115–1234), which captured the Song capital in 1126 and took Huizong as a prisoner. He died

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THE PATRON'S VOICE

Emperor Huizong's *Auspicious Cranes*

Auspicious Cranes (FIG. 16-24) is a short handscroll usually attributed to the Northern Song emperor Huizong, but it is more likely the work of court painters under his direction. Nonetheless, the scroll displays the emperor's style as both *calligrapher* and painter and is a valuable document of his role as art patron. *Calligraphy,* or the art of writing, has been highly esteemed in China throughout its history, and prominent inscriptions are frequent elements of Chinese paintings (see "Calligraphy and Inscriptions on Chinese Paintings," page 1061). Huizong's characters represent one of many styles of Chinese calligraphy. They consist of thin strokes, and each character is meticulously aligned with its neighbors to form neat vertical rows.

The painting depicts cranes flying over the roofs of Bianliang. It is a masterful combination of elegant composition and realistic observation. The painter carefully recorded the black and red feathers of the white cranes and depicted the birds from a variety of viewpoints to suggest that they were circling around the roof. Huizong did not, however, choose this subject because of his interest in the anatomy and flight patterns of birds. The painting was a propaganda piece commemorating the appearance of 20 white cranes at the palace gates during a festival in 1112. The Chinese interpreted the appearance of the cranes as an auspicious sign, proof that Heaven had blessed Huizong's rule. Although few would ever have viewed the handscroll, painted banners featuring the cranes were displayed on special occasions, advertising the event to a larger public.

To underscore the auspicious meaning of the cranes, Huizong added a lengthy explanatory text to the handscroll as well as a poem he composed to record the extraordinary occasion:

> On the evening of [February 26, 1112], auspicious clouds suddenly formed in masses and descended about the main gate of the palace, illuminating it. Everyone raised their heads to gaze at them. Suddenly a group of cranes appeared flying in the sky. Two came to perch atop the "owl-tail" ridge-ornaments of the gate, completely at ease and self-composed. The others all wheeled about in the sky, as if responding to some rhythm. Residents of the capital walking about all bowed in reverence, gazing from afar. They sighed at length over the unusual sight. For some time the cranes did not disperse. Then they circled about and flew off, separating at the northwest quarter of the city. Moved by this auspicious sight, I wrote the following poem to record its fact.
>
> *In the pure break of day, multi-hued rainbows caress the roof's ridge,*
> *The immortal birds, proclaiming good auspices, suddenly arrive in favorable response.*
> *Wafting about, originally denizens of the Three Immortal Isles,*
> *Pair after pair, they go on presenting their thousand-year-old forms.*
> *They seem to be imitating the blue luan that roosted atop the jeweled halls,*
> *Could they possibly be the same as the red geese that congregated at Heaven's Pond?*
> *Lingering, they call and cry at the Cinnabar Palace,*
> *Thus causing the ever-busy common folk to know of their presence.**

*Translated by Peter C. Sturman, "Cranes above Kaifeng: The Auspicious Image at the Court of Huizong," *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1990): 33.

1 in.

16-24 Attributed to HUIZONG, *Auspicious Cranes,* Northern Song period, 1112. Section of a handscroll, ink and colors on silk, 1′ $8\frac{1}{8}$″ × 4′ $6\frac{3}{8}$″. Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang.

Huizong added to the painting on this handscroll a lengthy explanatory text and a poem he composed to underscore that the white cranes flying over his palace in 1112 were an auspicious sign.

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in Jin hands nine years later. An accomplished poet, calligrapher, and painter (see "Emperor Huizong's *Auspicious Cranes*," page 491, and FIG. 16-24), Huizong reorganized the imperial painting academy and required the study of poetry and calligraphy as part of the official training of court painters. The emperor also promoted the careful study both of nature and of the classical art of earlier periods, and was an avid art collector as well as the sponsor of a comprehensive catalogue of the vast imperial art holdings.

Cizhou Pottery. Song artists also produced superb ceramics. Some reflect their patrons' interests in antiquities and imitate the powerful forms of Shang and Zhou bronzes. However, Song ceramics more commonly had elegant shapes with fluid silhouettes. Many featured monochrome glazes, such as the famous celadon wares, also produced in Korea (FIG. 16-33), but a quite different kind of pottery emerged in northern China, loosely classed as Cizhou (after the city in Hebei Province that was the center of production). The example shown here (FIG. 16-25) is a vase of the high-shouldered shape known as *meiping*. Chinese potters developed the subtle techniques of *sgraffito* (incising the design through a colored slip) during the Northern Song period. They achieved the intricate black-and-white design on this meiping by cutting through a black slip (see "Chinese Earthenwares and Stonewares," page 473). The tightly twining peony petal and scroll motifs on this vase closely embrace the vessel in a perfect accommodation of surface design to vase shape.

1 in.

16-25 **Meiping vase with peony scrolls, Northern Song period, 12th century. Stoneware, Cizhou type, with sgraffito decoration, 1′ 7 1/8″ high. Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (Avery Brundage Collection).**

Chinese potters developed the sgraffito technique (incising through a colored slip) during the Northern Song period. This vase features peony petals and scrolls created by cutting through a black slip.

Fogong Si Pagoda. For two centuries during the Northern Song period, the Liao dynasty (907–1125) ruled part of northern China. The Liao emperors were important patrons of sculpture (for example, the statue of Bodhisattva Guanyin, FIG. 16-25A), painting, and architecture. In 1056, the Liao dynasty built the Fogong Si Pagoda (FIG. 16-26), the tallest wood building ever constructed, at Yingxian in Shanxi Province. The *pagoda,* or tower—the building type most often associated with Buddhism in China and other parts of East Asia—is the most eye-catching feature of a Buddhist temple complex (compare FIG. 16-22). It somewhat resembles the tall towers of Indian temples (see "Hindu Temples," page 460) and their distant ancestor, the Buddhist stupa (see "The Stupa," page 450), but has closer parallels in Southeast Asia (for examples, FIGS. 15-36 and 33-13). Like stupas, many early pagodas housed relics and provided a focus for devotion to the Buddha. Later pagodas served other functions, such as housing sacred images and texts. The Chinese and Koreans built both stone and brick pagodas, but wood pagodas were also common and became the standard in Japan (FIG. 17-9A).

16-25A Bodhisattva Guanyin seated on Potalaka, 11th or early 12th century.

The nine-story octagonal pagoda at Yingxian is 216 feet tall and made entirely of wood (see "Chinese Wood Construction," page 480). Sixty giant, four-tiered bracket clusters carry the floor beams and projecting curved eaves of the five main stories. They rest on two concentric rings of columns at each level. Alternating main stories and windowless mezzanines with cantilevered balconies, set back farther on each story as the tower rises, form a combined elevation of nine stories. Along with the open veranda on the ground level and the soaring pinnacle, the balconies visually lighten the building's mass. The cross-section (FIG. 16-26, *right*) shows the symmetrical placement of statues of the Buddha inside, the colossal scale of the ground-floor statue, and the intricacy of the beam-and-bracket system at its most ingenious.

Southern Song Period. When the Jin captured Bianliang and the emperor Huizong in 1126 and took control of northern China, Gaozong (r. 1127–1162), Huizong's sixth son, escaped and eventually established a new Song capital in the south at Lin'an (present-day Hangzhou). From there, he and his successors during the Southern Song period ruled their reduced empire until 1279.

Court sponsorship of painting continued in the new capital, and, as in the Northern Song period, some emperors took a direct interest in the painters of the imperial painting academy. During the reign of Ningzong (r. 1194–1224), members of the court, including Ningzong himself and Empress Yang, frequently added

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16-26 View (*left*; looking north) and cross-section (*right*; after L. Liu) of Fogong Si Pagoda, Yingxian, China, Liao dynasty, 1056.

The tallest wood building in the world is this Buddhist pagoda at Yingxian. The nine-story tower shows the Chinese wood beam-and-bracket construction system at its most ingenious.

brief poems to the paintings created under their direction. Some painters belonged to families that had worked for the Song emperors for several generations.

Ma Yuan. The most famous Song painters came from the Ma family, which began working for the Song dynasty during the Northern Song period. Ma Yuan (ca. 1160–1225) painted *On a Mountain Path in Spring* (fig. 16-27), a silk album leaf, for Ningzong in the early 13th century. In his composition, as in those of his contemporary, Xia Gui (active ca. 1195–1230; fig. 16-27A), in striking contrast to Fan Kuan's much larger *Travelers among Mountains and Streams* (fig. 16-23), Ma reduced the landscape to a few elements and

1 in.

16-27 Ma Yuan, *On a Mountain Path in Spring*, Southern Song period, early 13th century. Album leaf, ink and colors on silk, $10\frac{3}{4}'' \times 17''$. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

In contrast to Li and Fan (figs. 16-22 and 16-23), Ma reduced the landscape on this album leaf to a few elements and confined them to one part of the page. A solitary figure gazes into the infinite distance.

16-27A Xia Gui, *Twelve Views from a Thatched Hut,* ca. 1200–1225.

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confined the natural setting to the foreground and left side of the page. A large, solitary figure gazes out into the infinite distance. Framing him are the carefully placed diagonals of willow branches. Near the upper right corner, a bird flies toward the couplet Ningzong added in ink, demonstrating his mastery of poetry and calligraphy as well as painting:

Brushed by his sleeves, wild flowers dance in
the wind;
Fleeing from him, hidden birds cut short
their songs.

Some scholars have suggested that the author of the two-line poem was Empress Yang, but the inscription is in Ningzong's hand. In any case, landscape paintings such as this one are perfect embodiments of the Chinese ideals of peace and unity with nature.

Zhou Jichang. Other Southern Song painters focused on religious themes. Although Neo-Confucianism, a blend of traditional Chinese thought and selected Buddhist concepts, became the leading philosophy, traditional Buddhist themes remained popular subjects for paintings. Zhou Jichang (ca. 1130–1190) was one of the leading artists of the era who addressed traditional Buddhist themes in his work. His *Lohans Giving Alms to Beggars* (fig. 16-28), painted around 1178, is one of a series of 100 scrolls produced at the southern coastal city of Ningbo for an abbot who invited individual donors to pay for the paintings as offerings in the nearby Buddhist temple.

Lohans are enlightened disciples of the Buddha who have achieved freedom from rebirth (nirvana) by suppression of all desire for earthly things. Their charge was to protect Buddhist law until the arrival of the Buddha of the Future. In his Ningbo scroll, Zhou arranged the foreground, middle ground, and background vertically to clarify the lohans' positions relative to one another and to the beggars. The lohans move with slow dignity in a plane above the ragged wretches, who scramble miserably for the alms that their serene benefactors throw down. The extreme difference in deportment between the two groups distinguishes their status, as do their contrasting features. The lohans' vividly colored attire, flowing draperies, and quiet gestures set them off from the dirt-colored and jagged shapes of the people physically and spiritually beneath them. In this painting, consistent with Xie's principles (see "Xie He's Six Canons," page 482), Zhou used color for symbolic and decorative purposes, not to imitate nature or depict the appearance of individual forms. The composition of the landscape—the cloudy platform and lofty peaks of the lohans and the desertlike setting of the beggars—also distinguishes the two spheres of being.

Liang Kai. In addition to traditional Buddhist thought, a new school—Chan Buddhism (see "Chan Buddhism," page 495), which stressed the quest for personal enlightenment through meditation—achieved a wide following under the Song dynasty. Liang Kai (active early 13th century) was a master of an abbreviated, expressive style of ink painting that found great favor among Chan monks in China, Korea, and Japan. He served in the painting academy of the imperial court in Hangzhou, and his early works include poetic landscapes typical of the Southern Song. Later in life, he left the court and concentrated on figure painting, including Chan subjects.

Surviving works attributed to Liang include an ink painting (fig. 16-29) of the Sixth Chan Patriarch, Huineng, crouching as he chops bamboo. In Chan thought, the performance of even mundane tasks such as chopping bamboo has the potential to become a spiritual exercise. In fact, this scene specifically depicts the patriarch's "Chan moment," when the sound of the blade striking the bamboo resonated within his spiritually attuned mind to propel him through the final doorway to enlightenment. The scruffy,

16-28 Zhou Jichang, *Lohans Giving Alms to Beggars,* Southern Song period, ca. 1178. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 3′ $7\frac{7}{8}$″ × 1′ $8\frac{7}{8}$″. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Zhou chose a vertical arrangement of the figures in the fore-, middle-, and background in order to elevate the enlightened lohans in their bright attire above the ragged, dirt-colored beggars.

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Chan Buddhism

Under the Song emperors (960–1279), the new school of *Chan* Buddhism gradually gained importance, until it was second only to Neo-Confucianism. The Chan school traced its origins through a series of patriarchs (the founder and early leaders, joined in a master–pupil lineage). The First Chan Patriarch was Bodhidharma, a semilegendary sixth-century Indian missionary. By the time of the Sixth Chan Patriarch, Huineng (638–713; FIG. 16-29), in the early Tang period, the religious forms and practices of the school were already well established.

Although Chan monks adapted many of the rituals and ceremonies of other schools over the course of time, they focused on the cultivation of the mind or spirit of the individual in order to break through the illusions of ordinary reality, especially by means of meditation. In Chan thought, the means of enlightenment lie within the individual, and direct personal experience with some ultimate reality is the necessary step to its achievement. Meditation is a critical practice. In fact, the word *Chan* is a translation of the Sanskrit word for meditation. Bodhidharma is said to have meditated so long in a cave that his arms and legs withered away.

Chan Buddhism has two major schools of thought. The Northern school holds that enlightenment comes only gradually after long meditation, but the Southern school believes that the breakthrough to enlightenment can be sudden and spontaneous. Huineng, for example, achieved his "Chan moment" when he heard the sharp sound of a cutting blade strike a bamboo stick—the subject of an early-13th-century hanging scroll (FIG. 16-29) by the Southern Song painter Liang Kai.

Chan Buddhist beliefs influenced art and aesthetics as they developed in China and spread to Korea and Japan. In Japan, Chan (Japanese *Zen*) had an especially extensive, long-term influence on the arts, and remains an important school of Buddhism there today (see "Zen Buddhism," page 1077).

16-29 Liang Kai, *Sixth Chan Patriarch Chopping Bamboo*, Southern Song period, early 13th century. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 2′ 5 1/4″ high. Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.

On this hanging scroll, Liang Kai, a renowned master of ink painting, depicted the Sixth Chan Patriarch's "Chan moment," when the chopping sound of his blade propelled the patriarch to enlightenment.

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caricature-like representation of the revered figure suggests that worldly matters, such as physical appearance or signs of social status, do not burden Huineng's mind.

Liang used a variety of brushstrokes in the execution of this deceptively simple picture. Most are pale and wet, ranging from the fine lines of Huineng's beard to the broad texture strokes of the tree. A few darker strokes, which define the vine growing around the tree and the patriarch's clothing, offer visual accents in the painting. This kind of quick and seemingly casual execution of paintings has traditionally been interpreted as a sign of a painter's ability to produce compelling pictures spontaneously as a result of superior training and character, or, in the Chan setting, progress toward enlightenment.

The Mongols. In 1210, the Mongols, led by Genghis Khan (1167–1230), invaded northern China from Central Asia and in 1215 destroyed the Jin dynasty's capital at Beijing. An attack on the Song dynasty followed, but the last Song emperor did not fall until 1279 at the hands of Genghis's grandson, Kublai Khan (1215–1294). Kublai proclaimed himself emperor of China and founded the Yuan dynasty (r. 1279–1294), opening a new era of Chinese history and art, examined in Chapter 34.

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KOREA

Korea is a northeast Asian peninsula that shares borders with China and Russia and faces the islands of Japan (MAP 16-1). Korea's pivotal location is a key factor in understanding the relationship of its art to that of China and the influence of Korea's art on that of Japan. Ethnically, the Koreans are related to the peoples of eastern Siberia and Mongolia as well as to the Japanese. At first, the Koreans used Chinese characters to write Korean words, but later they invented their own phonetic alphabet. Korean art, although frequently based on Chinese models, is not merely derivative but has a distinct identity, as does, more broadly, Korean civilization.

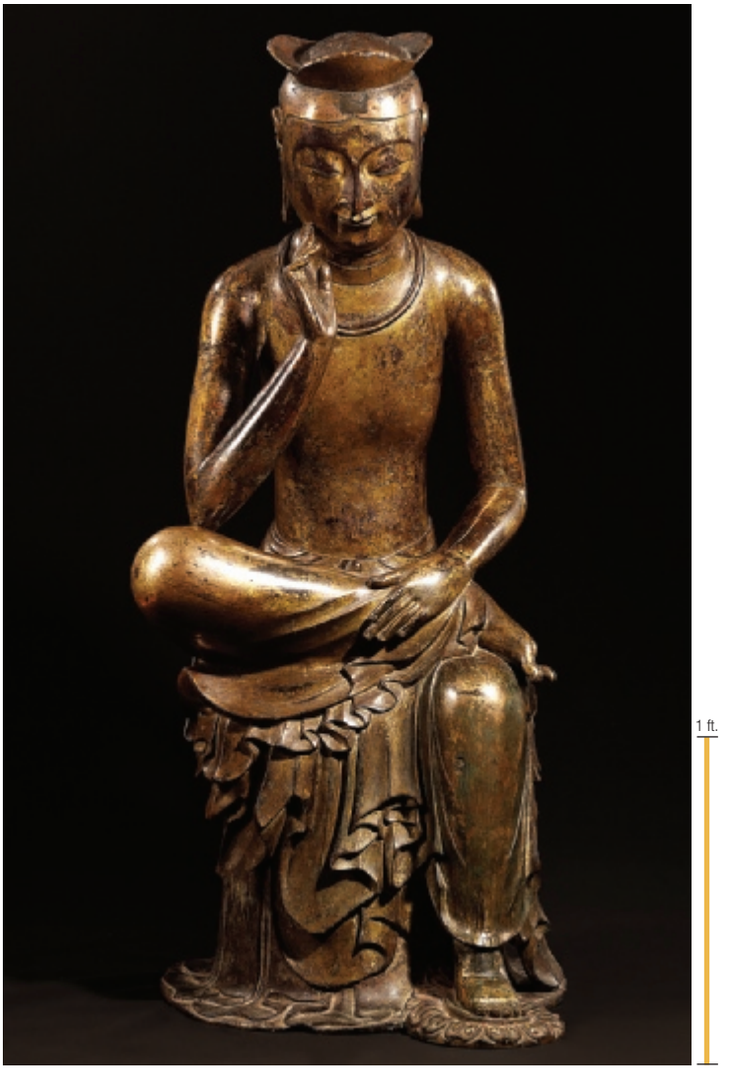
Three Kingdoms Period

Pottery-producing cultures appeared on the Korean peninsula in the Neolithic period no later than 6000 BCE. The Korean Bronze Age began about 1000 BCE. Bronze technology came to Korea from the area that is today northeastern China (formerly known as Manchuria). About 100 BCE, during the Han dynasty, the Chinese established outposts in Korea. The most important was Lolang, which became a prosperous commercial center. By the middle of the century, however, three native kingdoms—Goguryeo, Baekje, and Silla—controlled most of the Korean peninsula and reigned for more than seven centuries until Silla completed its conquest of its neighbors in 668. During this era, known as the Three Kingdoms period (ca. 57 BCE–668 CE), Korea remained in continuous contact with both China and Japan. Buddhism came to Korea from China in the fourth century CE, first in Goguryeo and Baekje and then in the Silla kingdom. The Koreans in turn transmitted it from the peninsula to Japan in the sixth century (see "Horyuji," page 501).

Silla Crown. Tombs of the Silla kingdom have yielded spectacular artifacts representative of the wealth and power of its rulers. Finds in the region of Gyeongju, the Silla capital, justify the city's ancient name—Kumsong (City of Gold). The gold-and-jade crown (FIG. 16-30) from the Cheonmachong (Heavenly Horse) tomb at Hwangnam-dong, near Gyeongju, dated to the fifth or sixth century,

16-30 Crown, from the north mound of the Cheonmachong tomb (tomb 98), Hwangnam-dong, near Gyeongju, Korea, Three Kingdoms period, fifth or sixth century. Gold and jade, $10\frac{3}{4}''$ high. Gyeongju National Museum, Gyeongju.

This gold-and-jade crown from a Silla tomb attests to the wealth of that kingdom and the skill of its artists. The uprights may be stylized tree and antler forms symbolizing life and supernatural power.



16-31 Meditating Bodhisattva Maitreya, Three Kingdoms period, early seventh century. Gilt bronze, $2'\ 11\frac{7}{8}''$ high. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

The introduction of Buddhism to Korea created a demand for Buddhist images. An early masterpiece of Korean Buddhist sculpture is this gilt-bronze statue of Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future.

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also attests to the high quality of artisanship among Silla artists. The metalsmith who fashioned this crown's major elements—the band and the uprights—as well as the myriad spangles adorning them, cut the forms from sheet gold and embossed the edges. Gold rivets and wires secure the whole, as do the comma-shaped pieces of jade further embellishing the crown. Archaeologists interpret the uprights as stylized tree and antler forms believed to symbolize life and supernatural power. The Cheonmachong crown is one of several magnificent surviving Silla crowns, but none of them has a Chinese counterpart, although the technique of working sheet gold may have come to Korea from northeastern China.

Bodhisattva Maitreya. The introduction of Buddhism to Korea in the fourth century created a demand for images of the Buddha and of bodhisattvas. The style and iconography of early Korean Buddhist art usually depended on Chinese models, but later examples depart from Chinese prototypes and mark the maturation of a distinct regional artistic tradition.

A 3-foot-tall gilt cast-bronze statue (FIG. 16-31), made in either the Baekje or the Silla kingdom in the early seventh century CE, represents Bodhisattva Maitreya seated in meditation. Maitreya, the future Buddha who will succeed Shakyamuni, the historical Buddha, wears only a simple necklace, in contrast to the rich jewelry of most Chinese bodhisattvas, and his trilobed crown is also a characteristic Korean feature. The bodhisattva's chest is bare, but he wears a long skirt over his lower body, the folds of which cascade over his seat and onto the ground. Maitreya has crossed his right leg and placed his right foot on his left thigh. He leans his chin on his right hand, a posture connoting contemplation. His right elbow in turn rests on his right thigh. The slender proportions of the figure have parallels in Chinese bronzes of the Northern Wei dynasty—for example, the group of Shakyamuni and Prabhutaratna (FIG. 16-14) from Hebei Province—but the treatment of the drapery folds differs sharply.

Unified Silla Kingdom

Aided by China's emperor, the Silla kingdom conquered the Goguryeo and Baekje kingdoms and unified Korea in 668. The era of the Unified Silla Kingdom (668–935) is roughly contemporaneous with the Tang dynasty's brilliant culture in China, and many historians call the era Korea's golden age.

Seokguram. The Silla rulers embraced Buddhism both as a source of religious enlightenment and as a protective force. They considered the many Buddhist temples they constructed in and around their capital of Gyeongju to be supernatural defenses against external threats, as well as places of worship. Unfortunately, none of these temples survived Korea's turbulent history. However, at Seokguram, near the summit of Mount Toham, northeast of the city, an eighth-century granite Buddhist monument helps fill the gap. Scant surviving records suggest that it was built under the supervision of Kim Tae-song, a member of the royal family who served as prime minister. He initiated construction in 742 to honor his parents in his previous life. Certainly, the intimate scale of Seokguram and the quality of its reliefs and freestanding figures support the idea that it was a private chapel for royalty.

The main *rotunda* (circular area under a dome; FIG. 16-32) measures about 21 feet in diameter. Despite its modest size, the Seokguram project required substantial resources. Unlike the Chinese Buddhist caves at Yungang (FIG. 16-14A), Longmen (FIG. 16-16), and Dunhuang (FIG. 16-18), the interior wall surfaces and sculpture were not cut from the rock in the process of excavation. Instead, workers assembled hundreds of granite pieces of various shapes and sizes, attaching them with stone rivets instead of mortar.

Sculpted images of bodhisattvas, lohans, and guardians line the lower zone of the wall. Above, 10 niches contain miniature statues of seated bodhisattvas and believers. All these figures face inward toward the 11-foot-tall statue of Shakyamuni, which

16-32 Shakyamuni Buddha, in the rotunda of the cave temple, Seokguram, Korea, Unified Silla Kingdom, 751–774. Granite, 11′ high.

Unlike rock-cut Chinese Buddhist shrines, this Korean cave temple was constructed of granite blocks. Dominating the rotunda is a huge statue depicting the Buddha at the moment of enlightenment.

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dominates the chamber and faces the entrance. Carved from a single block of granite, the image represents the Buddha as he touched the earth to call it to witness the realization of his enlightenment at Bodh Gaya (FIG. 15-13, *top right*). Although remote in time and place from the Sarnath Buddha (FIG. 15-15) in India, this majestic image remains faithful to its iconographic prototype. More immediately, the Korean statue draws on the robust, round-faced figures of Tang China (FIG. 16-16), and its drapery is a more schematic version of the fluid type found in Tang sculpture. However, no close precedents exist for the figure's distinctly broad-shouldered dignity combined with harmonious proportions. Art historians consider this Korean statue one of the finest images of the Buddha in East Asia.

Goryeo Dynasty

Although Buddhism was the established religion of Korea, Confucianism, introduced from China during the Silla era, increasingly shaped social and political conventions. In the ninth century, the three old kingdoms began to reemerge as distinct political entities, and although the Unified Silla overlapped (between about 918 and 935) the Goryeo kingdom (r. 916–1392), by 935 the Goryeo (from Goguryeo) had taken control, and the dynasty dominated Korea for the next three centuries. In 1231, the Mongols, who had invaded China, pushed into Korea, beginning a war lasting 30 years. In the end, the Goryeo kings had to submit to forming an alliance with the Mongols, who eventually conquered all of China (see "Mongol Invasion," page 1060).

Celadon Wares. Goryeo potters in the 12th century produced the famous Korean *celadon* wares, admired worldwide. The finest celadon wares feature ornate engraved and inlaid designs over which the ceramists applied highly translucent iron-pigmented glazes, fired in an oxygen-deprived kiln to become gray, pale blue, pale green, or brownish-olive. A masterful example of celadon pottery is the plum-shaped (*maebyeong* in Korean, *meiping* in Chinese, FIG. 16-25) vase (FIG. 16-33) that once belonged to the American financier and art collector J. P. Morgan. Dating to the later Goryeo period, it is the largest maebyeong vase known and was decorated using the inlay technique for which Goryeo potters were famous. The artist incised delicate motifs of herons interspersed among mallow and lotus blossoms into the clay's surface and then filled the grooves with white and colored slip. Then the potter scraped the surface of the vessel and finally covered the entire maebyeong with the celadon blue-green glaze. The incised motifs are broader at the top than at the bottom, reflecting the potter's sure sense of the dynamic relationship between ornamentation and ceramic volume.

16-33 Maebyeong vase, Goryeo dynasty, 12th century. Porcellaneous stoneware with incised decoration under celadon glaze, 1′ 4″ tall. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (purchased with the Fiske Kimball Fund and the Marie Kimball Fund, 1974).

Korean celadon wares feature highly translucent iron-pigmented glazes with incised designs. This Goryeo green maebyeong vase has herons interspersed among mallow and lotus blossoms.

China, Korea, and Japan. China's achievements in virtually every field spread beyond even the boundaries of the vast empires it sometimes controlled. Although Buddhism was born in India, the Chinese adaptations and transformations of its teachings, religious practices, and artistic forms were those that spread farther east. China's neighbors owe China an immense cultural debt, but Korea was the crucial artistic, cultural, and religious link between the mainland and the islands of Japan, the subject of Chapter 17.

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THE BIG PICTURE

China and Korea to 1279

Neolithic to Shang Dynasty ca. 7000–ca. 1050 BCE

- The history of Chinese art begins with the production of Neolithic earthenware pottery in the fifth millennium BCE.
- The Shang dynasty (r. ca. 1600–ca. 1050 BCE), which ruled the Yellow River valley from its capital at Anyang, was the first great Chinese dynasty of the Bronze Age. Shang bronze-workers were among the best in the ancient world and created a wide variety of elaborately decorated vessels using a sophisticated piece-mold casting process.

Shang guang,
12th or 11th century BCE

Zhou and Qin Dynasties ca. 1050–206 BCE

- The Zhou dynasty was the longest in China's history. The Western Zhou kings (r. ca. 1050–771 BCE) ruled from Chang'an, the Eastern Zhou kings (r. 770–256 BCE) from Luoyang. During the last centuries of Zhou rule, Daoism and Confucianism gained wide followings in China. Zhou artists produced lavish works in bronze, lacquer, and especially jade.
- China's First Emperor founded the short-lived Qin dynasty (r. 221–206 BCE) after defeating the Zhou and all other rival states. A terracotta army of at least 8,000 soldiers guarded the First Emperor's burial mound at Lintong. The tomb itself remains unexcavated.

Tomb of Qin Shi Huangdi, Lintong,
ca. 210 BCE

Han and Six Dynasties 206 BCE–581 CE

- The Han dynasty (r. 206 BCE–220 CE) extended China's boundaries to the south and west and even traded indirectly with Rome via the fabled Silk Road. Han tombs have yielded rich finds, including painted silks, bronze figurines, jade burial suits, and earthenware models of wood buildings.
- Civil strife divided China into competing states from 220 to 581 CE. The earliest Chinese images of the Buddha date to the Six Dynasties period, during which Xie He (early sixth century) formulated his six canons of Chinese painting.

Model of a Han house,
first century CE

Tang Dynasty and Korean Unified Silla Kingdom 618–935

- China enjoyed unequaled prosperity and power under the Tang emperors (r. 618–907), whose capital at Chang'an became the greatest and most cosmopolitan city in the world.
- The Tang era was the golden age of Chinese figure painting. The few surviving works include Yan Liben's *Thirteen Emperors* handscroll illustrating historical figures as exemplars of Confucian ideals. The Dunhuang caves provide evidence of the magnificence of Tang Buddhist art, especially mural painting. The Longmen caves feature colossal sculptures of the Buddha.
- Korea also enjoyed an artistic golden age at this time under the Unified Silla Kingdom (r. 668–935), which embraced Buddhism and constructed many temples at the capital of Gyeongju.

Bodhisattva Guanyin, Dunhuang,
late 9th or early 10th century

Liao and Song Dynasties 907–1279

- From 907 to 1125, the Liao dynasty controlled northern China and erected the tallest wood building in the world, the Fogong Si Pagoda.
- Song China (Northern Song, r. 960–1127, capital at Bianliang; Southern Song, r. 1127–1279, capital at Lin'an) was the most technologically advanced society in the world in the early second millennium. The Song era also marked the height of Chinese landscape painting. Among the leading artists were Li Cheng, Fan Kuan, and Ma Yuan.

Ma Yuan, *On a Mountain Path in Spring,* early 13th century

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▲**17-1a** The Golden Hall (kondo) of a Buddhist temple housed statues of the Buddha and bodhisattvas. The construction method and curved roofline of the Horyuji kondo emulated Chinese models.

◀**17-1b** The Horyuji kondo was a replacement for an earlier hall destroyed by fire. Priests rescued its Shaka triad, cast by the master sculptor Tori, and reinstalled the bronze group in the later structure.

17-1 **Aerial view of the Horyuji temple complex (looking northwest), Ikaruga, Nara Prefecture, Japan, Hakuho period, ca. 680.**

▶**17-1c** The pagoda of a Japanese Buddhist temple complex housed relics of the Buddha. The Horyuji pagoda is 122 feet tall. The towering height connotes the soaring spirit of Buddhist faith.

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JAPAN BEFORE 1333

17

FRAMING THE ERA

Horyuji, Japan's Oldest Buddhist Temple

The Japanese archipelago (MAP 17-1) consists of four main islands—Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu—and hundreds of smaller ones, a surprising number of them inhabited. Japanese culture, however, does not share the isolation of some island civilizations, but rather has long demonstrated responsiveness to imported ideas—Buddhism among them. Historians have traditionally dated the introduction of Buddhism to Japan in the year 552 CE, when King Syong Myong of Baekje sent Emperor Kimmei (r. 539–571 CE) of Japan a gilded-bronze statue of the Buddha along with *sutras* (Buddhist scriptures) translated into Chinese. Most, however, now favor an earlier date—538 CE—based on a historical account of the Gangoji Buddhist monastery.

The oldest preserved Japanese Buddhist temple complex is Horyuji (FIG. 17-1), 7 miles south of present-day Nara at Ikaruga. Fire destroyed the first (sixth-century) temple on the site, which housed a bronze *Shaka triad* (Buddha flanked by two bodhisattvas) dated 623 by the sculptor TORI, known as Tori Busshi (*busshi* means "maker of Buddhist images"). Tori's statuary group, which survived the fire, has as its central figure Shaka—the Japanese name for the historical Buddha—sitting in front of a flaming mandorla.

Temple officials later installed Tori's Shaka triad in the rebuilt seventh-century *kondo* of the Horyuji complex. The kondo, or Golden Hall, was the main hall for worship and contained statues of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas venerated in that temple. Other key buildings in the Horyuji and similar Japanese Buddhist temple complexes include the *kodo,* or lecture hall, for both monks and laypersons to listen to the reading of sacred texts, and the *pagoda,* which housed relics of the Buddha. The Horyuji pagoda is five stories and 122 feet tall. The towering height—accentuated by the decreasing size of the roofs from bottom to top—connotes the soaring spirit of Buddhist faith. Both the Horyuji kondo and pagoda underscore Japan's openness to other East Asian artistic traditions. Following Chinese models, the Japanese builders used ceramic tiles as roofing material and adopted the distinctive curved roofline of Tang (FIGS. 16-17 and 16-18) and later Chinese architecture.

In addition to Tori's Shaka triad, until 1949, the Horyuji kondo boasted a series of wall paintings celebrating the Buddhas of the four directions. Some scholars believe that the painters who executed the Horyuji murals were not Japanese but Chinese or Korean—further evidence of the fruitful artistic and cultural exchanges between the Japanese islands and the mainland.

The introduction of Buddhism to Japan in the sixth century CE so profoundly changed the character of Japanese art and architecture that historians traditionally divide the early history of art in Japan into pre-Buddhist and Buddhist eras.

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JAPAN BEFORE BUDDHISM

Japan's earliest distinct culture antedated the birth of the Buddha by roughly 10,000 years and lasted for several millennia, far longer than the entire later history of art in Japan.

Jomon

Art historians call the earliest art-producing culture of Japan the Jomon (ca. 12,000–300 BCE). The term *jomon* ("cord markings") refers to the technique that Japanese potters of this era used to decorate earthenware vessels. The Jomon people were hunter-gatherers, but unlike most similar societies, which were nomadic, the Jomon enjoyed surprisingly settled lives. Their villages consisted of pit dwellings—shallow excavations of varied shapes, most commonly roughly circular, with raised earthen rims and thatched roofs. Their settled existence permitted the Jomon people to develop distinctive ceramic technology, even before they practiced agriculture. In fact, archaeologists have dated some ceramics found in Japan to ca. 12,000 BCE—older than pottery from any other area of the world.

Middle Jomon Pottery. The most impressive examples of Jomon pottery date to the Middle Jomon period (2500–1500 BCE). Much of the population then lived in the mountainous inland region, where local variations in ceramic form and surface treatment abounded. However, all Jomon potters shared a highly developed feeling for modeled, rather than painted, ceramic ornamentation. Jomon pottery displays such a wealth of applied clay coils and striped incisions that the sculptural treatment in certain instances even jeopardizes the basic functionality of the vessel. Jomon vessels served a wide variety of purposes, from storage to cooking to bone burial. Some of the most elaborate pots may have been used in communal rituals. Illustrated here is a so-called flame-style vessel (FIG. 17-2), named for the shapes projecting from the sculpted rim of its characteristically flaring cylindrical body. The potter formed the body of the vessel by hand and then applied clay coils in straight lines and wave patterns. The resulting intricately modeled surface is the hallmark of Jomon pottery. Jomon vessels contrast strikingly with China's most celebrated Neolithic earthenwares (FIG. 16-2), which emphasize basic ceramic form and painted decoration.

Yayoi

The Jomon culture gradually gave way to the Yayoi (ca. 300 BCE–300 CE). The period takes its name from the Yayoi district of Tokyo, where archaeologists initially discovered evidence of this first post-Jomon civilization. The Yayoi culture, however, first emerged in Kyushu, the southernmost of the main Japanese islands, and then spread northward.

MAP 17-1 **Japan before 1333.**

JAPAN BEFORE 1333

Jomon and Yayoi	Kofun	Asuka, Hakuho, and Nara	Heian	Kamakura
■ Neolithic Jomon (ca. 12,000–300 BCE) ceramists produce distinctive pottery with cordlike decoration ■ Yayoi (ca. 300 BCE–300 CE) metalworkers cast bronze bells modeled on Han Chinese prototypes	■ Japanese elite patrons construct monumental keyhole-shaped burial mounds and place cylindrical clay figures (haniwa) around and on top of them	■ Buddhism is adopted by Emperor Kimmei in 552, initiating the Asuka period (552–645) ■ At the end of the Hakuho period (645–710), the imperial government relocates to Nara and builds Buddhist temples following Chinese models during the Nara period (710–794)	■ The imperial capital moves to Heiankyo (Kyoto) in 794, and Esoteric Buddhism takes hold in Japan ■ Sculptors perfect the joined-wood technique ■ Narrative scroll painting becomes a major art form	■ Power shifts from the Japanese emperor to the Kamakura shogunate (military government) ■ Sculptors create realistic portraits in wood with rock-crystal eyes

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17-2 Flame-style vessel, from Nigata Prefecture, Japan, Middle Jomon period, ca. 2500 BCE. Earthenware, 2′ high. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland.

Jomon pottery is the earliest art form of Japan. Characterized by applied clay coils and striped incisions, the most elaborate examples feature flame-like shapes projecting from the flaring vessel's rim.

17-3 Dotaku with incised figural motifs, from Kagawa Prefecture, Japan, late Yayoi period, ca. 100–300 CE. Bronze, 1′ $4\frac{7}{8}$″ high. Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.

The models for Yayoi dotaku were Han Chinese bells, but the dotaku were ritual objects, not musical instruments. They feature geometric decoration and the earliest Japanese images of humans and animals.

Increased interaction with both China and Korea and immigration from Korea brought dramatic social and technological transformations during the Yayoi period. The Japanese continued to live in pit dwellings, but their villages grew in size, and they developed moats and palisades, indicating a perceived need for defense. In the third century CE, Chinese visitors noted that Japan had walled towns, many small kingdoms, and a highly stratified social structure. Wet-rice agriculture provided the social and economic foundations for this development. The Yayoi period was a time of tremendous change in Japanese material culture as well. Yayoi ceramists produced vessels that were less sculptural than Jomon pottery and sometimes polychrome. Yayoi artisans also developed bronze-casting and loom weaving.

Dotaku. Among the most intriguing objects fashioned by Yayoi metalworkers were *dotaku,* or bells. They resemble Han Chinese bell forms, but the Yayoi did not use dotaku as musical instruments. The bronze bells, which are oval in section and range in height from 5 inches to more than 4 feet, were treasured ceremonial objects. Cast in clay molds, these bronzes generally featured raised geometric decoration presented in bands or blocks. On some of the approximately 400 surviving dotaku, including the medium-size example illustrated here (FIG. 17-3), the ornamentation consists of simple line drawings of people, animals, and boats, often in scenes of hunting and fishing or agricultural activities. The dotaku engravings are the earliest extant examples of pictorial art in Japan.

Kofun

Historians have given the name *Kofun* to the period (ca. 300–552)* succeeding the Yayoi because of the proliferation in Japan of enormous earthen burial mounds, or *tumuli.* (*Ko* means "old"; *fun* means "tomb.") The tumuli, some of which date as early as the third century, grew dramatically in number and scale in the fourth century and, as in Greece (FIG. 4-20) and Italy (FIG. 6-6) many centuries earlier, served to proclaim the power and wealth of those buried in them.

*From this point on, all dates in this chapter are CE unless otherwise stated.

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A SECOND OPINION

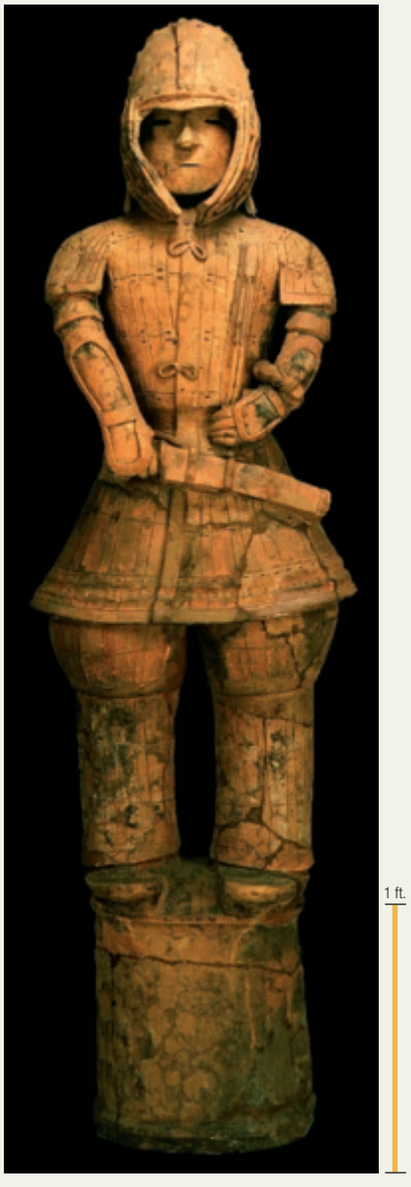
Kofun Haniwa

Large numbers of haniwa are preserved today in the museums of Japan and abroad, and they form the most significant body of sculptures—or, indeed, of any art form—from the Kofun era of pre-Buddhist Japan. These statuettes, which are usually 2 to 4 feet in height, generally have cylindrical bases, hence their name (*hani* means "clay"; *wa* means "circle"). The cylinders were embedded in the ground, anchoring the haniwa in place. The exposed portions variously represent objects (boats, houses, furniture), animals (fish, birds, horses, monkeys), and human figures, both male and female, including armed warriors, such as the example illustrated here (FIG. 17-5). The artists emblazoned the terracotta sculptures with applied ornaments, excised or built up forms, and then usually painted the haniwa, which were displayed atop Kofun tumuli and, in a very general way, follow in the tradition of the Chinese terracotta soldiers and horses (FIG. 16-1) buried with the First Emperor of Qin. However, the specific forms of the haniwa are unique to Japan. Typically, a house-shaped ceramic sculpture was positioned over the deceased's burial chamber with the figural haniwa placed in curving rows around the keyhole-shaped mound, facing outward.

What was their purpose? Many scholars believe that the haniwa served as guardians of the tomb, and the warrior figures probably did, just like Shi Huangdi's terracotta army. But the haniwa musicians, monkeys, waterfowl, and other nonmilitary types are unlikely to have had such a role. Another suggestion is that the ensemble may mimic a funeral procession in honor of the dead person. The birds and boats would refer to the journey to the afterlife. According to others, the collection of diverse figures was meant to be a cross-section of the inhabitants of the realm that the deceased ruled while alive, which the haniwa faced. Presumably, the number of sculptures reflected the stature of the dead person. Emperor Nintoku's tumulus (FIG. 17-4) had about 20,000 haniwa statues placed around the mound.

17-4 Aerial view of the tomb of Emperor Nintoku (looking northeast), Sakai, Osaka Prefecture, Japan, Kofun period, late fourth to early fifth century.

The largest Kofun tumulus, attributed to Emperor Nintoku, has a keyhole shape and three surrounding moats. About 20,000 clay haniwa originally stood on the gigantic earthen mound.



17-5 Haniwa warrior, from Gunma Prefecture, Japan, Kofun period, fifth to mid-sixth century. Low-fired clay, 4′ 3 $\frac{1}{4}$″ high. Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.

During the Kofun period, the Japanese set up cylindrical clay statues (haniwa) of humans, animals, and objects on burial tumuli. They may represent the realm that the deceased ruled when alive.

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Shinto

The early beliefs and practices of pre-Buddhist Japan, which form a part of the belief system later called Shinto (Way of the Gods), did not derive from the teachings of any individual founding figure or distinct leader. Nor do formal scriptures, in the strict sense, exist for these beliefs and practices. Shinto developed in Japan in conjunction with the advent of agriculture during the Yayoi period. Japanese religious practices thus originally focused on the needs of this farming society and included agricultural rites surrounding planting and harvesting. Villagers venerated and prayed to a multitude of local deities or spirits called *kami*. The early Japanese believed that kami existed in mountains, waterfalls, trees, and other features of nature, as well as in charismatic people, and they venerated not only the kami themselves but also the places that the kami occupied, which the ancient Japanese considered sacred.

Each clan (a local group claiming a common ancestor, and the basic societal unit during the Kofun period) had its own protector kami, to whom members offered prayers in the spring for successful planting and in the fall in thanksgiving for good harvests. Clan members built shrines consisting of several buildings for the veneration of kami. Priests made offerings of grains and fruits at these shrines and prayed on behalf of the clans. Rituals of divination, water purification, and ceremonial cleansing at the shrines proliferated. Before entering the shrine area, visitors had to cleanse themselves in a ritual of spiritual and physical purification.

Purity was such a critical aspect of Japanese religious beliefs that people would abandon buildings and even settlements if negative events, such as poor harvests, suggested spiritual corruption. Even the early imperial court moved several times to newly built towns to escape impurity and its consequences. Such purification concepts are also the basis for the cyclical rebuilding of the sanctuaries at grand shrines. The buildings of the inner shrine (FIG. 17-6) at Ise, for example, have been rebuilt every 20 years for more than a millennium, with few interruptions. (The latest shrine was constructed in 2013.) Rebuilding rids the sacred site of physical and spiritual impurities that otherwise might accumulate. During reconstruction, the old shrine remains standing until carpenters build an exact duplicate next to it. In this way, the Japanese have preserved ancient forms with great precision.

When Buddhism arrived in Japan from the mainland in the sixth century, Shinto practices changed under its influence. For example, until the introduction of Buddhism, painted or carved images of Shinto deities did not exist. Yet despite the eventual predominance of Buddhism in Japan, Shinto remains a vital religion for many Japanese.

17-6 Honden (looking northeast) of the Ise Jingu (as rebuilt in 2013), Ise, Mie Prefecture, Japan, Kofun period or later.

The most important Shinto shrine in Japan honors the sun goddess Amaterasu. Constructed of wood with a thatched roof and rebuilt every 20 years, the shrine reflects the form of early Japanese granaries.

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Tomb of Nintoku. The largest tumulus (FIG. 17-4) in Japan is at Sakai, near Osaka. Most scholars identify it as the tomb of Emperor Nintoku (r. ca. 313–399), although others think that the tumulus postdates his death in 399. The central mound, which takes the "keyhole" form that was standard for tumuli during the Kofun period, is 1,574 feet long and rises to a height of 114 feet. Surrounded by three moats, the entire site covers 458 acres and resembles the shape of a typical Yayoi dotaku (compare FIG. 17-3). Japan's Imperial Household Agency has forbidden excavation of Nintoku's tumulus, but like other Kofun examples, it probably contained a stone-walled burial chamber near the summit of the mound. Inside would have been deposited the emperor's coffin and numerous objects for him to take into the afterlife, including imperial regalia, swords, comma-shaped jewels, and bronze mirrors. The mirrors, which the Japanese believed offered magical protection, came from China, but the form of the Kofun keyhole tombs and many of the other burial goods found in excavated tumuli suggest even closer connections with Korea. For example, the comma-shaped jewels closely resemble those found on Korean Silla crowns (FIG. 16-30), but the Japanese counterparts are simpler and fashioned of gilded bronze.

The Japanese also placed unglazed ceramic sculptures called *haniwa* (FIG. 17-5) on and around Kofun tumuli (see "Kofun Haniwa," page 504).

Ise Jingu. The Japanese imperial clan traces its origins to the sun goddess Amaterasu, and during the Yayoi and Kofun eras a religious system centered on the worship of Amaterasu developed in Japan (see "Shinto," above). The goddess's most important shrine (FIG. 17-6) is at Ise in a forest near the Isuzu River. The location,

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use, and ritual reconstruction of the Ise Jingu (Ise Shrine) every 20 years reflect the primary characteristics of Shinto—sacred space, ritual renewal, and purification. Traditionally attributed to the Kofun period, the shrine is probably of later date, but it still serves as a representative example of sacred architecture in ancient Japan. Although Japanese shrine architecture varies tremendously, scholars believe that the Ise Shrine preserves some of the earliest design elements, including its simple wood gates (*torii*). Yet the shrine is unique because of its connection to the Japanese imperial family. It still houses one of the three most important items of imperial regalia, the emperor's mirror, and only members of the imperial family and Shinto priests are permitted to enter. No other shrines may be constructed with the identical design. The original source for the form of the Ise complex's main hall appears to have been Japanese granaries, which were among the most important buildings in Japan's early farming society. Not every aspect of the Ise Shrine is equally ancient. The three main structures of the inner shrine nonetheless convey some sense of Japanese architecture before the introduction of Buddhism and before the development of more elaborately constructed and adorned buildings.

Aside from the thatched roofs and some metallic decorations on the railings, the sole construction material at Ise is wood, fitted together in a *mortise-and-tenon system,* in which the builders slip the wallboards into slots in the pillars. Two massive freestanding posts (once great cypress trunks), one at the center of each end of the main hall (*honden*), support most of the weight of the *ridge beam* at the crest of the roof. As in traditional granaries, the honden's floor is suspended a few feet above the ground on cylindrical posts. The golden-hued cypress columns and planks contrast in color and texture with the white gravel covering the sacred grounds. The roof was thatched, which the Japanese smoked, sewed into bundles, and then put in place in layers. The smooth shearing of the entire surface produced a gently changing contour. Today, cypress bark covers the roof. Decorative elements (originally having a structural function) enhance the roofline, and include *chigi,* extensions of the rafters at each end of the roof, and *katsuogi,* logs placed at right angles across the ridgepole to hold the thatched roof in place. But the surfaces are left unpainted in order to display the natural beauty of the materials.

The Ise Shrine highlights the connection, central to Shinto, between nature and spirit. Not only are the construction materials derived from the natural world, but the shrine stands at a specific location where the builders believed a kami had taken up residence.

BUDDHIST JAPAN

Buddhism arrived in Japan from Korea in the mid-sixth century and was embraced by Emperor Kimmei in 552 (see "Horyuji," page 501). Resistance to the new religion, which differed sharply from Shinto not only theologically but also in terms of ritual and the architectural form of its shrines, was initially fierce and led to civil strife and armed conflict between opposing Japanese factions. Kimmei's conversion nonetheless marked the beginning of a new era in Japan—the Asuka period (552–645), during which the ruling elite adopted major elements of continental culture that had been gradually filtering into Japan. These cultural components, which ultimately became firmly established in Japan, included Chinese writing, Confucianism (see "Daoism and Confucianism," page 486), and Buddhism (see "The Buddha, Buddhism, and Buddhist Iconography," page 447). Shinto beliefs and practices continued to have significance (and do to the present day), especially as agricultural rituals and imperial court rites, but as time passed, Shinto evolved in the face of Buddhism. For example, Shinto kami gained new identities as local manifestations of Buddhist bodhisattvas.

In 645, a series of reforms led to the establishment of a centralized government in place of the individual clans that had controlled Japan's different regions. This shift marked the beginning of the Hakuho period (645–710), when the Japanese court, ruling from a series of capitals south of present-day Kyoto, increasingly adopted the forms and rites of the Chinese court. In 710, the Japanese finally established what they intended as a permanent capital at Heijo (present-day Nara), initiating the Nara period (710–794). City planners laid out the new capital on a symmetrical grid closely modeled on the plan of the Chinese Tang dynasty's capital of Chang'an.

Asuka, Hakuho, and Nara

In the arts associated with Buddhist practices, Asuka, Hakuho, and Nara-era Japan followed Korean and Chinese prototypes very closely. In fact, early Buddhist architecture in Japan adhered so closely to mainland standards (although generally with a considerable time lag) that surviving Japanese temples have helped greatly in the reconstruction of what has been almost completely lost in China and Korea.

17-7 Tori, Shaka triad, Asuka period, 623. Bronze, Shaka 2′ 10″ high. Kondo, Horyuji, Ikaruga.

Tori's Shaka triad (the historical Buddha and two bodhisattvas) is among the earliest Japanese Buddhist sculptures. The elongated heads and elegant swirling drapery folds reflect Chinese and Korean models.

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1 ft.

17-8 Yakushi triad, Hakuho period, late seventh or early eighth century. Bronze, Buddha 8′ 4″ high, including base and mandorla. Kondo, Yakushiji, Nara.

The sculptor of this Buddha triad favored greater anatomical definition and shape-revealing drapery than did Asuka artist Tori. The Yakushiji statues display the sensuality of Indian sculpture.

Tori Busshi. Among the earliest extant examples of Japanese Buddhist statuary is the bronze Shaka triad (FIG. 17-7) at Horyuji (FIG. 17-1) by Tori, called Busshi to underscore his status as one of the first sculptors of Buddhist images in Japan. According to the inscription on Shaka's halo, which dates the triad to 623, Empress Suiko (r. 593–628), daughter of Emperor Kimmei, and other members of the imperial court commissioned the work as a votive offering when her nephew, Prince Shotuku (572–622), the leading Asuka-era champion of Buddhism and Confucian principles of governance, fell ill in 621. When Shotuku died, the empress dedicated the triad to the prince's well-being in his next life and to his hoped-for rebirth in Paradise. The central figure in the triad is Shaka, seated with his right hand raised in the abhaya mudra (fear-not gesture; see "Buddhist Iconography," page 447). The flaming mandorla that forms a backdrop to the historical Buddha incorporates small figures of other Buddhas. The sculptor was probably a descendant of a Korean immigrant who adopted a Chinese name, and the Horyuji Shaka triad reflects the style of the early to mid-sixth century in China and Korea, a style that featured elongated heads and elegant drapery folds forming gravity-defying, waterfall-like swirls. The vibrant patterns of Shaka's garment contrast with the serenity of his pose and expression.

Yakushi Triad. In the late seventh century, Japanese sculptors began to move beyond the Asuka style in favor of new ideas and forms coming out of Korea and Tang China. More direct relations with China also narrowed the time lag between developments there and their transfer to Japan. A prime example is the bronze (originally gilded) triad (FIG. 17-8) of Yakushi (the Indian Bhaisajyaguru, the Buddha of Healing, or Medicine Buddha, who presides over the Eastern Pure Land) in the kondo of the late-seventh-century Yakushiji temple complex in Nara. The Hakuho-era sculptor favored greater anatomical definition and shape-revealing drapery over the dramatic stylizations of Tori's triad. As is customary, Yakushi wears no jewelry, in contrast to his two attendant bodhisattvas, Nikko and Gakko. (The halos behind the three figures are replacements of later date for the original Hakuho-era halos.) All three figures, but especially the flanking bodhisattvas, reveal the long stylistic trail back through China (FIG. 16-16) to the sensuous fleshiness and outthrust-hip poses of Indian sculpture (FIGS. 15-10 and 15-15).

Horyuji Kondo. Tori created his Shaka triad for the Horyuji temple complex (FIG. 17-1) that Empress Suiko and Prince Shotuku founded in 607 near his estate at Ikaruga, outside Nara. Fire destroyed the Asuka-period temple, but the priests rescued Tori's statue and reinstalled it around 680 in the kondo (FIG. 17-9) of the Hakuho-era complex, which also features a five-story pagoda (FIG. 17-9A), one of the oldest wood buildings in

17-9A Pagoda, Horyuji, Ikaruga, ca. 680.

17-9 Kondo (looking southeast), Horyuji, Ikaruga, Nara Prefecture, Japan, Hakuho period, ca. 680.

The kondo, or Golden Hall, of a Buddhist temple housed statues of the Buddha and bodhisattvas. The Horyuji kondo follows Chinese models in its construction method and curved roofline.

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1 ft.

17-10 Amida triad, photograph before destruction by fire in 1949 of the mural formerly in the kondo, Horyuji, Ikaruga, Nara Prefecture, Japan, Nara period, ca. 710. Ink and colors, 8′ 6″ wide.

The murals of the Horyuji kondo represented the Buddhas of the four directions. The red iron-wire lines used for Amida, the Buddha of the Western Pure Land, reflect Chinese Tang painting style.

the world. Although the kondo has been periodically repaired and somewhat altered over time (the covered porch is an 8th-century Nara-period addition; the upper railing dates to the 17th century), it retains its graceful but sturdy forms beneath the modifications. The main pillars (not visible in FIG. 17-9 due to the porch addition) decrease in diameter from bottom to top. The tapering provides an effective transition between the more delicate brackets above and the columns' stout forms. Also somewhat masked by the added porch is the harmonious reduction in scale from the lower to the upper roof.

Until a disastrous fire in 1949, visitors to the Horyuji complex could view important early examples of Japanese Buddhist mural painting. Fortunately, old color photographs of the paintings exist. Executed around 710, when Nara became the Japanese imperial capital, the most important Horyuji paintings depicted the Buddhas of the Four Directions. Shaka faces north and Yakushi east. Miroku, the future Buddha, faces south. Illustrated here is Amida (FIG. 17-10), the Buddha of the Western Pure Land. He sits enthroned in his fabled Paradise, attended by bodhisattvas. The exclusive worship of Amida later became a major trend in Japanese Buddhism, and much grander depictions of his Paradise appeared, resembling those at Dunhuang (FIG. 16-18) in China. Here, however, the representation is simple and iconic.

Although executed on a dry wall, the Japanese painting process involved techniques similar to fresco (see "Fresco Painting," page 428), such as transferring designs from paper to wall by piercing holes in the paper and pushing colored powder through the perforations (*pouncing*). As in the *Yakushi triad* (FIG. 17-8), the mature Tang style, with its echoes of Indian sensuality, surfaces in this *Amida triad.* The smooth brush lines, thoroughly East Asian, give the figures their substance and life. These lines, often seen in Buddhist painting, are called *iron-wire lines* because they are thin and of unvarying width with a suggestion of tensile strength. As in many other Buddhist paintings, the lines used to delineate the Buddha are red, whereas the painters used black lines for the other figures. The identity of the painters of the Horyuji murals is unknown, but they may have been Chinese or Korean rather than Japanese.

Daibutsuden, Todaiji. At the Todaiji temple complex at Nara, the kondo is known as the Daibutsuden (FIG. 17-11), or Great Buddha Hall. Originally constructed in the mid-eighth century, the current Daibutsuden dates to 1707, with additional renovations in the early 20th century and again in the 1970s. The Nara-period temple housed a 53-foot-tall gilded bronze image of the Cosmic Buddha, Roshana (Sanskrit, Vairocana), inspired by Chinese colossal stone statues (FIG. 16-16) of this type. The commissioning of Todaiji and its Great Buddha (Daibutsu) by Emperor Shomu (701–756; r. 724–749) in 743 was historically important as part of an imperial attempt to unify and strengthen the country by enlisting religious authority to reinforce imperial power. The temple served as the administrative center of a network of branch temples built in every province. Thus the consolidation of imperial authority and thorough penetration of Buddhism throughout the country went hand in hand. The dissemination of a common religion contributed to the eventual disruption of the clan system and the unification of disparate political groups. The building and the Daibutsu within were so important that court and government officials as well as Buddhist dignitaries from China and India attended the opening

17-11 Daibutsuden (looking north), Todaiji, Nara, Japan, Nara period, 743–752; rebuilt in 1707 and restored in 1906–1913.

The Daibutsuden of the Todaiji temple complex is one of the largest wood buildings in the world. Commissioned by Emperor Shomu in 743, the Great Buddha Hall originally had 11 bays instead of the current 7.

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ceremonies on April 9, 752. Chinese Buddhist monks also arrived in Japan in large numbers and were instrumental in spreading Buddhist teachings throughout Japan.

Sadly, the current building is significantly smaller than the original, which suffered repeated damage at the hands of nature and in the civil wars of the 12th century. Because of a shortage of both materials and carpenters with knowledge of ancient construction techniques, the rebuilt Daibutsuden has only 7 bays. The original had 11. Yet even in its diminished size, the Todaiji Great Buddha Hall is one of the largest wood buildings in the world.

Heian

In 749, Emperor Shomu abdicated the throne in order to become a Buddhist monk. He was succeeded by his daughter, Koken-Shotuku (718–770; r. 749–758, 764–770), who was also a devout Buddhist. In 784, probably to escape the power of the Buddhist priests in Nara, the imperial house moved its capital north to Nagaoka, relocating again in 794 to what became its home until modern times. Originally called Heiankyo (Capital of Peace and Tranquility), its name today is Kyoto. The Heian period (794–1185) of Japanese art takes its name from the new capital, which had the great advantage of river access to the sea. Kyoto, like Nara, was laid out on a grid plan.

Early in the Heian period, Japan maintained fairly close ties with China, but from the middle of the ninth century on, relations between Japan and China deteriorated so rapidly that by the end of that century, court-sponsored contacts had ceased. Japanese culture became much more self-directed than it had been in the preceding few centuries.

Esoteric Buddhism. Among the major developments during the early Heian period was the introduction of Esoteric Buddhism to Japan from China. The name reflects the secret transmission of its teachings. Two Esoteric sects made their appearance: Tendai in 805 and Shingon in 806. The teachings of Tendai, brought to Japan from China by the Buddhist priest Saicho (767–822), are based on the Lotus Sutra, one of the Buddhist scriptural narratives. Shingon (True Word) teachings, introduced to Japan from Chang'an by the monk Kukai (774–835), are based on the Mahavairocana and Vajrasekhara Sutras. Both Tendai and Shingon Buddhists believe that all individuals possess the innate ability to achieve enlightenment through meditation rituals and careful living. To aid focus during meditation, Shingon disciples use special hand gestures (mudras) and recite particular words or syllables (*mantras* in Sanskrit, *shingon* in Japanese). Shingon became the primary form of Buddhism in Japan through the mid-10th century.

Taizokai Mandara. Because of the emphasis on ritual and meditation in Shingon, the arts flourished during the early Heian period. Both paintings and sculptures provided followers with visualizations of specific Buddhist deities and enabled them to contemplate the transcendental concepts central to the religion. Of particular importance in Shingon meditation was the *mandara* (*mandala* in Sanskrit), a diagram of the cosmic universe. The most famous Japanese mandaras are the Womb World (Taizokai) and the Diamond World (Kongokai). Together they formed a complementary pair on the wall of a Shingon kondo to the west and east, respectively, of the altar. The central motif in the Womb World is the lotus of compassion. In the Diamond World, it is the diamond scepter of wisdom. The Womb World is composed of 12 zones, each representing one of the various dimensions of Buddha nature (for example, universal knowledge, wisdom, achievement, and purity). The Taizokai mandara illustrated here (FIG. 17-12) is among the oldest and best preserved in Japan. It is on display today with a corresponding Kongokai mandara at Kyoogokokuji (Toji), the Shingon teaching center established at Kyoto in 823. At the center is the supreme Shingon Buddha, Dainichi Nyorai, the Great Sun, surrounded by the eight Buddhas of the compass directions. Some of the figures—the Godai Myoo, the five kings of higher knowledge—hold lightning bolts, symbolizing the power of the mind to destroy human passion. Both the Toji Womb World mandara and its Diamond World counterpart reflect Chinese models brought to Japan by Kukai.

17-12 Taizokai (Womb World) mandara, Heian period, ca. 850–900. Hanging scroll, colors on silk, 6′ × 5′ $\frac{5}{8}$″. Kyoogokokuji (Toji), Kyoto.

The Womb World mandara is a diagram of the cosmic universe composed of 12 zones representing the dimensions of Buddha nature. Mandaras played a central role in Shingon Buddhist meditation.

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17-13 Phoenix Hall (looking west), Byodoin, Uji, Kyoto Prefecture, Japan, Heian period, 1053.

The Phoenix Hall's elaborate winged form evokes images of Amida's palace in the Western Pure Land. Situated on a pond, the temple suggests the floating weightlessness of celestial architecture.

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Phoenix Hall, Uji. During the middle and later Heian period, belief in the vow of Amida, the Buddha of the Western Pure Land, to save believers through rebirth in his realm gained great prominence among the Japanese aristocracy. Eventually, the simple message of Pure Land (Jodo, in Japanese) Buddhism—universal salvation—facilitated the spread of Buddhism to all classes of Japanese society. The most important surviving monument in Japan related to Pure Land beliefs is the Hoodo, or Phoenix Hall (FIG. 17-13), of the Byodoin, a Heian Buddhist temple complex at Uji, south of Kyoto. Fujiwara no Yorimichi (990–1074), the powerful regent for three emperors between 1016 and 1068, converted the summer villa of his father, Fujiwara no Michinaga (966–1027), into a magnificent temple in the hope of attaining Paradise. Dedicated in 1053, the Phoenix Hall houses a gilded and lacquered wood statue (FIG. 17-13A) of Amida by the master sculptor JOCHO (d. 1057), who perfected what art historians call the *joined-wood technique* (*yosegi* in Japanese). The building's elaborate winged form evokes images of the Buddha's palace in his Pure Land, as depicted in East Asian paintings (FIG. 16-18) in which the architecture reflects the design of Chinese palaces. By placing only light pillars on the exterior, elevating the wings, and situating the whole on a reflective pond, the Phoenix Hall builders suggested the floating weightlessness of celestial architecture. The building's name derives from its overall birdlike shape and from two bronze phoenixes decorating the ends of the ridge beam. In eastern Asia, people believed that these birds alighted on lands properly ruled. Here, they represent imperial might, sometimes associated especially with the empress. The authority of the Fujiwara family derived primarily from the marriage of daughters to the imperial line.

17-13A JOCHO, Amida, Phoenix Hall, Uji, 1053.

***Tale of Genji*.** Japan's most admired literary classic is *Tale of Genji,* written around 1000 by Murasaki Shikubu (usually referred to as Lady Murasaki; ca. 978–ca. 1025), a lady-in-waiting at the court (see "Woman Writers and Calligraphers at the Heian Imperial Court," page 511). Recounting the lives and loves of Prince Genji and his descendants, *Tale of Genji* (FIG. 17-14) provides readers with a view of Heian court culture in 54 chapters. The oldest extant examples of illustrated copies of Murasaki's novel are fragments from a deluxe set of early-12th-century handscrolls (see "Chinese Painting Materials and Formats," page 489). From textual and physical evidence, scholars have suggested that the set originally consisted of about 10 handscrolls produced by five teams of artisans. Each team included a nobleman talented in calligraphy, a chief painter who drew the compositions in ink, and assistants who added the color. Twenty illustrations are extant today out of probably 100 to 150.

In the *Genji* handscrolls, pictures alternate with text, as in Gu Kaizhi's *Admonitions* scrolls (FIG. 16-13). However, the Japanese work focuses on emotionally charged moments in personal relationships, rather than on lessons in exemplary behavior. In the scene illustrated here (FIG. 17-14), Genji meets with his greatest love, Murasaki, near the time of her death. His bowed head and hunched posture communicate his deep sorrow. The bush-clover in the garden indicates that it is autumn, the season of fading love. A radically upturned ground plane and strong diagonal lines suggest three-dimensional space. The painter omitted roofs and ceilings to provide a privileged view of the interior spaces where the action takes place. The unusual angles were also metaphors for the emotions of the characters depicted. The colors have unfortunately faded significantly over time, but recent scientific analyses of the pigments by the Goto Art Museum have established that the original colors were vibrant and that the textiles and architectural ornamentation were richly patterned. The human figures appear

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Woman Writers and Calligraphers at the Heian Imperial Court

During the Nara and especially the Heian periods, the Japanese imperial court developed as the center of an elite culture. In a time of peace and prosperity, the aristocracy had the leisure to play musical instruments and write poetry. Exchanging poems became a common social practice and a frequent preoccupation of lovers. Both men and women produced poems as well as paintings and calligraphy that critics generally consider "classical" today. Heian court members, especially those from the great Fujiwara clan, which dominated the court for a century and a half and built the Phoenix Hall (FIG. 17-13) at Uji, compiled major anthologies of Japanese poetry and wrote Japan's most influential secular prose.

It was a lady-in-waiting to Empress Shoshi (988–1074; r. ca. 1000–ca. 1011), the eldest daughter of Fujiwara no Michinaga, who wrote the best-known work of literature in Japan, *Tale of Genji*. Known as Lady Murasaki, the author is one of many women who were important writers, especially of diaries and poems. Generally considered the world's first lengthy novel (the English translation is almost a thousand pages), *Tale of Genji* tells of the life and loves of Prince Genji and, after his death, of his heirs. The novel and much of Japanese literature consistently display sensitivity to the sadness inherent in the transience of love and life. These human sentiments are often intertwined with the seasonality of nature. For example, the full moon, flying geese, crying deer, and certain plants symbolize autumn, which in turn has associations with somber emotions, fading love, and dying. Such concrete but evocative images frequently appear in paintings, and are found in the illustrated scrolls of *Tale of Genji* (FIG. 17-14).

In one section of her account of Genji's life, Lady Murasaki describes the high esteem accorded to master calligraphers at the Heian court, as in China (see "Calligraphy and Inscriptions on Chinese Paintings," page 1061). Among them was Fujiwara no Sadanobu (FIG. 17-15) but also a number of women, including the empress's mother and Murasaki herself.

> "We live in a degenerate age," said Genji. "Almost nothing but the 'ladies' hand' seems really good. In that we do excel. The old styles have a sameness about them. They seem to have followed the copybooks and allowed little room for original talent. We have been blessed in our own day with large numbers of fine calligraphers. Back when I was myself a student of the 'ladies' hand' I put together a rather distinguished collection. The finest specimens in it, quite incomparable, I thought, were some informal jottings by the mother of the present empress. I thought that I had never seen anything so fine. . . . [A]mong the ladies still here to please us she has only two rivals, Princess Asagao and you yourself [Murasaki], my dear."
>
> "The thought of being admitted to such company overwhelms me," said Murasaki.
>
> "You are too modest. Your writing manages to be gentle and intimate without ever losing its assurance. It is always a pleasant surprise when someone who writes well in the Chinese style moves over to the Japanese and writes that just as well."*

*Translated by Edward G. Seidensticker, *The Tale of Genji* (New York: Random House, 1983), 517–518.

1 in.

17-14 ***Genji Visits Murasaki,*** **from the Minori chapter, *Tale of Genji,* Heian period, first half of 12th century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper, 8 $\frac{5}{8}$″ high. Goto Art Museum, Tokyo.**

In this handscroll of Lady Murasaki's *Tale of Genji,* the upturned ground and diagonal lines suggest three-dimensional space. The originally vibrant colors and rich textile patterns have faded over time.

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17-15 Fujiwara no Sadanobu, album leaf, from the *Ishiyamagire,* Heian period, early 12th century. Ink with gold and silver on decorated paper collage, 8″ × 6 3/8″. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

A masterpiece of Heian hiragana calligraphy with verses by a 10th-century poet interwoven with gold and silver plants and insects, this album page is a collage of torn and cut colored papers.

constructed of stiff layers of contrasting fabrics, and the artist simplified and generalized the aristocratic faces, using a short horizontal line, or dash, for each eye and a hook for the nose. This lack of individualization may reflect societal restrictions on looking directly at exalted persons. Later Japanese critics considered several formal features of the *Genji* illustrations—native subjects, bright mineral pigments, lack of emphasis on strong brushwork, and general flatness—typical of *yamato-e,* or "native-style painting." (*Yamato* means "Japan," and the term describes anything characteristically Japanese.)

Fujiwara no Sadanobu. The script used in the *Tale of Genji* scrolls is primarily *hiragana,* a sound-based cursive writing system developed in Japan from Chinese characters. Whereas Japanese scribes employed Chinese characters for Chinese poetry, hiragana became the primary script for Japanese court poetry. The Japanese used both angular and cursive scripts, the former—called *katakana*—based on Chinese characters and usually employed for official documents, and the latter a more informal style for personal use and for literary

17-16 *The Flying Storehouse,* from *Legends of Mount Shigi,* Heian period, late 12th century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper, 1′ 1/2″ high. Chogosonshiji, Nara.

This Heian handscroll illustrating a Buddhist miracle differs from the *Genji* scroll (FIG. 17-14) in both subject and style. The artist exaggerated each feature of the gesticulating and scurrying figures.

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works. An example of hiragana calligraphy appears on the album page illustrated here (FIG. 17-15), which has been attributed to the master calligrapher FUJIWARA NO SADANOBU (1088–ca. 1156). It reproduces two short verses by Ki no Tsurayuki (ca. 872–946) written while mourning the death of a close friend:

A beloved friend whom I met until yesterday is gone today, swept away like mountain clouds.
How tragic that although we live, whatever we have will surely die.

The album page is part of a dispersed anthology of poetry titled *Ishiyama-gire* (*Thirty-Six Immortal Poets*). The ink characters, written, as in China, in columns read from top to bottom and right to left, form elegant patterns against a collage of three different colors of paper with both straight and ragged edges to heighten the visual interest. The torn papers also suggest loss, the subject of the verses on this page. Interspersed with the cursive characters are plants and insects in gold and silver, whose linear forms beautifully complement the graceful hiragana characters. Sadanobu was a master of color and composition as well as calligraphy.

Legends of Mount Shigi. Heian painting, like Heian calligraphy, was diverse in both style and subject matter. *Legends of Mount Shigi,* painted during the late 12th century, represents a different facet of Heian narrative handscroll painting. The stories belong to a genre of pious Buddhist tales devoted to miraculous events involving virtuous individuals. Unlike in the *Genji* scrolls, short segments of text and pictures do not alternate. Instead, because the story was well known, the painters took advantage of the scroll format to present several scenes in a long, unbroken stretch. For example, the first scroll shows the same travelers at several stages of their journey through a continuous landscape.

The *Mount Shigi* scrolls illustrate three miracles associated with a Buddhist monk named Myoren, who resided in a hut close to a small temple on the slopes of Mount Shigi near Nara. The first relates the story of the flying storehouse (FIG. 17-16) and depicts Myoren's *begging bowl* (the bowl that Buddhist monks use to collect alms, either money or food) lifting the rice-filled granary of a greedy farmer and, through the power of the monk's faith, carrying it off to Myoren's mountaintop hut. The painter used a multitude of rapid brushstrokes and pale colors to depict the astonished landowner, his attendants, and several onlookers in various attitudes and poses. Some grimace, others gesticulate wildly and scurry about in frantic amazement. As in the *Genji* scroll, the architecture in the *Shigi* scroll is represented from above, but in striking contrast to the generic faces of the *Genji* illustrations, the features of each *Shigi* figure are exaggerated.

Kamakura

The Genpei Civil War of 1180 to 1185 between the rival Taira and Minamoto warrior clans (*samurai*) led to the end of the Japanese imperial court as a major political and social force. The victors, the Minamoto, were based in Kamakura in eastern Japan near present-day Tokyo. The Kyoto imperial court remained the theoretical source of political authority, but real power resided with Minamoto Yoritomo (1147–1199), on whom the emperor officially bestowed the title of *shogun* (general-in-chief) in 1185. The ensuing period of Japanese art is called the Kamakura period (1185–1332), named for the headquarters of the Minamoto *shogunate* (military government). During the Kamakura period, more frequent and positive contact with China brought an appreciation for recent cultural developments there, ranging from new architectural styles to Zen Buddhism.

Shunjobo Chogen. The civil war devastated both Kyoto (FIG. 17-19) and Nara. Even the great Buddhist temple of Todaiji (FIG. 17-11) was not spared. The Kamakura shogunate was determined to rebuild, which presented an opportunity for architectural experimentation. A leading figure in planning and directing the reconstruction efforts was the Buddhist priest Shunjobo Chogen (1120–1206), who sources say made three trips to China between 1166 and 1176. After learning about contemporary Chinese architecture, he oversaw the rebuilding of Todaiji, among other projects, with generous donations from Minamoto Yoritomo.

Chogen's portrait statue (FIG. 17-17), probably carved shortly after his death at age 86, is one of the most striking examples of the high level of naturalism prevalent in the early Kamakura period. It features finely painted details and a powerful rendering of the

17-17 Portrait statue of the Buddhist priest Shunjobo Chogen, Kamakura period, ca. 1206. Painted cypress wood, 2′ 8 3/8″ high. Todaiji, Nara.

Kamakura artists' interest in naturalism is evident in this moving portrait of a seated priest. The statue is noteworthy for its finely painted details and powerful rendering of personality and old age.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Heian and Kamakura Artistic Workshops

Until the late Heian period, major artistic commissions came almost exclusively from the imperial court or the great temples. As shogun warrior families gained wealth and power, they too became great art patrons—in many cases closely following established preferences in subject and style.

Artists, for the most part, did not work independently but rather were affiliated with workshops. Indeed, until the 20th century, hierarchically organized male workshops produced most Japanese art. Membership in these workshops was often based on familial relationships. Dominating each workshop was a master, and many of his main assistants and apprentices were relatives. Outsiders of considerable skill sometimes joined workshops, often through marriage or adoption. The eldest son usually inherited the master's position, after rigorous training in the necessary skills from a very young age. Therefore, one meaning of the term *art school* in Japan is a network of workshops tracing their origins to the same master, a kind of artistic clan. Inside the workshops, the master and senior assistants handled the most important production stages, but artists of lower rank helped with the more routine work. The Kamakura portrait statue (FIG. 17-18) of the priest Kuya preaching, for example, was the work of Kosho, whose family workshop traced its artistic roots to a sculptor—Jocho (FIG. 17-13A)—who lived 150 years before Kosho learned his craft.

Artistic cooperation also surfaced in court bureaus, an alternative to family workshops. These official bureaus, housed at the imperial palace, had emerged by the Heian period. The imperial painting bureau accrued particular fame. Teams of court painters, led by the bureau director, produced pictures such as the scenes in the *Tale of Genji* handscrolls (FIG. 17-14). This system remained vital into the Kamakura period and well beyond. Under the direction of a patron or the patron's representative, the master painter laid out the composition by brushing in the initial outlines and contours. Under his supervision, junior painters applied the colors. The master then completed the work by brushing in fresh contours and details such as facial features. Very junior assistants and apprentices assisted in the process by preparing paper, ink, and pigments (compare "Gothic Book Production," page 402). Unlike mastership in hereditarily run workshops, competition among several families determined control of the court painting bureau during the Heian and Kamakura periods.

The bureaus and family workshops did not control all art production, however. Priest-artists, who were trained in temple workshops, made Buddhist art objects for public viewing as well as images for private priestly meditation. Amateur painting was common among aristocrats of all ranks. As they did for poetry composition and calligraphy, aristocrats frequently sponsored painting competitions, in which both women and men participated. In fact, court ladies probably played a significant role in developing the painting style seen in the *Genji* scrolls, and a few participated in public projects (see "Woman Writers and Calligraphers," page 511).

17-18 Kosho, portrait statue of the Buddhist priest Kuya preaching, Kamakura period, early 13th century. Painted wood with inlaid eyes, 3′ 10 1/4″ high. Rokuharamitsuji, Kyoto.

Kosho, a leading Kamakura sculptor, depicted Kuya as a frail priest roaming the countryside chanting the six syllables of the prayer to Amida, shown as six tiny Buddhas emerging from his mouth.

signs of aging, including sunken cheeks and eye sockets, lined face and neck, and slumping posture. Details such as his nervous handling of prayer beads capture the personality as well as the appearance of the priest. The statue displays fine Heian carving techniques combined with an increased concern for natural volume and detail learned from studying, among other sources, surviving Nara-period works and sculptures imported from Song China.

Kosho. The name of the sculptor of Shunjobo Chogen's portrait is not known, but a contemporaneous portrait (FIG. 17-18) by Kosho

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(d. 1237), one of the great Kamakura masters of realistic sculpture, survives. Kosho was the fourth of six sons of the sculptor UNKEI (d. 1223; FIG. 17-18A), who was in turn the son of a sculptor of the important Kei School (see "Heian and Kamakura Artistic Workshops," page 514), which traced its lineage to the mid-11th-century master Jocho (FIG. 17-13A). Art historians generally regard the portrait statue of the priest Kuya (903–972) as Kosho's best work. Enhancing the natural quality of this portrait statue is the use of inlaid rock crystal for the eyes, a technique unique to Japan.

17-18A UNKEI, *Agyo,* Todaiji, Nara, 1203.

According to one legend, Kuya converted to Amidism, an early form of Pure Land Buddhism (see "Buddhism," page 447), after killing a deer. Horrified by what he had done, he devoted the rest of his life to roaming the countryside preaching faith in Amida. Alternate accounts state that the deer was Kuya's favorite and was slain by hunters or took sick, and that Kuya was overcome with grief.

In either case, Kuya always dressed in ragged clothes and held a walking staff topped by the deer's antlers. He also wrapped the deer's skin around his waist and carried a gong and wood stick, and everywhere he went, Kuya chanted the six-syllable *nembutsu* prayer professing total faith in the compassion of Amida Buddha (*Namu Amida Butsu*) while beating the gong.

Kosho's wood statue is an imaginary portrait, but it is so convincing in its naturalistic depiction of a frail old man of faith that it seems as if Kuya posed for the portrait, even though he had been dead for more than two centuries when Kosho carved this statue for the Rokuharamitsuji temple in Kyoto. Kuya walks with his left foot advanced and his antler-topped staff in his left hand. His gong hangs from a yoke over his shoulders, and he holds his striker in his right hand. Most remarkable is the way that Kosho represented Kuya chanting. He placed six miniature Amidas on a wire emerging from Kuya's mouth, one for each syllable of his chant.

Attack on Sanjo Palace. All the painting types flourishing in the Heian period continued to prosper in the Kamakura period. A striking example of handscroll painting is *Events of the Heiji Period,* which dates to the 13th century and illustrates another facet of Japanese painting—historical narrative. The scroll depicts the civil-war battles at the end of the Heian period. The section reproduced here (FIG. 17-19) represents the nighttime attack in 1160 on the Sanjo palace during which the retired emperor Goshirakawa (r. 1155–1158) was taken prisoner by Minamoto samurai, who burned his palace. Swirling flames and billowing clouds of smoke dominate the composition. Below, soldiers on horseback and on foot do battle. As in other Heian and Kamakura scrolls, the buildings in the *Heiji* handscroll are represented from above at a sharp angle. Especially noteworthy here are the painter's staccato brushwork and the vivid flashes of color that beautifully capture the drama of the event.

1 in.

17-19 ***Night Attack on the Sanjo Palace,*** **from** ***Events of the Heiji Period,*** **Kamakura period, 13th century. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper, 1′ 4 1/4″ high; full scroll 22′ 10″ long. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Fenollosa-Weld Collection).**

The *Heiji* scroll is an example of historical narrative painting. Staccato brushwork and vivid flashes of color beautifully capture the drama of the night attack and burning of Emperor Goshirakawa's palace.

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17-20 *Amida Descending over the Mountains,* Kamakura period, 13th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 4′ $3\frac{1}{8}$″ × 3′ $10\frac{1}{2}$″. Zenrinji, Kyoto.

Scrolls depicting Amida descending to convey the dead to the Pure Land Paradise often hung in the room of a dying person. In this example, the rendering of Amida has an iconic character.

Amida Descending. Buddhism and Buddhist painting also remained vital in the Kamakura period, and elite patrons continued to commission major Pure Land artworks. Pure Land Buddhism in Japan stressed the saving power of Amida, who, if called on, hastened to believers at the moment of death and conveyed them to his Pure Land. Pictures of this scene often hung in the presence of a dying person, who recited Amida's name to ensure salvation.

In *Amida Descending over the Mountains* (FIG. 17-20), a gigantic Amida rises from behind the mountains against the backdrop of a dark sky. His two main attendant bodhisattvas, Kannon and Seishi, have already descended. The painter depicted them as if they were addressing the deceased directly. Below, two robed figures point to the approaching divinities. In contrast to these gesticulating witnesses, Amida is still and frontal, which gives his image an iconic quality. Particularly striking is the way in which Amida's halo resembles a rising moon, an image long admired in Japan for its spiritual beauty.

The Kamakura period ended the way it began—with civil war. After several years of conflict beginning in 1332, one shogun emerged supreme and governed Japan from his headquarters in the Muramachi district of Kyoto. The art and architecture of Japan from 1333 to 1980 are the subject of Chapter 35.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Japan before 1333

Jomon and Yayoi Periods ca. 12,000 BCE–300 CE

- The Jomon (ca. 12,000–300 BCE) is Japan's earliest distinct culture. It takes its name from the applied clay cordlike coil decoration of the era's pottery.
- Archaeologists unearthed the first evidence of the Yayoi culture (ca. 300 BCE–300 CE) in the Yayoi district of Tokyo, but the culture emerged in Kyushu and spread northward. Increasing contact with the East Asian mainland is evident in the form of Yayoi dotaku, which were modeled on Han Chinese bells but were ceremonial objects, not musical instruments.

Flame-style Jomon vessel, ca. 2500 BCE

Kofun Period ca. 300–552

- Kofun means "old tomb," and great earthen keyhole-shaped burial mounds are the primary characteristic of this last pre-Buddhist period of Japanese art. The largest tumulus in Japan, attributed to Emperor Nintoku, who died in 399, is at Sakai.
- About 20,000 clay cylindrical figures (haniwa) stood around and atop Nintoku's tumulus. Haniwa sculptures depict inanimate objects and animals as well as human figures, including warriors. The haniwa may represent the realm that the deceased ruled when alive.

Tomb of Nintoku, Sakai, late fourth to early fifth century

Asuka, Hakuho, and Nara Periods 552–794

- Emperor Kimmei embraced Buddhism in 552, and the first Japanese Buddhist artworks, such as Tori's Shaka triad at Horyuji, date to the Asuka period (552–645).
- During the Hakuho period (645–710), a centralized imperial government was established, with its capital at Nara during the Nara period (710–784). Hakuho and Nara architecture—for example, the Horyuji kondo—followed Tang Chinese models in the use of ceramic roof tiles and the adoption of a curved roofline. The Daibutsuden at Todaiji, dedicated in 752, is one of the largest wood buildings in the world.

Tori, Shaka triad, Horyuji, 623

Heian Period 794–1185

- In 794, the imperial family moved the capital to Heiankyo (Kyoto). Shortly thereafter, Esoteric Buddhism arrived in Japan. Two sects dominated: Shingon and Tendai. Shingon Buddhist ritual created demand for painted mandaras of the Womb World and the Diamond World in order to facilitate meditation.
- A masterpiece of Heian Buddhist architecture is the Phoenix Hall of the Byodoin at Uji, which evokes images of the celestial architecture of the Buddha's paradisiacal Pure Land of the West.
- Narrative scroll painting was a major Heian art form. Illustrated scrolls of Lady Murasaki's *Tale of Genji* feature a distinctive combination of elevated viewpoints, which suggest three-dimensional space, and rich colors and patterns, evoking luxury.

Womb World mandara, Kyoogokokuji, ca. 850–900

Kamakura Period 1185–1332

- In 1185, power shifted from the Japanese emperor to the first shogun of Kamakura. The Kamakura shogunate became the leading patron of art and architecture.
- Kamakura painting is diverse in both subject and style and includes historical narratives, such as *Events of the Heiji Period,* and Buddhist hanging scrolls.
- Kamakura wood portraits—for example, the statue of the priest Shunjobo Chogen, who oversaw the rebuilding of Todaiji—are noteworthy for their realism and the use of inlaid rock crystal for the eyes, a technique unique to Japan.

Shunjobo Chogen, Todaiji, ca. 1206

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▲**18-1a** Chichén Itzá boasts the largest ball court in the "New World." The rules of the ball game remain obscure, but the games were important rituals that often ended in the death of captured enemies.

18-1 **Aerial view (looking northwest) of Chichén Itzá, Mexico, Maya, ca. 800–900 CE.**

▲**18-1b** The characteristic Maya temple was a stepped pyramidal platform with a shrine on the top. Chichén Itzá's, which has 365 steps on its four sides, was a temple to Kukulcán, the feathered-serpent god.

▲**18-1c** One of the most unusual Maya buildings is the Caracol (Snail Shell) at Chichén Itzá. It encloses a spiral staircase and was probably both a temple to Kukulcán and an astronomical observatory.

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NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURES BEFORE 1300

18

FRAMING THE ERA

Ancient Cities in a New World

During the millennium and a half before European explorers landed in what for them was a "New World," the native peoples of the Western Hemisphere constructed some of the world's largest cities. Teotihuacán (FIG. 18-5), for example, near present-day Mexico City, was a great metropolis covering 9 square miles. The city, which had a population of 125,000 to 200,000 at its peak around 600 CE, was widely influential throughout the region.

The most famous of the many civilizations that flourished in the Americas before 1300 was that of the Maya. Renowned for their great urban centers and imposing temple-pyramids constructed in vast clearings in the dense rain and scrub forests of Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and Belize, the Maya were also skilled in mathematics and astronomy, developed a complex written language, and kept detailed historical records.

One of the best-preserved Maya sites—frequently visited because of its proximity to the popular vacation destination of Cancún in the Yucatán Peninsula—is Chichén Itzá (FIG. 18-1). The city dates to the period that archaeologists have dubbed the Postclassic—that is, the late period, beginning around 900 CE. Some of its major buildings are typical, however, of earlier Classic sites, such as Copán (FIG. 18-10) in Honduras and Tikal (FIG. 18-11) in Guatemala.

Dominating Chichén Itzá's main northern plaza is a gigantic pyramidal stepped platform crowned by a temple to Kukulcán, the feathered-serpent god. Oriented to the four cardinal points, the pyramid has nine levels and 365 steps collectively on its four sides—references to both the Underworld and the sun, which abound in Maya architecture (see "Mesoamerican Pyramid Design," page 533).

Chichén Itzá also boasts the largest ball court in Mesoamerica, almost 500 feet long. There, skilled athletes competed in ball games that are poorly understood today, but that often resulted in the sacrifice of captives who were forced to play (see "The Mesoamerican Ball Game," page 528). Archaeologists have found sculptures representing fallen warriors at several locations around the main plaza, including the pyramid-temple of Kukulcán. The statues of captives probably figured in the sacrificial rites connected with the ritual ball games.

More unusual is the round and domed temple nicknamed the Caracol (Snail Shell) by the Spanish conquerors because of its internal spiral staircase. It probably doubled as an astronomical observatory.

Eventually, Chichén Itzá, like so many other abandoned Maya cities, became absorbed into the thick vegetation that still hems in the site—to be rediscovered and explored centuries later by modern archaeologists.

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THE ANCIENT AMERICAS

The origins of the indigenous peoples of the Americas are still uncertain. Sometime no later than 30,000 to 10,000 BCE, these first Americans probably crossed the now-submerged land bridge called Beringia, which connected the shores of the Bering Strait between Asia and North America (MAP 18-3). Some migrants may have reached the Western Hemisphere via boats traveling along the Pacific coast of North America. These Stone Age nomads were hunter-gatherers who lived in simple shelters, such as those excavated in Chile at Monte Verde. They made tools of bone, pressure-flaked stone, and wood, and possessed extensive knowledge of medicinal plants. For many centuries, they spread out, until they occupied the two American continents. But they were always few in number. When the first Europeans arrived at the end of the 15th century, the total population of the Western Hemisphere may not have exceeded 40 million.

Between 8000 and 2000 BCE, some of the migrants began to fish, farm cotton, and grow vegetables such as squash and maize (corn). The former nomads settled in villages and manufactured ceramic utensils and figurines. During the first millennium BCE, the ancient peoples of the Andean region of South America developed metal technology, enabling them to manufacture metal tools and weapons. Knowledge of metalworking eventually spread north into present-day Mexico.

By the early centuries CE, several of the ancient peoples of North, Central, and South America had already reached a high level of social complexity and mastered sophisticated engineering. Although most relied on stone tools, did not use the wheel (except for toys), and had no pack animals but the llama (in South America), many early Americans excelled in the arts associated with the planning and construction of cities (FIG. 18-1); religious, civic, and domestic buildings; roads and bridges; and irrigation and drainage systems. They carved large-scale stone statues and reliefs, painted extensive mural cycles, and mastered the arts of weaving and pottery as well as metalwork. In Mexico and Central America, the Maya and other cultural groups even possessed a highly developed writing system and knowledge of mathematical calculation, enabling them to keep precise records and create a sophisticated calendar and a highly accurate astronomy.

These advanced civilizations went into rapid decline, however, in the 16th century when the Europeans introduced new diseases to the Western Hemisphere, and when Hernán Cortés (1485–1547), Francisco Pizarro (1471–1541), and their armies conquered the Aztec and Inka empires. Some native elites survived and adapted to the Spanish presence, but the conquerors destroyed most of the once-glorious American cities in their zeal to obliterate all traces of non-Christian worship. Other sites were abandoned by the indigenous population and became victims of the forces of nature—erosion and the encroachment of tropical forests. But despite the ruined state of the pre-Hispanic cities of the Americas today, archaeologists and art historians have been able to reconstruct much of the art and architectural history of the Western Hemisphere before its inhabitants made contact with Europeans. This chapter examines in turn the artistic achievements of the native peoples of Mesoamerica, South America, and North America before 1300. Chapter 36 treats the art and architecture of Native America from 1300 to 1980.

MESOAMERICA

The term *Mesoamerica* describes the region comprising part of present-day Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, and the Pacific coast of El Salvador (MAP **18-1**). Mesoamerica was the homeland of several of the great *pre-Columbian* civilizations—those that flourished before the arrival of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) and the subsequent European invasion.

The principal regions of pre-Columbian Mesoamerica are the Gulf Coast region (Olmec and Classic Veracruz cultures); the states of Jalisco, Colima, and Nayarit, collectively known as West Mexico; Chiapas, Yucatán, Quintana Roo, and Campeche states in Mexico; the Petén area of Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras (Maya culture); southwestern Mexico and the state of Oaxaca (Zapotec and Mixtec cultures); and the central plateau surrounding modern Mexico City (Teotihuacán, Toltec, and Aztec cultures). These civilizations were often influential over wide areas.

The Mexican highlands are a volcanic and seismic region, where great reaches of arid fertile plateau land, ideal for maize and other crops wherever water is available, lie between heavily forested mountain slopes, which at some places rise to a perpetual snow level. The moist tropical rain forests of the coastal plains yield rich crops where the land can be cleared. In Yucatán, the limestone bedrock furnishes abundant material for both building and carving. This limestone tableland merges with the vast Petén region of Guatemala, which separates Mexico from Honduras. In Yucatán and the Petén, dense rain forest alternates with broad stretches of

NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURES BEFORE 1300

1500–400 BCE

- In Mesoamerica, the Olmec (ca. 1500–400 BCE) build pyramids and ball courts and set up colossal portraits of their rulers in large plazas
- Builders at Chavín de Huántar (ca. 800–200 BCE) in Andean South America erect temple complexes and relief stelae

400 BCE–300 CE

- Late Preclassic Mesoamerican builders construct pyramids at Teotihuacán between 50 BCE and 250 CE and decorate the city's residential complexes with mural paintings
- The Paracas (ca. 400 BCE–200 CE) culture in Peru produces extraordinary textiles
- The Adena (ca. 500–1 BCE) build the first great mounds in North America

300–900

- The Maya construct vast complexes of temple-pyramids, palaces, plazas, and ball courts in Classic (ca. 300–900 CE) Mesoamerica
- The Nasca (ca. 200 BCE–600 CE) create 800 miles of earth drawings around 500 CE
- The Tiwanaku (ca. 100–1000 CE) and Wari (ca. 500–800 CE) cultures flourish in northern Bolivia and southern Peru

900–1300

- During the late Classic/Postclassic (ca. 900–1521 CE) period, the Maya construct a huge pyramid-temple and the largest ball court in Mesoamerica at Chichén Itzá
- The Mississippian culture (ca. 800–1500 CE) develops the site of Cahokia in Illinois, which, with 120 mounds, is the largest city in North America during the early second millennium CE
- In the American Southwest, the Mimbres (ca. 1000–1250 CE) produce black-and-white painted bowls, and the Ancestral Puebloans build a complex with 800 rooms at Chaco Canyon (ca. 850–1050 CE)

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MAP 18-1 Early sites in Mesoamerica.

grassland. The great mountain chains of Mexico and Guatemala extend into Honduras and slope sharply down to tropical coasts. Highlands and mountain valleys, with their chill and temperate climates, alternate dramatically with the humid climate of tropical rain forest and coastlines.

The variegated landscape of Mesoamerica may have much to do with the diversity of languages its native populations speak. Researchers have documented no fewer than 14 linguistic families. Many of the languages spoken in the pre–Spanish conquest period survive to this day. Various Mayan languages linger in Guatemala and southern Mexico. The Nahuatl of the Aztecs endures in the Mexican highlands. The Zapotec and Mixtec languages persist in Oaxaca and its environs. Diverse as the languages of these peoples were, their cultures otherwise had much in common. The Mesoamerican peoples shared maize cultivation, religious beliefs and rites, myths, social structures, customs, and arts.

Archaeologists, with ever-increasing refinement of technique, have been uncovering, describing, and classifying Mesoamerican monuments for more than a century. In the 1950s, linguists made important breakthroughs in deciphering the Maya *hieroglyphic* script, and epigraphers have made further progress in recent decades. Scholars can now list many Maya rulers by name and fix the dates of their reigns with precision. Other writing systems, such as that of the Zapotec, who began to record dates at a very early time, are less well understood, but researchers are making rapid progress in their interpretation. Historians have now established a widely accepted Mesoamerican chronology divided into three epochs, with some overlapping of subperiods. The Preclassic (Formative) period, which marks the rise of elites and the first major works of art and architecture, extends from 2000 BCE to about 300 CE. The Classic period runs from about 300 to 900. The Postclassic period begins about 900 and ends with the Spanish conquest in 1521.

Olmec and Preclassic West Mexico

Of the most important cultural and artistic centers of the Preclassic period, the best known and most thoroughly documented is the Olmec in the present-day states of Veracruz and Tabasco. Settling in the tropical lowlands of the Gulf of Mexico, the Olmec peoples cultivated a terrain of rain forest and sandy lowland washed by numerous rivers flowing into the gulf. Here, between approximately 1500 and 400 BCE, social organization assumed a form seen also in later Mesoamerican cultures. The mass of the population—food-producing farmers scattered in hinterland villages—provided the sustenance and labor that maintained a hereditary caste of rulers and a hierarchy of priests, functionaries, and artisans. The non-farming population presumably lived, arranged by rank, within precincts that served ceremonial, administrative, and residential functions and perhaps also doubled as marketplaces. At regular intervals, the whole community convened for ritual observances at the religious-civic centers of towns such as San Lorenzo and La Venta. These centers were the formative architectural expressions of the structure and ideals of Olmec society.

Olmec Ruler Portraits. At La Venta, low clay-and-earthen platforms and stone fences enclosed two great courtyards. At one end of the larger area was a mound almost 100 feet high. Although now very eroded, this early pyramid, built of earth and adorned with colored clays, may have been intended to mimic a mountain, held sacred by Mesoamerican peoples as both a life-giving source of water and a feared destructive force. (Volcanic eruptions and earthquakes still wreak havoc in this region.) The La Venta layout is an early form of the temple-pyramid-plaza complex aligned on a north–south axis that characterized later Mesoamerican ceremonial center design.

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Four colossal basalt heads (FIG. 18-2), weighing about 10 tons each and standing between 6 and 10 feet high, face out from the plaza. Archaeologists have discovered more than a dozen similar heads at San Lorenzo and Tres Zapotes. Almost as much of an achievement as the carving of these huge stones with stone tools was their transportation across the 60 miles of swampland from the nearest known basalt source, the Tuxtla Mountains. Although the identities of these colossi are uncertain, their individualized features and distinctive headgear and ear ornaments, as well as the later Maya practice of carving monumental ruler portraits, suggest that the Olmec heads portray rulers rather than gods. The sheer size of the heads and their intensity of expression evoke great power, whether mortal or divine.

Jade Celts. The Olmec also placed paintings on cave walls, fashioned ceramic figurines, and carved sculptures in jade, a prized, extremely hard, dark-green stone they acquired from unknown sources far from their homeland. Sometimes the Olmec carved jade into ax-shaped polished forms that art historians call *celts,* which they then buried under their ceremonial courtyards or platforms, perhaps in connection with rites associated with maize agriculture. The celt shape could be modified into a figural form, combining relief carving with incision. Olmec sculptors used stone-tipped drills and abrasive materials, such as sand, to carve jade (compare "Chinese Jade," page 476). The subjects represented include figures combining human and animal features and postures, such as the personified maize god illustrated here (FIG. 18-3). The Olmec human-animal representations may also refer to the belief that religious practitioners underwent dangerous transformations to wrest power from supernatural forces and harness it for the good of the community. A similar explanation has been suggested for many of the subjects depicted by the Paleolithic cave painters of Europe (see "The Meaning of Paleolithic Art," page 21).

West Mexico. Far to the west of the tropical heartland of the Olmec are the Preclassic sites along Mexico's Pacific coast. Historians have long thought that the ancient peoples of the modern West Mexican states of Nayarit, Jalisco, and Colima existed at Mesoamerica's geographic and cultural fringes. Recent archaeological discoveries, however, have revealed that although the West Mexicans did not produce large-scale stone sculpture, they did build towns with multilevel dwellings, as at Teuchitlán, and ball courts (see "The Mesoamerican Ball Game," page 528), which have been found in nearly all Mesoamerican cultures and as far north as the southwestern United States. Yet West Mexico is best known for its rich tradition of clay sculpture. The sculptures come from tombs consisting of shafts as deep as 50 feet with chambers at their base. Because scientific excavations began only recently, much of what is known about West Mexican tomb contents derives primarily from the artifacts that grave robbers found and sold, depriving archaeologists

18-2 Colossal head, La Venta, Mexico, Olmec, ca. 900–400 BCE. Basalt, 9′ 4″ high. Museo-Parque La Venta, Villahermosa.

The identities of the Olmec colossi are uncertain, but their individualized features and distinctive headgear as well as later Maya practice suggest that these heads portray rulers rather than deities.

18-3 Ceremonial ax in the form of a maize god, from La Venta, Mexico, Olmec, ca. 900–400 BCE. Jadeite, 11½″ high. British Museum, London.

Olmec celts often represent composite human-animal figures. They may reflect the Mesoamerican belief that religious practitioners underwent dangerous transformations on behalf of the community.

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18-4 Seated figure with drinking cup, from Colima, Mexico, ca. 200 BCE–500 CE. Clay with orange and red slip, 1′ 1″ high. Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Proctor Stafford Collection, purchased with funds provided by Mr. and Mrs. Allan C. Balch).

Preclassic West Mexico is famous for its ceramic sculptures. This one may depict a religious practitioner with a horn on his forehead or a political leader wearing a shell ornament—or someone serving both roles.

of vital contextual information. Researchers believe, however, that the West Mexicans built most of these tombs and filled them with elaborate offerings during the late Preclassic period, the half millennium before 300 CE.

Colima. The large ceramic figures found in the Colima tombs are consistently a highly burnished red orange, in contrast to the distinctive multicolored surfaces of the majority of other West Mexican ceramics. The area also is noted for small-scale clay narrative scenes that include modeled houses and temples and numerous solid figurines shown in a variety of lively activities. These sculptures, which almost exclusively depict elite ritual activities, are not found in any other ancient Mesoamerican culture, and their meaning is often uncertain. For example, scholars are unsure whether the figure illustrated here (FIG. 18-4) is a religious practitioner with a horn on his forehead (a common Mesoamerican symbol of special powers) or a political leader wearing a shell ornament (often an emblem of rulership)—or a person serving both roles.

Teotihuacán

At Olmec sites, the characteristic later Mesoamerican temple-pyramid-plaza layout appeared in embryonic form. At Teotihuacán (FIG. 18-5), northeast of Mexico City, the Preclassic scheme underwent a massive expansion into a genuine city. Teotihuacán was a large, densely populated metropolis that fulfilled a central civic, economic, and religious role for the region and indeed for much of Mesoamerica. Built up between about 100 BCE and 600 CE, when fire ravaged the city's temples, the site's major monuments date to the late Preclassic period between 50 and 250 CE. Teotihuacán's urban center covers 9 square miles, laid out in a grid pattern with the axes oriented by sophisticated surveying. The city's orientation and the placement of some of its key monuments apparently relate to astronomical phenomena.

18-5 Aerial view of Teotihuacán (looking south), Mexico. Pyramid of the Moon (*foreground*), Pyramid of the Sun (*center left*), and the Ciudadela (*top left*), all connected by the Avenue of the Dead; main structures ca. 50–250 CE.

At its peak around 600 CE, Teotihuacán was the world's sixth-largest city. It featured a grid plan, a 2-mile-long main avenue, and monumental pyramids echoing the shapes of nearby mountains.

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At its peak, around 600 CE, Teotihuacán may have had a population of 125,000 to 200,000. It was the largest city in the Americas and the sixth-largest in the world at that time. Divided into numerous wardlike sectors, this metropolis must have had a distinctly cosmopolitan character, with Zapotec peoples located in the city's western wards, and merchants from Veracruz living in the eastern wards, importing their own pottery and building apartment complexes. The city's urbanization did nothing to detract from its sacred nature. In fact, it vastly augmented Teotihuacán's importance as a religious center. The Aztecs, who visited Teotihuacán regularly and reverently long after it had been abandoned, gave it its current name, which means "the place of the gods." The city's *hieroglyphs* remain largely undeciphered, and linguists do not yet even know what language the Teotihuacanos spoke. The names of many major features of the site are unknown. The Avenue of the Dead and the Pyramids of the Sun and Moon are later Aztec designations that do not necessarily relate to the original names of these streets and buildings.

North–south and east–west axes, each two miles in length, divide the grid plan into quarters. The scheme recalls Hellenistic and Roman urban planning (compare FIGS. 5-77 and 7-43) and is very unusual in Mesoamerica before the Aztecs. The main north–south axis, the Avenue of the Dead (FIG. 18-5), is 130 to 150 feet wide for most of its length and connects the Pyramid of the Moon complex with the Ciudadela (Citadel) and its Temple of Quetzalcoatl. This 2-mile stretch is not a continuously flat street but is broken by sets of stairs, giving pedestrians a constantly changing view of the surrounding buildings and landscape.

Pyramids. The largest structures at Teotihuacán are the stepped temple platforms popularly called pyramids, as in Egypt, but there is no connection between these two ancient cultures. The Preclassic Pyramid of the Sun (FIG. 18-5, *center left,* and 18-6), facing west on the east side of the Avenue of the Dead, dates to the first century CE. The city's centerpiece, it rises to a height of more than 200 feet in its restored state, which may not accurately reflect the pyramid's original appearance. The Pyramid of the Moon (FIG. 18-5, *foreground*) dates at least a century later, around 150 to 250 CE. The shapes of the monumental structures at Teotihuacán echo the surrounding mountains. Their imposing mass and scale surpass those of all other Mesoamerican sites. Rubble-filled and faced with the local volcanic stone, the pyramids consist of stacked squared platforms diminishing in perimeter from the base to the top. Unlike the stepped pyramid of Djoser (FIG. 3-5) in Egyptian Saqqara, the Teotihuacán pyramids have ramped stairways that once led to crowning temples constructed of perishable materials such as wood and thatch. A distinctive feature of Teotihuacán construction is the alternation of sloping (*talud*) and vertical (*tablero*) facing over the rubble core. The employment of *talud-tablero construction* at other sites is a sure sign of Teotihuacán influence.

The Teotihuacanos built the Pyramid of the Sun over a cave, which they reshaped and filled with offerings. The pyramid may have marked a sacred spring within the now-dry cave. Excavators found the skeletons of children buried at the four corners of each of the pyramid's tiers. The Aztecs sacrificed children to bring rainfall, and Teotihuacán art abounds with references to water, so the Teotihuacanos may have shared the Aztec preoccupation with rain and agricultural fertility. The city's inhabitants enlarged the Pyramid of the Moon at least five times in Teotihuacán's early history, encasing the earlier structures within each new one. The pyramid may have been positioned to mimic the shape of Cerro Gordo, the volcanic mountain behind it, undoubtedly an important source of life-sustaining streams.

Ciudadela. At the south end of the Avenue of the Dead is the great quadrangle of the Ciudadela (FIG. 18-5, *top left*). It encloses a smaller pyramidal shrine datable to the third century CE, the Temple of the Feathered Serpent (FIG. 18-7, *top*), whom the Aztecs called Quetzalcoatl and worshiped as one of their major gods. The Aztecs associated Quetzalcoatl with wind, rain clouds, and life. The Teotihuacanos probably regarded him also as a war god.

Beneath the temple, archaeologists found a tomb looted in antiquity, perhaps belonging to a Teotihuacano ruler. The discovery has led them to speculate that the Teotihuacanos buried their

18-6 Pyramid of the Sun (looking northeast), Teotihuacán, Mexico, first century CE.

Teotihuacán's largest structure is the Pyramid of the Sun, which was built over a cave and may have marked a sacred spring. The ramped stairway once led to a crowning temple of perishable materials.

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18-7 Temple of the Feathered Serpent (*top:* looking southeast; *bottom:* detail of sculptures), the Ciudadela, Teotihuacán, Mexico, third century CE.

The stone heads decorating the temple in the Ciudadela of Teotihuacán represent the Mesoamerican feathered-serpent god. Excavators found sacrificial victims beneath and around the pyramid.

elite in or under pyramids, as did the Maya. Surrounding the tomb both beneath and around the pyramid were the remains of at least a hundred warriors. Some wore necklaces made of strings of human jaws, both real and sculpted from shell. As did most other Mesoamerican groups, the Teotihuacanos invoked and appeased their gods through human sacrifice. The presence of such a large number of sacrificed warriors reflects Teotihuacán's successful militaristic expansion. Throughout Mesoamerica, the victors often sacrificed captured enemies (FIG. 18-14).

The temple's sculptured panels (FIG. 18-7, *bottom*), which feature projecting stone heads of the feathered serpent alternating with heads of a long-snouted scaly creature with rings on its forehead, decorate each of the temple's six terraces. Representations of the feathered serpent go back to Olmec times, and his iconography is well established, but the scaly creature's identity is unclear. Linking these alternating heads are low-relief carvings of feathered-serpent bodies and seashells. The shells reflect Teotihuacano contact with the peoples of the Mexican coasts and symbolize water, an essential ingredient for the success of an agricultural economy. The Teotihuacanos also associated water with warfare and human sacrifice.

Mural Painting. As in most ancient Mesoamerican cities, brightly painted stucco once covered Teotihuacán's buildings and

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Mural Painting at Teotihuacán

The excavators of Teotihuacán have uncovered a large number of mural paintings, although the extant works represent only a small fraction of what once existed. Some remain in situ. Most are on display in the museum adjoining the archaeological site. Still others have entered museum collections in Mexico City and the United States.

The paintings chiefly depict deities (FIG. 18-8); ritual activities, such as bloodletting (FIG. 18-8A); and processions of priests, warriors, and even animals. Experimenting with a variety of surfaces, materials, and techniques over the centuries, Teotihuacano muralists finally settled on applying pigments to a smooth lime-plaster surface coated with clay. They then polished the surface to a high sheen. Although some of the preserved paintings have a restricted palette of varying tones of red (largely derived from the mineral hematite), creating subtle contrasts between figure and ground, most employ vivid hues arranged in flat, carefully outlined patterns.

One impressive example (FIG. 18-8) depicts an earth or nature goddess. Some scholars think that she was the city's principal deity. Always shown frontally with her face covered by a jade mask, she is dwarfed by her large feathered headdress and reduced to a bust placed upon a stylized pyramid. She stretches her hands out to provide liquid streams filled with bounty—a motif common in many cultures, including ancient Mesopotamia (FIGS. 2-17 and 2-17A). The stylized human hearts flanking the frontal bird mask in the Teotihuacano goddess's headdress reflect the ancient Mesoamerican belief that human sacrifice is essential to agricultural renewal.

18-8 Goddess, wall painting in the Tetitla apartment complex at Teotihuacán, Mexico, 650–750 CE. Pigments over clay and plaster.

Elaborate mural paintings adorned Teotihuacán's elite residential compound. This example may depict the city's principal deity, a goddess wearing a jade mask and a large feathered headdress.

18-8A Bloodletting mural, Teotihuacán, ca. 600–700 CE.

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streets. Elaborate murals (FIGS. 18-8 and 18-8A) also decorated the walls of the rooms of its elite residential compounds (see "Mural Painting at Teotihuacán," above).

In religion, commerce, architecture, sculpture, and painting, the influence of Teotihuacán was all-pervasive in Mesoamerica. In fact, the wall paintings and buildings in the city's residential quarter are hundreds of years later in date than its monumental temples and public areas. Teotihuacán remained a vibrant center with major construction activity well into the early Classic period. The Teotihuacanos also established colonies as far away as the southern borders of Maya civilization, in the highlands of Guatemala, some 800 miles from Teotihuacán, at least in part to secure the supply of obsidian and cacao. Archaeologists have unearthed Preclassic burials near Guatemala City that contain typical Teotihuacán-style pottery. The site of Tikal in the Guatemalan Petén has a temple platform built in the talud-tablero manner.

Maya

As was true of Teotihuacán, the foundations of Maya civilization date to the Preclassic period, perhaps 600 BCE or even earlier. At that time, the Maya, who occupied the moist lowland areas of Belize, southern Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras, seem to have abandoned their early, somewhat egalitarian pattern of village life and adopted a hierarchical autocratic society. This system evolved into the typical Maya city-state governed by hereditary rulers and ranked nobility. How and why this happened are still unknown, but the Classic Maya culture endured for 600 years.

Although the causes of the beginning and end of Classic Maya civilization are obscure, researchers now know a great deal about Maya history, beliefs, ceremonies, conventions, and patterns of daily life through scientific excavations. Knowledge of Maya art and culture increases every year. For example, in 2001, American

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archaeologists discovered the oldest preserved Maya mural paintings, datable around 100 BCE, at San Bartolo in northeastern Guatemala. More recently, the same team located at nearby Xultun a structure containing murals depicting the oldest Maya astronomical tables and a king impersonating a Maya god. The excavators believe that the structure was a Maya scribe's writing room.

Significant progress has been made in decoding Mayan script. Two important breakthroughs during the last century radically altered scholars' understanding of both Mayan writing and the Maya worldview. The first was the realization that the Maya depicted their rulers (rather than gods or anonymous priests) in their art and noted their rulers' achievements in their texts. The second was that Mayan writing is largely phonetic—that is, the hieroglyphs consist of signs representing sounds in the Mayan language. Fortunately, the Spaniards recorded the various Mayan languages in colonial texts and dictionaries. Descendants of the Maya still speak most of the ancient languages today, facilitating the translation of many ancient Mayan hieroglyphs.

The Maya possessed a highly developed knowledge of arithmetic calculation and the ability to observe and record the movements of the sun, the moon, and several planets. They contrived an intricate but astonishingly accurate calendar with a fixed-zero date, and although their structuring of time was radically different in form from the calendar used throughout the world today, it was just as precise and efficient. With their calendar, the Maya established the genealogical lines of their rulers, which certified their claim to rule, and created the only systematic written history in ancient America. Although other ancient Mesoamerican societies, even in the Preclassic period, also possessed calendars, only the Maya calendar can be translated directly into today's system of measuring time.

Architecture and Ritual. Vast complexes of terraced temple-pyramids, palaces, plazas, ball courts (see "The Mesoamerican Ball Game," page 528), and residences of the governing elite dotted the Maya area. Unlike Teotihuacán in the Preclassic period, no single Maya site ever achieved complete dominance as the center of power during the Classic period. In fact, the cities were fiercely competitive and frequently waged war on each other. The new architecture, and the art embellishing it, advertised the power of each city's rulers, who appropriated cosmic symbolism and stressed their descent from gods to reinforce their claims to legitimate rule.

The Maya erected their most sacred and majestic buildings in enclosed, centrally located precincts within their cities. Archaeologists call these areas the "site core"—the religious and administrative nucleus for a population of dispersed farmers settled throughout a suburban area of many square miles. There, the Maya rulers staged dramatic rituals in spacious sculpture-filled plazas. In both life and art (for example, FIG. 18-14), the ruling families and troops of priests, nobles, and retainers wore extravagant, vividly colorful cotton textiles, feathers, jaguar skins, and jade, all emblematic of rank and wealth. On the different levels of the painted and polished temple platforms, the ruling classes performed the rites in clouds of incense to the music of maracas, flutes, and drums. The Maya thus transformed the architectural complex at each city's center into a theater of religion and statecraft.

Copán. Because Copán, on the western border of Honduras, has more hieroglyphic inscriptions and well-preserved carved monuments than any other site in the Americas, it was one of the first Maya sites excavated. It also has proved to be one of the richest in the trove of architecture, sculpture, and artifacts uncovered. Conspicuous plazas dominated the heart of the city. In Copán's Great Plaza, the Maya set up tall, sculpted stone *stelae*. Carved with the portraits of the rulers who erected them, these stelae also recorded their names, dates of reign, and notable achievements in glyphs on the front, sides, or back.

Stele D (FIG. 18-9), set up in 736 CE, represents one of the city's foremost rulers, Waxaklajuun-Ub'aah-K'awiil (r. 695–738), whose name means "18 are the apparitions of the god K'awiil." Scholars often call him Ruler 13 in the Copán dynastic sequence of 16 rulers. During his long reign, the city may have reached its greatest physical extent and range of political influence. On Stele D, Ruler 13 wears an elaborate headdress and ornamented kilt and sandals. He holds across his chest a double-headed serpent bar, symbol of his sacred authority. His features are distinctly Maya, although highly idealized. The Maya elite usually required sculptors and painters to depict them as ever-youthful, as did, long before, the rulers of Old Kingdom Egypt (FIGS. 3-12 and 3-13) and some Roman emperors (FIGS. I-10 and 7-27). The dense, deeply carved ornamental details framing the face and figure in florid profusion stand almost clear of the block and wrap around the sides of the stele. The high relief, originally painted, gives the impression of an over-life-size freestanding statue, although an incised hieroglyphic text is on the flat back of the stele. A powerful ruler who erected many stelae and buildings at Copán, including one of Mesoamerica's best-preserved (and carefully restored) ball courts (see "The Mesoamerican Ball Game," page 528), Ruler 13 eventually suffered a humiliating end. In 738, the king of neighboring Quiriguá captured and beheaded him.

18-9 Stele D portraying Ruler 13 (Waxaklajuun-Ub'aah-K'awiil), Great Plaza, Copán, Honduras, Maya, 736 CE. Stone, 11′ 9″ high.

This 12-foot stele portrays one of Copán's most important rulers as an over-life-size figure wearing an elaborate headdress and holding a double-headed serpent bar, symbol of his sacred authority.

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ART AND SOCIETY

The Mesoamerican Ball Game

After witnessing the native ball game of Mexico soon after their arrival, the 16th-century Spanish conquerors took Aztec ball players back to Europe to demonstrate the novel sport. Their chronicles remark on the athletes' great skill, the heavy wagering that accompanied the competition, and the ball itself, made of rubber, a substance the Spaniards had never seen before.

Native Americans played the game throughout Mesoamerica and into the southwestern United States, beginning at least 3,400 years ago, the date of the earliest known ball court. The Olmec were apparently avid players. Their very name—a modern invention in Nahuatl, the Aztec language—means "rubber people," after the latex-growing region they inhabited. Not only do ball players appear in Olmec art, but archaeologists also have found remnants of sunken earthen ball courts and even rubber balls at Olmec sites.

The Olmec earthen playing field evolved in other Mesoamerican cultures into a plastered masonry surface, I- or T-shaped in plan, flanked by two parallel sloping or straight walls. Sometimes the walls were wide enough to support small structures on top, as at Copán (FIG. **18-10**). At other sites, temples stood at either end of the ball court. These structures were common features of Mesoamerican cities. At Cantona in the Mexican state of Puebla, for example, archaeologists have uncovered 22 ball courts, although only a small portion of the site has been excavated. Teotihuacán (FIG. 18-5) is an exception. Excavators have not yet found a ball court there, but mural paintings at the site illustrate people playing the game with portable markers and sticks. Most ball courts were adjacent to the important civic structures of Mesoamerican cities, such as palaces and temple-pyramids, as at Copán.

Historians know surprisingly little about the rules of the ball game itself, not even how many players were on the field or how they scored goals. Unlike a modern soccer field with its standard dimensions, Mesoamerican ball courts vary widely in size. The largest known—at Chichén Itzá (FIG. 18-1a)—is nearly 500 feet long. Copán's (FIG. 18-10) is about 93 feet long. Some have stone rings set high up on their walls at right angles to the ground, but many courts lack this feature, so it is uncertain whether the players aimed to get the ball through a ring in order to score a point. Alternatively, players may have scored goals by bouncing the ball against the walls and into the end zones. As in soccer, players could not touch the ball with their hands but used their heads, elbows, hips, and legs. They wore thick leather belts, and sometimes even helmets, and padded their knees and arms against the blows of the fast-moving, solid rubber ball. Typically, the Maya portrayed ball players wearing heavy protective clothing and kneeling, poised to deflect the ball (FIG. 18-13).

Although widely enjoyed as a competitive spectator sport, the ball game did not serve solely for entertainment. The ball, for example, may have represented a celestial body such as the sun, its movements over the court imitating the sun's daily passage through the sky. Reliefs on the walls of ball courts at some sites make clear that the game sometimes culminated in human sacrifice, probably of captives taken in battle and then forced to participate in a game they were predestined to lose.

Accounts of ball games also appear in Mesoamerican mythology. In the Maya epic known as the *Popol Vuh* (*Council Book*), first written down in Spanish in the Colonial period, the evil lords of the Underworld force a legendary pair of twins to play ball. The brothers lose, and the victors sacrifice them. The sons of one twin eventually travel to the Underworld and, after a series of trials including a ball game, outwit the lords and kill them. They revive their father, buried in the ball court after his earlier defeat at the hands of the Underworld gods. The younger twins rise to the heavens to become the sun and the moon, and the father becomes the god of maize, principal sustenance of all Mesoamerican peoples. The ball game and its aftermath, then, were a metaphor for the cycle of life, death, and regeneration that permeated Mesoamerican religion.

18-10 Ball court (looking northeast), Middle Plaza, Copán, Honduras, Maya, 738 CE.

Ball courts were common in Mesoamerican cities. Copán's is 93 feet long. The rules of the ball game itself are unknown, but games sometimes ended in human sacrifice of captives taken in battle.

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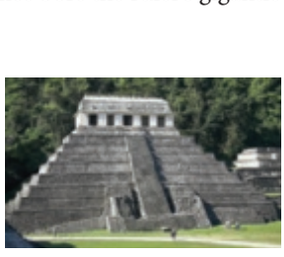
18-11 Temple I (Temple of the Giant Jaguar), Great Plaza, Tikal, Guatemala, Maya, ca. 734 CE.

Temple I at Tikal is a 145-foot-tall pyramid that was the temple-mausoleum of Jasaw Chan K'awiil, who died in 734 CE. The nine tiers of the pyramid probably refer to the nine levels of the Underworld.

Tikal. Another major Maya site of the Classic period is Tikal in Guatemala, some 150 miles north of Copán. Tikal is one of the oldest and largest Maya cities, founded in the fourth century BCE during the Preclassic period. Together with its suburbs, Tikal originally covered some 50 to 75 square miles and served as the ceremonial center of a population of perhaps 75,000. The Maya did not lay out central Tikal on a grid plan as did the designers of contemporaneous Teotihuacán. Instead, causeways connected irregular groupings. Modern surveys have uncovered the remains of as many as 3,000 separate structures in an area of about 6 square miles. The site's nucleus is the Great Plaza, an open area studded with stelae and bordered by large stone structures. The Maya engineers graded the plaza and other areas of the city to conduct rainwater into the city's reservoirs. Dominating the Great Plaza are two soaring pyramids, taller than the surrounding rain forest, which face each other across the open square. The larger pyramid (FIG. 18-11), Temple I (also called the Temple of the Giant Jaguar after a motif on one of its carved wood lintels), reaches a height of just over 140 feet. Considerable evidence indicates that the builders of Tikal, Palenque, and other Maya sites painted the exteriors of their temples red, or red, white, and other bright colors.

The Temple of the Giant Jaguar at Tikal is the temple-mausoleum of one of the city's greatest rulers, Jasaw Chan K'awiil (r. 684–734 CE). The Maya buried him in a vaulted chamber under the pyramid's base. The towering structure consists of nine sharply inclining platforms—probably a reference to the nine levels of the Underworld (see "The Underworld, the Sun, and Mesoamerican Pyramid Design," page 533)—and a three-chambered temple reached from the plaza below by a steep and narrow external stairway. Surmounting the temple is an elaborately sculpted *roof comb,* a vertical architectural projection that once bore the ruler's gigantic portrait modeled in stucco.

Palenque. About half the height of Tikal's Giant Jaguar pyramid is the late-seventh-century Temple of the Inscriptions (FIG. 18-11A) at Palenque in the state of Chiapas in southern Mexico. Palenque boasts some of the best-preserved Maya structures in Mesoamerica. Although occupation began no later than the Early Classic period, major construction at the site did not commence until the early seventh century, when Teotihuacán (FIG. 18-5) was already in decline. The impetus for that building campaign, which included a palace, temples, and a ball court, was the coming to power of K'inich Janaab Pakal (r. 615–683), usually called Lord Pakal. Under Pakal, whose name means "shield," Palenque reached the height of its prosperity and influence in the region.



18-11A Temple of the Inscriptions, Palenque, ca. 675–690 CE.

In 1949, archaeologists discovered the rubble-filled *corbeled-vaulted* stairway leading down to Pakal's burial chamber deep

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18-12 Lid of the sarcophagus of K'inich Janaab Pakal ("Lord Pakal"), from the Temple of the Inscriptions (FIG. 18-11A), Palenque, Mexico, Maya, ca. 683 CE. Limestone, 12′ 6″ × 7′ 2″. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City.

Lord Pakal was Palenque's most important ruler. On his sarcophagus, he falls backward into the Underworld. The tree reaching from Earth to Heaven indicates that he will rise again like the sun.

18-13 Ball player, from Jaina Island, Mexico, Maya, 700–900 CE. Painted clay, $6\frac{1}{4}$″ high. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City.

Maya ceramic figurines represent a wide range of human types and activities. This kneeling ball player wears a thick leather belt and arm- and knee-pads to protect him from the hard rubber ball.

beneath the pyramid, which they reached and opened in 1952. The tomb contained a huge stone *sarcophagus* with a lid (FIG. 18-12) depicting in relief the eternally young 80-year-old Pakal in the guise of the Mesoamerican maize god falling backward into the open jaws of Xibalba, the Maya Underworld. Above him is the sacred Maya tree reaching from Earth to Heaven, a concept comparable to the *axis mundi* in South Asia (see "Ashoka's Sponsorship of Buddhism," page 448). The tree indicates that the Palenque ruler will rise again like the sun and achieve *apotheosis*. Inside the coffin were Pakal's remains and burial goods, including a funerary mask fashioned from hundreds of pieces of jade and with eyes of shell and obsidian. On the walls of the burial chamber are stucco reliefs representing the nine lords of the Underworld.

Jaina. Like their West Mexican predecessors (FIG. 18-4), the Maya also excelled at modeling small-scale figures in clay. The extant examples are remarkably lifelike and display an almost unlimited variety of postures and gestures, made possible by the malleable nature of the medium. The figures, often cast in molds, also represent a wider range of human types and activities than is commonly depicted on Maya stelae. Ball players, women weaving, older men, dwarfs, supernatural beings, and amorous couples, as well as elaborately attired rulers and warriors, make up the repertoire of subjects. Many of the hollow figurines are also whistles. All are products of ceramic workshops on the mainland, but burials on the island cemetery of Jaina, off the western coast of Yucatán, have yielded hundreds of clay statuettes, including the ball player illustrated here (FIG. 18-13). Traces of blue remain on the man's belt, remnants of the vivid pigments that once covered many of these figurines. The Maya used "Maya blue," a combination of a particular kind of clay and indigo, a vegetable dye, to paint both ceramics and murals. This pigment has proved virtually indestructible, unlike other colors the Maya used, which have mostly disappeared over time. Like the larger terracotta figures of West Mexico, these figurines accompanied the dead on their voyage to the Underworld. The excavations at Jaina, however, have revealed nothing more that might clarify the meaning and function of the statuettes. For example, male figurines do not come exclusively from burials of male individuals.

Bonampak. The vivacity of the Jaina figurines and their variety of pose, costume, and occupation have parallels in the mural paintings of Bonampak (Mayan for "painted walls") in southeastern Mexico. Three chambers in one Bonampak structure contain murals recording important aspects of Maya court life. Although now heavily damaged, the paintings are among the finest ever found. The illustrated example (FIG. 18-14; an expert copy) shows Maya captives and their victors on a terraced platform (see "Human Sacrifice at Bonampak," page 531).

Cylinder Vases. Supplementing the very incomplete record of large-scale Mesoamerican paintings from Teotihuacán, Bonampak, San Bartolo, Xultun, and elsewhere are the many examples of painted ceramics from Maya sites. Maya painted pottery is polychrome. Produced using colored slips fired at low temperatures in open pits to achieve a lustrous surface, Maya vases, like Greek white-ground vases (see "White-Ground Painting," page 142),

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ART AND SOCIETY

Human Sacrifice at Bonampak

The mural paintings unearthed at the Maya site of Bonampak are of enormous value not only for their contribution to a history of Mesoamerican art but also for what they reveal about Maya society. Circumstantial details abound in the Bonampak murals. The information is comprehensive, explicit, and presented with the fidelity of an eyewitness report. Royal personages are identifiable by both their physical features and their costumes, and accompanying inscriptions provide the precise day, month, and year for the events recorded. All the scenes at Bonampak relate the ceremonies welcoming a new royal heir (shown as a toddler in some scenes). They include presentations, preparations for a royal feast, dancing, battle, and the taking and sacrificing of prisoners. On all occasions of state, public bloodletting was an integral part of Maya ritual. The ruler, his consort, and certain members of the nobility drew blood from their bodies and sought union with the supernatural world (compare FIG. 18-16). The slaughter of captives taken in war often accompanied this ceremony. Indeed, it appears that one of the major reasons the Maya and other ancient American peoples undertook warfare was to provide victims for sacrifice. The torture and eventual execution of prisoners served both to nourish the gods and to strike fear into enemies and the general populace.

The scene in Room 2 of Structure 1 depicts the presentation of prisoners to Lord Chan Muwan (FIG. 18-14). The painter arranged the figures on several levels (indicated by thick, dark lines) that probably represent a pyramid's steps. At the top, against a blue background, is a file of gorgeously dressed nobles wearing animal headgear. Conspicuous among them on the right are retainers clad in jaguar pelts and jaguar headdresses. Also present is Chan Muwan's wife (third from right). The ruler himself, in jaguar jerkin and high-backed sandals, stands at the center, facing a crouching victim who appears to beg for mercy. Naked captives, anticipating death, crowd the middle level. One of them, already dead, sprawls at the ruler's feet. Others mutely contemplate the blood dripping from their mutilated hands. The lower zone, cut through by a doorway into the structure housing the murals, shows clusters of attendants who are doubtless of inferior rank to the lords of the upper zone. The regal bearing of the Maya victors contrasts graphically with the supple imploring attitudes and gestures of the hapless victims.

The figures have naturalistic proportions and overlap, twist, turn, and gesture. The artists used fluid lines to outline the figures, working with color to indicate both texture and volume. The Bonampak painters combined their pigments—both mineral and organic—with a mixture of water, crushed limestone, and vegetable gums and applied them to their stucco walls in a technique best described as a cross between *fresco* and *tempera*. They never finished the mural program of Structure 1, however. Soon after the dates written on the walls, the Maya abandoned the site for reasons not yet fully understood.

18-14 Presentation of captives to Lord Chan Muwan, Room 2 of Structure 1, Bonampak, Mexico, Maya, ca. 790 CE. Mural, 17′ × 15′; copy by Heather Hurst at one-half scale. Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, New Haven.

The figures in this mural probably stand on a pyramid's steps. At the top, the richly attired Chan Muwan, accompanied by his wife and other nobles, reviews naked captives with mutilated hands awaiting death.

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18-15 Enthroned Maya lord and attendants, cylinder vase, probably from Altamira, Mexico, Maya, ca. 672–830 CE. Polychrome ceramic, 8″ high. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, Washington, D.C.

Maya polychrome ceramics depict a variety of subjects ranging from mythology to daily life. This cylinder vase shows an enthroned Maya lord at a ritual involving drinking and dancing.

18-16 Shield Jaguar and Lady Xoc, Lintel 24 of Structure 23, Yaxchilán, Mexico, Maya, 723–726 CE. Limestone, 3′ 7″ × 2′ 6½″. British Museum, London.

The carved lintels of this eighth-century temple document the central role that elite women played in Maya society. Lady Xoc pierces her tongue in a bloodletting ritual intended to induce a visionary state.

approximate the appearance of mural painting much more closely than do the painted ceramics of most other civilizations. Hieroglyphic labels are common on Maya ceramics. They identify many of the figures and events depicted, document individual artists' names, and also, as on some Greek vases (FIG. 5-20), record the words the painted figures speak. Often the texts describe the contents of the vessels. Cylinder vases often contained cacao, a much-prized chocolate drink, but others were gifts to the dead and never used in daily life.

The scene on the cylinder vase illustrated here (FIG. 18-15), like those on similar vessels, wraps around the entire surface. At the center is an enthroned, bare-chested Maya lord wearing a feathered headdress. He engages in animated conversation with two seated noblemen to his right. A lidded cylinder vase is at his side. A kneeling attendant at his left offers him a bowl. The drawing style is typical of Maya ceramics. Black contour lines are prominent, and the artist filled in the outlines with flat colors—mostly red, orange, and brown—on a creamy slip background. The painted hieroglyphs describe this as a ritual scene involving drinking and dancing. The inscriptions also name the participants and the artist.

Yaxchilán. Elite women played an important role in Maya society, and some surviving artworks document their high status. The painted reliefs on the lintels of Temple 23 at Yaxchilán represent an elite woman as a central figure in Maya ritual (compare FIG. 18-14). Lintel 24 (FIG. 18-16) depicts the ruler Itzamna B'ahlam II (r. 681–742 CE), known as Shield Jaguar, and his principal wife, Lady Xoc. She is magnificently outfitted in an elaborate woven garment, headdress, and jewels. With a barbed cord, she pierces her tongue in a bloodletting ceremony (compare FIG. 18-8A) that, according to accompanying inscriptions, took place on October 28, 709, and celebrated the birth of a son to one of the ruler's other wives as well as an alignment between the planets Saturn and Jupiter. The celebration must have taken place in a dark chamber or at night because Shield Jaguar provides illumination with a blazing torch. These ceremonies induced an altered state of consciousness in order to connect the bloodletter with the supernatural world. (Lintel 25 [FIG. 18-16A] depicts Lady Xoc and her vision of an ancestor emerging from the mouth of a serpent.)

18-16A Lintel 25, Temple 23, Yaxchilán, 723–726 CE.

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

The Underworld, the Sun, and Mesoamerican Pyramid Design

The Maya believed that Heaven and Earth consisted of 13 layers, with the Earth the lowest. Below, the Underworld, or *Xibalba* (the Place of Fear), had nine levels, ruled by gods of the dead who subjected humans to various tortures, as vividly recounted in the *Popol Vuh* (see "The Mesoamerican Ball Game," page 528). Most Maya resided in Xibalba forever after they died. However, when divine Maya rulers, such as Lord Pakal of Palenque, died, they descended to the bottom of the Underworld and then rose to Heaven (FIG. 18-12).

Maya architects found a brilliant but simple way to incorporate references to Maya cosmology in the design of their pyramid-temples. The Temple of the Giant Jaguar (FIG. 18-11) at Tikal, for example, has nine levels, as does the Castillo (FIG. 18-17) at Chichén Itzá. No one doubts that the nine stepped stories symbolize the nine Underworld layers. The form of the Castillo, however, is also tied to the solar year. Atop the pyramid, which is oriented to the four cardinal points, is a temple dedicated to Kukulcán, the Maya equivalent of the Teotihuacán feathered-serpent god and the Aztec Quetzalcoatl. The north side of the Castillo has 92 steps and the other three sides 91 steps each for a total of 365, the number of days in a solar year.

At the winter and summer equinoxes, the sun casts a shadow along the northern staircase of the Castillo, which ends in carved serpent heads. The structure's silhouette and the angle of the sun cause the shadow to take the shape of the serpent-god's body and connect with the carved heads, giving the impression of Kukulcán slithering along the pyramid's face as the sun moves across the sky. The Castillo thus refers in its form to the sun in Heaven, the Underworld, and the feathered serpent.

Solar as well as Underworld imagery is also a common feature of non-Maya Mesoamerican architecture. At the Classic Veracruz site of El Tajín, for example, the Pyramid of the Niches (FIG. 18-20) has a total of 365 niches on its four sides.

18-17 Castillo (looking southwest), Chichén Itzá, Mexico, Maya, ca. 800–900 CE.

A temple to Kukulcán sits atop this pyramid featuring a total of 365 stairs on its four sides. At the winter and summer equinoxes, the sun casts a shadow in the shape of a serpent along the northern staircase.

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Chichén Itzá. The best-known and most extensively excavated Postclassic Maya site is Chichén Itzá (FIG. 18-1) in the Yucatán Peninsula of Mexico, a flat, low limestone region covered with scrub vegetation, north of the rolling and densely forested region of the Guatemalan Petén. During the Classic period, Mayan-speaking peoples sparsely inhabited this northern region. For reasons still the subject of debate, when the southern Maya abandoned their Classic sites after 900, the northern Maya continued to build many new temples in this area. They also experimented with construction techniques and materials to a much greater extent than their counterparts farther south. Piers and columns appeared in doorways, and stone mosaics enlivened facades. The northern groups also invented a new type of construction, a solid core of coarse rubble faced on both sides with a veneer of square limestone plaques. The architectural development of Chichén Itzá occurred between 800 and 1100 CE and bridges the Classic and Postclassic periods.

Castillo. Dominating the main northern plaza of Chichén Itzá today is the 98-foot-high pyramid (FIGS. 18-1 and 18-17) that the Spaniards nicknamed the Castillo (Castle), an extraordinary structure that incorporates in its form references to both the Underworld and the sun (see "The Underworld, the Sun, and Mesoamerican Pyramid Design," above). In 1937, excavations within the Castillo revealed an earlier nine-level pyramid inside the later and larger structure. In the earlier pyramid, archaeologists found a chamber with a throne in the form of a red jaguar and a stone figure of the

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18-18 Chacmool, from the Platform of the Eagles, Chichén Itzá, Mexico, Maya, ca. 800–900 CE. Stone, 4′ 10½″ high. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City.

Chacmools represent fallen warriors reclining on their backs holding receptacles for sacrificial offerings. Excavators discovered one in the throne chamber inside an earlier pyramid within the Castillo (FIG. 18-17).

chacmool type depicting a fallen warrior. Chacmools (for example, FIG. 18-18, found on the so-called Platform of the Eagles near the Castillo) recline on their backs and have receptacles on their chests to receive ritual offerings, probably of sacrificial victims. The name, coined by Augustus Le Plongeon (1826–1908), an early explorer of Maya (and Peruvian) sites, means "red jaguar paw" in Mayan. The distinctive forms of Mesoamerican chacmools made a deep impression on some 20th-century sculptors (compare FIG. 29-48).

Caracol. More unusual than the Castillo is the round and domed temple called the Caracol (Snail Shell, FIG. 18-19)—the name the Spanish conquerors of the Yucatán chose because of the structure's internal spiral staircase. The Caracol establishes that the northern Maya were as inventive with architectural form as they were experimental with construction and materials. A cylindrical tower rests on a broad terrace that is in turn supported by a larger rectangular platform measuring 169 by 232 feet. The tower, composed of two concentric walls, encloses a circular staircase that leads to a small chamber near the top of the structure. In plan, the building recalls the cross-section of a conch shell, which was an attribute of the feathered serpent, and round temples were dedicated to him in central Mexico. This building may therefore also have been a temple to Kukulcán. Windows along the Caracol's staircase and an opening at the summit probably were used for astronomical observation.

Classic Veracruz

Today, the most famous Classic Mesoamerican civilization is the Maya, and its remains are the most abundant. However, other cultures also flourished, and some of their surviving monuments rival those of the Maya in size and sophistication. In southern Mexico's Veracruz plain, for example, the heir to the Olmec culture was a civilization that archaeologists call Classic Veracruz (ca. 300–900 CE). The name of the people who occupied the area at the time is unknown.

18-19 Aerial view of the Caracol (looking east), Chichén Itzá, Mexico, Maya, ca. 800–900 CE.

Caracol means "snail shell," and this unusual round northern Maya structure encloses a circular staircase. The building may have been a temple to Kukulcán with an astronomical observatory at its summit.

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18-20 Pyramid of the Niches (looking northeast), El Tajín, Mexico, Classic Veracruz, sixth century CE.

The Pyramid of the Niches, although only 66 feet tall, has 365 niches, one for each day of the solar year. It is one of many Mesoamerican monuments linked to astronomy and the calendar.

El Tajín. The major Classic Veracruz site is El Tajín, which explorers discovered in the dense rain forest of the Gulf of Mexico coast in 1785. At its peak, El Tajín was a thriving city of hundreds of acres and tens of thousands of inhabitants. The excavated portion of the city has already revealed 17 ball courts. The building that dominates the ceremonial center of El Tajín is the so-called Pyramid of the Niches (FIG. 18-20), a sixth-century CE structure of unusual form. In spite of its relatively small size (only 66 feet tall), the Pyramid of the Niches encases an earlier, smaller pyramid. The later structure has a steep staircase on its east side and six stories, each one incorporating a row of niches on each of the four sides, totaling 365 in all. The number of niches, which corresponds to the number of days in a solar year, is unlikely to be coincidental (see "Mesoamerican Pyramid Design," page 533). The Pyramid of the Niches is one of many examples of the close connection between the form of Mesoamerican monuments and astronomical observations and the measurement of time.

Toltec

The Aztec Empire, discussed in Chapter 36, was the most powerful in Mesoamerican history. The Aztec rulers claimed descent from the Toltecs, whose name means "makers of things." Little is known about the Toltecs, and scholars are rethinking the traditional view that they were invaders from the north whose arrival in central Mexico contributed to the fall of the Classic civilizations.

Tula. In any case, the Toltecs occupied Tula, north of Mexico City, from about 900 to 1200. Fearsome warriors as well as master artisans and farmers, they also constructed imposing temples and set up stone statues. Most impressive are the four colossal *atlantids* (male statue-columns; FIG. 18-21) built up of four stone segments each that stand atop Pyramid B at Tula. Whether the atlantids portray rulers in military dress or anonymous armed

18-21 Colossal atlantids, Pyramid B, Tula, Mexico, Toltec, ca. 900–1180 CE. Stone, each 16′ high.

Little is known about the Toltecs, but they left behind these colossal stone statue-columns atop a pyramid-temple at Tula. The atlantids portray warriors or rulers armed with darts and spear-throwers.

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warriors is uncertain, but their function is clear. These stone guardians stand eternally at attention, warding off all hostile forces. They wear feathered headdresses and, as breastplates, stylized butterflies, heraldic symbols of the Toltecs. In one hand they clutch a bundle of darts and in the other an *atlatl* (spear-thrower), typical weapons of highland Mexico. The figures originally supported a temple roof, now missing. Their architectural function dictated the rigidity of pose, compactness, and strict simplicity of contour of the figures.

The last Toltec ruler abandoned Tula by 1180, and most of his people followed. Some years later, the city was catastrophically destroyed, its ceremonial buildings burned to their foundations, its walls torn down, and the straggling remainder of its population scattered. The exact reasons for the Toltecs' departure and for their city's destruction are unknown, but they left a power vacuum in Mexico that the Aztecs eventually filled three centuries later.

CENTRAL AMERICA AND NORTHERN ANDES

Between Mesoamerica and the South American Andes lies the archaeological area of Central America and the Northern Andes, comprising parts of El Salvador, Honduras, Ecuador, and Venezuela, and all of Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Colombia. At the time of the European invasion, this region was by no means a unified political territory but rather was divided among many small rival chiefdoms. Although the people of Central America and the Northern Andes did not produce monumental architecture on the scale of their neighbors to the north and south and, unlike the Mesoamericans, left no written records, they too were accomplished artists who produced distinctive works that are stylistically and iconographically independent of the Mesoamerican and South American traditions. Central American potters made some of the earliest ceramics of the Americas, and they continued to create an astonishing variety of terracotta vessels and figures until the time of the Spanish conquest. Among the other arts practiced in the region were stone sculpture, jade carving, and especially the highly prized art of goldworking. The first Europeans to make contact here were astonished to see the natives appearing in public nearly naked but covered in gold jewelry. The legend of El Dorado, a Colombian chief who coated himself in gold as part of his accession rites, was largely responsible for the Spanish invaders' ruthless plunder of the region.

18-22 Pendant in the form of a bat-faced man, from northeastern Colombia, Tairona, after 1000 CE. Tumbaga, 5 $\frac{1}{4}$″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Jan Mitchell and Sons Collection).

The peoples of Central America and the Northern Andes of South America were expert goldsmiths. This pendant depicting a bat-faced man with an immense ornate headdress served as an amulet.

Tairona. In northern Colombia (MAP 18-2), the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta rises above the Caribbean. The topography of lofty mountains and river valleys provided considerable isolation, and, consequently, various population groups developed largely independently. The inhabitants of this region after about 1000 CE included a group known as the Tairona, whose goldsmiths were among the finest in the Western Hemisphere. They produced technologically advanced and aesthetically sophisticated work in gold, mostly by cutting and hammering thin gold sheets, but also by using the *lost-wax process.* Both techniques enabled the Tairona to preserve the scarce amount of the precious metal available to them. (There was no local source of gold in Tairona territory, and the goldsmiths had to obtain gold by trade.)

Tairona pendants were not simply rich accessories for costumes but amulets or talismans representing powerful beings who gave the wearer protection and status. The pendant shown here (FIG. 18-22), cast in a gold-and-copper alloy called *tumbaga,* represents a bat-faced man—perhaps a masked man rather than a composite being, or a man in the process of spiritual transformation. In local mythology, the first animal created was the bat. This bat-man wears an immense headdress composed of two birds in the round, two great beaked heads, and a series of spirals crowned by two overarching stalks. The harmony of repeated curvilinear motifs, the rhythmic play of their contours, and the precise delineation of minute detail attest to the artist's technical control and aesthetic sensitivity.

SOUTH AMERICA

As in Mesoamerica, until their defeat at the hands of the Spanish conquistadors, the indigenous peoples of Andean South America (MAP 18-2) erected towering monuments and produced sophisticated paintings, sculptures, ceramics, and textiles. Although less well studied than the ancient Mesoamerican cultures, the South American civilizations are older, and in some ways they surpassed the accomplishments of their northern counterparts. Andean peoples, for example, mastered metalworking much earlier, and their monumental architecture predates that of the earliest Mesoamerican culture, the Olmec, by more than a millennium. The peoples of northern Chile even began to mummify their dead at least 500 years before the Egyptians.

The Central Andean region of South America lies between Ecuador and northern Chile. The Pacific Ocean constitutes its western border. The region consists of three well-defined geographic zones, running north and south and roughly parallel to

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MAP 18-2 **Early sites in Andean South America.**

one another. The narrow western coastal plain is a desert crossed by rivers that create habitable fertile valleys. Next, the high peaks of the great Cordillera of the Andes hem in plateaus of a temperate climate. The region's inland border, the eastern slopes of the Andes, is a hot and humid forest.

Andean civilizations flourished both in the highlands and on the coast. Highland cave dwellers fashioned the first rudimentary art objects no later than 8800 BCE. Weavers began to fashion sophisticated textiles as early as 2500 BCE, and the firing of clay began in Peru before 1800 BCE.

Starting around 800 BCE, Andean chronology alternates between periods that historians call "horizons," when a single culture appears to have dominated a broad geographic area for a relatively long period, and "intermediate periods" characterized by more independent regional development.

The Chavín culture (ca. 800–200 BCE; FIG. 18-23) represents the first period, Early Horizon; the Tiwanaku and Wari cultures (ca. 100–1000 CE; FIGS. 18-29 and 18-30), the Middle Horizon; and the Inka Empire (discussed in Chapter 36), the Late Horizon.

Among the many regional styles that flourished between these horizons, the most important are the Early Intermediate period (ca. 200 BCE–800 CE) Paracas and Nasca cultures (FIGS. 18-24, 18-25, and 18-26) of the south coast of Peru, and the Moche (FIGS. 18-27 and 18-28) in the north.

The discovery of complex ancient communities documented by radiocarbon dating is changing the picture of early South American cultures. Planned communities boasting organized labor systems and monumental architecture dot the narrow river valleys that drop from the Andes to the Pacific Ocean. In the Central Andes, these early sites, such as Caral in the Supe Valley of Peru, began to develop around 3000 BCE, about a millennium before the invention of pottery there. Carved gourds and some fragmentary cotton textiles survive from this early period. They depict composite creatures, such as crabs turning into snakes, as well as doubled and then reversed images, both hallmarks of later Andean art.

The architecture of the earliest coastal sites typically consists of large U-shaped flat-topped platforms—some as high as a 10-story building—around sunken courtyards. Many had numerous small chambers on top. Construction materials included both uncut fieldstones and handmade *adobes* (sun-dried mud bricks) in the shape of cones, laid point to point in coarse mud plaster to form walls and platforms. These very early complexes almost always faced toward the Andes, the source of the life-giving rivers on which these communities depended for survival. Mountain worship associated with water and ancestors continues in the Andean region to this day and was probably the focus of early religious practices as well.

In the highlands, archaeologists also have discovered large ceremonial complexes. In contrast to the many coastal complexes, which feature numerous interconnecting rooms atop the mounds, the highland examples have a single small chamber at the top, often with a stone-lined firepit in the center. Excavators have found burnt offerings in the pits, often of exotic objects obtained through trade, such as marine shells and tropical bird feathers.

Chavín

Named after the ceremonial center of Chavín de Huántar, located in the northern highlands of Peru, the Chavín culture of the Early Horizon period developed and spread throughout much of the coastal region and the highlands during the first millennium BCE.

Chavín de Huántar. The Old Temple of Chavín de Huántar was an important pilgrimage site. Dated to the first millennium BCE, it resembles some of the sacred complexes of the earliest Andean cultures but is much larger. It is a U-shaped, stone-faced structure with wings up to 83 yards long facing east between two rivers. Although at first glance its three stories appear to be a solid stepped platform, in fact narrow passageways, small chambers, and stairways penetrate the temple in a mazelike pattern. No windows light the interior spaces, however. The few members of Chavín society with access to these rooms must have witnessed secret torch-lit sacred ceremonies. Fronting the temple are sunken courts, an arrangement also adopted from earlier coastal sites.

The temple complex at Chavín de Huántar is famous for its extensive stone carvings. The most common subjects are composite creatures with feline, bird, reptilian, and human features. Consisting largely of low relief on panels, cornices, and columns, and some rarer instances of freestanding sculpture, Chavín carving is essentially shallow, linear incision. A 15-foot-tall oracular cult image known as El Lanzón (Spanish, "lance") stood in the center of the temple's oldest part. Other examples of sculpture in the round include heads of mythological creatures pegged into the exterior walls.

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18-23 ***Raimondi Stele,*** **from the main temple, Chavín de Huántar, Peru, ca. 800–200 BCE. Green diorite, 6′ high. Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Lima.**

The *Raimondi Stele* staff god wears a headdress of faces and snakes. Viewed upside down, the god's face becomes two faces. The ability of gods to transform themselves is a core aspect of Andean religion.

Raimondi Stele. Found in the main temple at Chavín de Huántar and named after its discoverer, the *Raimondi Stele* (FIG. 18-23) represents a figure called the "staff god." He appears in various versions from Colombia to northern Bolivia, but always holds staffs. Seldom, however, do the representations have the degree of elaboration found at Chavín. The Chavín staff god gazes upward, frowns, and bares his teeth. His elaborate headdress dominates the upper two-thirds of the slab. Inverting the image reveals that the headdress consists of a series of fanged jawless faces, each emerging from the mouth of the one above it. Snakes abound. They extend from the deity's belt, make up part of the staffs, serve as whiskers and hair for the deity and the headdress creatures, and form a braid at the apex of the composition. The *Raimondi Stele* clearly illustrates the Andean artistic tendency toward both multiplicity and dual readings. Upside down, the god's face turns into two faces. The ability of gods to transform before viewers' eyes is a core aspect of Andean religion.

Chavín iconography spread widely throughout the Andean region via portable media such as goldwork, textiles, and ceramics. For example, more than 300 miles from Chavín on the south coast of Peru, archaeologists have discovered cotton textiles with imagery recalling Chavín sculpture. Painted staff-bearing female deities, apparently local manifestations or consorts of the highland staff god, decorate these large cloths, which may have served as wall hangings in temples. Ceramic vessels found on the north coast of Peru also carry motifs similar to those found on Chavín stone carvings.

Paracas, Nasca, and Moche

Several Andean coastal traditions developed during the millennium from about 400 BCE to 800 CE. The most prominent were the Paracas (ca. 400 BCE–200 CE), Nasca (ca. 200 BCE–600 CE), and Moche (ca. 1–800 CE). Together they exemplify the great variations within ancient Peruvian art styles.

Paracas. The Paracas culture occupied a desert peninsula and a nearby river valley on the south coast of Peru. Outstanding among the Paracas arts are the funerary textiles used to wrap the bodies of the dead in multiple layers. These textiles, buried in shaft tombs beneath the sands and preserved because of the dry desert climate, are among the enduring masterpieces of Andean art (see "Andean Weaving," page 539). Most are of woven cotton with designs embroidered onto the fabric in alpaca or vicuña wool imported from the highlands. The weavers, probably exclusively women, used more than 150 vivid colors, the majority derived from plants. Feline, bird, and serpent motifs appear on many of the textiles, but the human figure, real or mythological, predominates. Humans dressed up as, or changing into, animals are common motifs on the grave mantles—consistent with the Andean transformation theme seen earlier on the *Raimondi Stele* (FIG. 18-23). On one well-preserved mantle (FIG. 18-24), a figure with prominent eyes appears scores of times over the surface. The flowing hair and the slow kicking motion of the legs suggest that the figure is flying or floating while carrying batons and fans or, according to some scholars, knives and hallucinogenic mushrooms. On other mantles, the figures carry the skulls or severed heads of enemies. Art historians have interpreted the flying figures either as Paracas religious practitioners dancing or flying during an ecstatic trance or as images of the deceased. Despite endless repetitions of the figure, variations of detail occur throughout each textile, notably in the figures' positions and in subtle color changes.

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Andean Weaving

When the Inka first encountered the Spanish conquistadors, they found the Europeans' fixation on gold and silver puzzling. The Inka valued finely woven cloth just as highly as precious metal. Textiles and clothing dominated every aspect of their existence. Storing textiles in great warehouses, their leaders demanded cloth as tribute, gave it as gifts, exchanged it during diplomatic negotiations, and even burned it as a sacrificial offering. Although both men and women participated in cloth production, the Inka rulers selected the best women weavers from around the empire and sequestered them for life to produce textiles exclusively for the elite.

Andean weavers manufactured their textiles by first spinning yarn produced from the cotton grown in five different shades on the warm coast and from the fur sheared from highland camelids, such as llamas, alpacas, vicuñas, and guanacos. They then wove the yarn into cloth. Sometimes the textile makers sewed rare tropical bird feathers and small plaques of gold and silver onto cloth destined for the nobility. Andean weavers mastered nearly every fabric technique known today. Most used a simple device known as a *backstrap loom.* Similar looms are still in use in the Andes. The weavers stretch the long *warp* (vertical) threads between two wood bars. The top bar is tied to an upright. A belt or backstrap, attached to the bottom bar, encircles the waist of the seated weaver, who maintains the tension of the warp threads by leaning back. The weaver passes the *weft* (horizontal) threads over and under the warps and pushes them tightly against each other to produce the finished cloth. In ancient textiles, the sturdy cotton often formed the warp, and the wool, which can be dyed brighter colors, served to create complex designs in the weft. *Embroidery,* the sewing of threads onto a finished piece of cloth to form contrasting designs, was the specialty of the Paracas culture (FIG. 18-24).

The dry deserts of coastal Peru have preserved not only numerous textiles from different periods but also hundreds of finely worked baskets containing spinning and weaving implements. These tools are invaluable sources of information about Andean textile production processes. The baskets found in documented contexts came from women's graves, attesting to the close association between weaving and women, the reverence for the cloth-making process, and the Andean belief that textiles were necessary in the afterlife.

A special problem that all weavers confront is that they must visualize the entire design in advance and cannot easily change it during the weaving process. No records exist of how Andean weavers learned, retained, and passed on the elaborate patterns they wove into cloth, but some painted ceramics depict weavers at work, apparently copying designs from finished models. However, the inventiveness of individual weavers is evident in the endless variety of colors and patterns in preserved Andean textiles. This creativity often led Andean artists to design textiles that are highly abstract and geometric. Paracas embroideries (FIG. 18-24), for example, may depict humans, down to the patterns on the tunics they wear, yet the weavers reduced the figures to their essentials in order to focus on their otherworldly role. The Wari compositions (FIG. 18-30) are the culmination of this tendency toward abstraction in which figural motifs become stunning blocks of color that overwhelm the subject matter itself.

18-24 Embroidered funerary mantle, from the southern coast of Peru, Paracas, first century CE. Plain-weave camelid fiber with stem-stitch embroidery of camelid wool, 4′ $7\frac{7}{8}$″ × 7′ $10\frac{7}{8}$″. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (William A. Paine Fund).

Paracas weavers created elaborate mantles to wrap around the bodies of the dead. The flying or floating figure repeated endlessly on this mantle is probably the deceased or a religious practitioner.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Nasca Lines

Some 800 miles of lines drawn in complex networks on the dry surface of the Nasca Plain have long attracted world attention because of their colossal size, which defies human perception from the ground. Preserved today are about three dozen images of birds, fish, and plants, including a hummingbird (FIG. 18-25) several hundred feet long. The Nasca artists also drew geometric forms, such as trapezoids, spirals, and straight lines running for miles.

The Nasca produced these immense earth drawings, popularly called "Nasca Lines," by selectively removing the dark top layer of stones to expose the light clay and calcite below. Artisans could create the lines quite easily from available materials and using rudimentary geometry. Small groups of workers have made modern reproductions of them with relative ease. The lines seem to be paths laid out using simple stone-and-string methods. Some lead in traceable directions across the deserts of the Nasca River drainage. Others have many shrinelike nodes punctuating the lines, like the knots on a cord. Some lines converge at central places usually situated close to water sources and seem to be associated with water supply and irrigation. They may have marked pilgrimage routes for those who journeyed to local or regional shrines on foot.

Altogether, the vast arrangement of the Nasca Lines is a system—not a meaningless maze but a traversable map that plotted the whole terrain of Nasca material and spiritual concerns. Remarkably, until quite recently, the peoples of highland Bolivia made and used similar ritual pathways in association with shrines, demonstrating the tenacity of indigenous Andean belief systems.

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18-25 Hummingbird, Nasca Plain, Peru, Nasca, ca. 500 CE. Dark layer of pebbles scraped aside to reveal lighter clay and calcite beneath.

The earth drawings known as Nasca Lines represent birds, fish, plants, and geometric forms. They may have marked pilgrimage routes leading to religious shrines, but their function is uncertain.

Nasca. The Nasca culture takes its name from the Nasca River valley, south of Paracas. It is most famous today for its gigantic earth drawings (see "Nasca Lines," above). The early centuries of the Nasca civilization ran concurrently with the closing centuries of the Paracas culture, and, with the exception of the Nasca Lines, Nasca style emulated Paracas style. The Nasca won renown for their pottery, and thousands of their ceramic vessels survive. These usually have round bottoms, double spouts connected by bridges, and smoothly burnished polychrome surfaces. The subjects of their painted decoration vary greatly, but plants, animals, and composite mythological creatures, part human and part animal, are most common.

Nasca painters often represented religious practitioners impersonating deities in sacred rituals. Some of these impersonators, like the Paracas flying figures (FIG. 18-24), hold trophy heads and weapons.

On the vessel illustrated here (FIG. 18-26) are two costumed flying figures. The painter reduced their bodies and limbs to abstract appendages and focused on the heads. Each figure wears a multicolored necklace, a whiskered gold mouthpiece, circular disks hanging from the ears, and a rayed crown on the forehead. Masks or heads with streaming hair, possibly more trophy heads, flow over the impersonators' backs, increasing the sense of motion.

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1 in.

18-26 Bridge-spouted vessel with flying figures, from the Nasca River valley, Peru, Nasca, ca. 50–200 CE. Painted ceramic, $5\frac{1}{2}''$ high. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Kate S. Buckingham Endowment).

The Nasca were masters of pottery painting. The painter of this bridge-spouted vessel depicted two crowned and bejeweled flying figures, probably ritual impersonators with trophy heads.

Moche. Among the most famous art objects produced by the ancient Peruvians are the painted clay vessels of the Moche, who occupied a series of river valleys on the north coast of Peru around the same time that the Nasca flourished to the south. Moche ceramics rival those of the Greeks and the Maya (FIG. 18-15) not only in quality but also in the amount of information they convey about Moche society. Moche pots illustrate architecture, metallurgy, weaving, the brewing of *chicha* (fermented maize beer), human deformities and diseases, and even sexual acts. Moche vessels are predominantly flat-bottomed, stirrup-spouted jars derived from Chavín prototypes. The potters generally decorated them with a *bichrome* (two-color) slip. Although the Moche made early vessels by hand without the aid of a potter's wheel, they fashioned later ones in two-piece molds. Numerous near-duplicates of the mold-made pots exist today. Moche potters continued to refine the stirrup spout, making it an elegant slender tube, much narrower than the Chavín examples.

The portrait vessel illustrated here (FIG. 18-27) is an elaborate example of a common Moche type. It may depict the face of a warrior or a ruler, but possibly also a royal retainer, in which case the attendant's image may have been buried with many other pots to accompany his dead master into the afterlife. The realistic rendering of the physiognomy is particularly striking. Some Moche portrait vessels appear to depict the same individual at different ages. These figures must have been members of elite Moche families, whose features the ceramists recorded repeatedly, beginning in childhood.

1 in.

18-27 Vessel in the shape of a portrait head, from the northern coast of Peru, Moche, fifth to sixth century CE. Painted clay, 1′ 1″ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

The Moche culture produced an extraordinary variety of painted vessels. This one in the shape of a head may depict a warrior, ruler, or royal retainer. The realistic face is particularly striking.

Sipán. Elite men, along with retinues of sacrificial victims, appear to be the occupants of several rich Moche tombs excavated near the village of Sipán on the arid northwest coast of Peru. The Sipán burials have yielded a treasure of gold artifacts and more than a thousand ceramic vessels. The discovery of the tombs in the late 1980s created a great stir among archaeologists as well as the general public, and the contents of the tombs contributed significantly to the knowledge of Moche culture.

Beneath a large adobe platform adjacent to two high but greatly eroded pyramids, excavators found the most impressive of several

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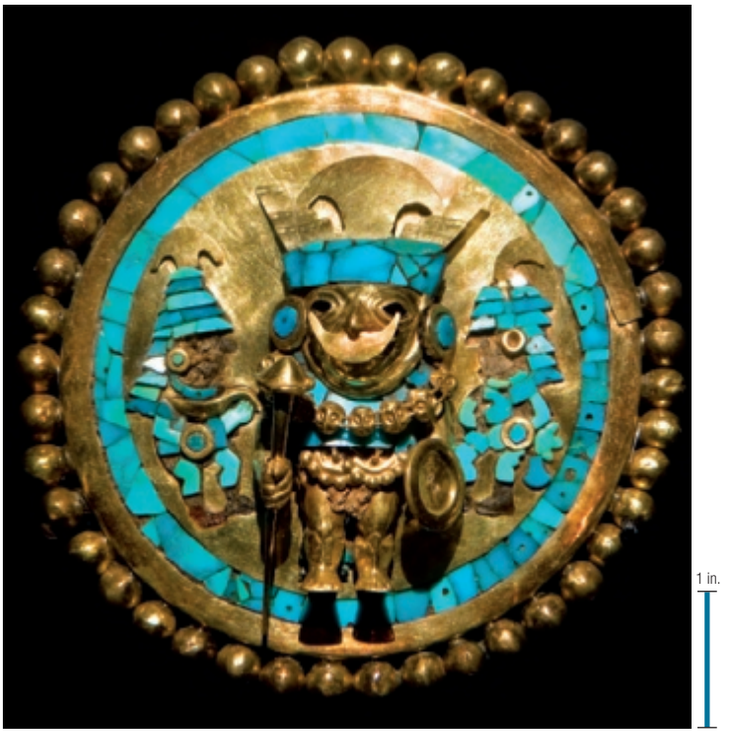

18-28 Ear ornament, from Sipán, Peru, Moche, ca. 300 CE. Gold and turquoise, $4\frac{4}{5}$″ diameter. Brüning Archaeological Museum, Lambayeque.

This ear ornament from a Sipán tomb depicts a warrior priest and two retainers. The priest carries a war club and shield and wears an owl-head bead necklace. The costume corresponds to actual finds.

lavish graves, the tomb of a man known today as the Lord of Sipán or the Warrior Priest. The splendor of the trappings adorning his corpse, the quantity and quality of the costly accessories, and the bodies of the retainers buried with him indicate that he was a personage of the highest rank. Indeed, the Lord of Sipán was surely one of the warrior priests so often depicted on Moche ceramic wares and murals (and on a gold pyramid-shaped rattle in this very tomb) assaulting his enemies and participating in sacrificial ceremonies.

An ear ornament (FIG. 18-28) of turquoise and gold found in one Sipán tomb shows a warrior priest clad much like the Lord of Sipán. Two retainers appear in profile to the left and right of the central figure. Represented frontally, he carries a war club and shield and wears a necklace of owl-head beads. The figure's bladelike, crescent-shaped helmet is a replica of the large gold one buried with the Sipán lord. The war club and shield also match finds in the Warrior Priest's

18-29 Gateway of the Sun, Tiwanaku, Bolivia, Tiwanaku, ca. 375–700 CE. Stone, 9′ 10″ high.

The Gateway of the Sun probably led into a sacred area. The central figure is a version of the Chavín staff god (FIG. 18-23). Originally painted, the relief was also inlaid with turquoise and covered with gold.

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tomb. The figure wears an ear ornament that is a simplified version of the ornament it decorates. Other details also correspond to excavated objects—for example, the removable nose ring hanging down over the mouth. The value of the Sipán find is incalculable for what it reveals about elite Moche culture and for its confirmation of the accuracy of the iconography of Moche artworks.

Tiwanaku and Wari

The highland country of southeastern Peru and southwestern Bolivia contrasts markedly with the warm valleys of the coast. In the Bolivian mountains, the Tiwanaku culture (ca. 100–1000 CE) developed beginning in the second century CE. North of the Paracas society, in Peru, the Wari culture (ca. 500–800 CE) dominated parts of the dry coast.

Tiwanaku. Named after its principal archaeological site on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca in northwestern Bolivia, the Tiwanaku culture flourished for nearly a millennium, spreading to the adjacent coastal area as well as to other highland regions, eventually extending from southern Peru to northern Chile. Tiwanaku was an important ceremonial center. Its inhabitants constructed grand buildings using the region's fine sandstone, andesite, and diorite.

Tiwanaku's imposing Gateway of the Sun (FIG. 18-29) is a huge monolithic block of andesite pierced by a single doorway. Moved in ancient times from its original location within the site, the gateway now forms part of an enormous walled platform. Relief sculpture crowns the gate. The central figure is a Tiwanaku version of the Chavín staff god (FIG. 18-23). Larger than all the other figures and presented frontally, he dominates the composition and presides over the passageway. Rays project from his head. Many terminate in puma heads, representing the power of the highlands' fiercest predator. The staff god—possibly a sky and weather deity rather than the sun deity that the rayed head suggests—appears in art throughout the Tiwanaku horizon, associated with smaller attendant figures. Those of the Gateway of the Sun are winged and have human or condor heads. Like the puma, the condor is an impressive carnivore, the largest raptor in the world. Sky and earth beings thus converge on the gate, which probably served as the doorway to a sacred area, a place of transformation. The reliefs were once colorfully painted. The figures' eyes apparently also had turquoise inlays, and gold covered the surfaces. The effect undoubtedly was dazzling.

Wari. The flat, abstract, and repetitive figures surrounding the central figure on the Gateway of the Sun recall woven textile designs. Indeed, the people of the Tiwanaku culture, like those of the Paracas, were highly skilled weavers, although many fewer textiles survive from the damp highlands. However, many examples of weaving, especially tunics, have been preserved from the contemporaneous Wari culture in Peru.

Although Wari weavers fashioned cloth from both wool and cotton fibers, as did their Paracas predecessors (FIG. 18-24), the resemblance between the two textile styles ends there. Whereas Paracas weavers embroidered motifs onto the plain woven surface, their Wari counterparts wove the designs directly into the fabric, the weft threads packed densely over the warp threads in a technique known as *tapestry* (see "Embroidery and Tapestry," page 377). Some particularly fine pieces have more than 200 weft threads per inch. Furthermore, unlike the relatively naturalistic individual figures depicted on Paracas mantles, those appearing on Wari textiles are so closely connected and so abstract as to be nearly unrecognizable. In the tunic shown here, known as the *Lima Tapestry* (FIG. 18-30), the Wari designer expanded or compressed each figure in a different way and placed them in vertical rows pressed between narrow red bands of plain cloth. Elegant tunics such as this one must have been prestige garments made for the elite. A close connection existed between clothing and status in many ancient American societies, especially in the Inka Empire that eventually dominated Andean South America (see "Clothing and Power," page 1099).

18-30 ***Lima Tapestry,*** **tunic, from Peru, Wari, ca. 500–800 CE. 3′ $3\frac{3}{8}$″ × 2′ $11\frac{3}{8}$″. Museo Nacional de Antropología Arqueología e Historia del Perú, Lima.**

Whereas Paracas mantles (FIG. 18-24) are embroideries, Wari textiles are tapestries, with the motifs woven directly into the fabric. The figures on this tunic are so abstract as to be nearly unrecognizable.

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NORTH AMERICA

In many parts of the United States and Canada, archaeologists have identified indigenous cultures dating as far back as 12,000 years ago. Most of the surviving art objects, however, come from the last 2,000 years. Scholars divide the vast and varied territory of North America (MAP 18-3) into cultural regions on the basis of relative homogeneity of language and social and artistic patterns. Lifestyles varied widely over the continent, ranging from small bands of migratory hunters to settled—at times even urban—agriculturalists. Among the art-producing peoples who inhabited the continent before the arrival of Europeans are the Yupik and Inuit of Alaska and Canada (called Eskimos or First Nation people in Alaska), who hunted and fished across the Arctic from Greenland to Siberia, and the maize farmers of the American Southwest, who wrested water from their arid environment and built effective irrigation systems as well as roads and spectacular cliff dwellings. Farmers also settled in the vast, temperate Eastern Woodlands—ranging from eastern Canada to Florida and from the Atlantic to the Great Plains west of the Mississippi. Some of them left behind great earthen mounds that once functioned as their elite residences or burial places.

Eskimo

The Eskimoan peoples originally migrated to North America across the Bering Strait land bridge at the end of the Ice Age, probably between 15,000 and 12,000 BCE. During the early first millennium CE, a community of Eskimo sea-mammal hunters and toolmakers occupied parts of Alaska during the Norton, or Old Bering Sea, culture that began around 500 BCE.

Ipiutak Mask. Archaeologists have uncovered major works of Eskimo art at the Ipiutak site at Point Hope. The finds include a variety of burial goods as well as tools. A burial mask (FIG. 18-31) datable to around 100 CE is of special interest. The artist fashioned the mask out of walrus ivory, the material used for most Arctic artworks because of the scarcity of wood in the region. The mask consists of nine carefully shaped parts, interrelated to produce several faces, both human and animal, echoing the transformation theme noted in other ancient American cultures. The confident, subtle composition in shallow relief is a tribute to the artist's imaginative control over the material. The mask's abstract circles and curved lines are common motifs on the decorated tools discovered at Point Hope. For centuries, the Eskimo also carved human and animal figures, always at small scale, reflecting a nomadic lifestyle requiring the creation of portable objects.

Woodlands

Early Native American artists also excelled in working stone into a variety of utilitarian and ceremonial objects. Some early cultures, such as those of the Woodlands east of the Mississippi River, also established great urban centers with populations sometimes exceeding 20,000.

MAP 18-3 Early Native American sites in North America.

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18-31 Burial mask, from Point Hope, Alaska, Ipiutak, ca. 100 CE. Ivory, greatest width 9 $\frac{1}{2}$″. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

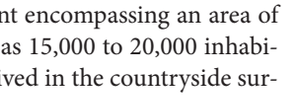
Carved out of walrus ivory, this mask consists of nine parts that can be combined to produce several faces, both human and animal, echoing the transformation theme common in ancient American art.

18-32 Pipe, from a mound in Ohio, Adena, ca. 500–1 BCE. Stone, 8″ high. Ohio Historical Society, Columbus.

Smoking was an important ritual in ancient North America. The Adena often placed pipes in graves for men to use in the afterlife. This one resembles some Mesoamerican sculptures in form and costume.

Adena. Archaeologists have found remains of the Adena culture of Ohio at about 500 sites in the Central Woodlands. The Adena buried their elite in great earthen mounds and often placed ceremonial pipes in the graves. Tobacco smoking was an important social and religious ritual in many Native American cultures, and pipes were treasured status symbols that men wanted to take with them into the afterlife. The Adena pipe shown here (FIG. 18-32) was found in 1901 in a grave in the Adena Mound along with the body of an adult male, bead ornaments, and spear points. Carved between 500 BCE and the end of the millennium, the pipe takes the shape of a standing man—a generic representation rather than a portrait of the deceased. The figure has naturalistic joint articulations and musculature, a lively flexed-leg pose, and an alert facial expression—all combining to suggest movement. In form and costume (note the prominent ear spools), the figure resembles some Mesoamerican sculptures.

Mississippian. The Adena were the first great mound builders of North America, but the Mississippian culture, which emerged around 800 CE and eventually encompassed much of the eastern United States, surpassed all earlier Woodlands groups in the size and complexity of their communities. One Mississippian mound site, Cahokia in southern Illinois, was the largest city in North America in the early second millennium CE. At its peak between 1050 and 1200, Cahokia was a settlement encompassing an area of about 6 square miles, home to as many as 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants. Another 10,000 people probably lived in the countryside surrounding the great civic and religious center. There were approximately 120 mounds at Cahokia. The grandest, 100 feet tall and built in stages between about 900 and 1200 CE, was Monk's Mound (FIG. 18-32A). It aligns with the position of the sun at the equinoxes and may have served as an astronomical observatory as well as the site of agricultural ceremonies. Topping each stage were timber structures that the Mississippians eventually destroyed in preparation for the building of a new layer.



18-32A Monk's Mound, Cahokia, ca. 1200 CE.

The Mississippians also constructed *effigy mounds* (mounds built in the form of animals or birds). One of the best preserved is Serpent Mound. Both its date and meaning are controversial (see "Serpent Mound," page 546).

The Mississippian peoples, like their predecessors in North America, also manufactured small portable art objects. The

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A SECOND OPINION

Serpent Mound

Serpent Mound (FIG. 18-33), a twisting earthwork on a bluff overlooking a creek in Ohio, is one of the largest and best known of the Woodlands effigy mounds, but it is the subject of considerable controversy. First excavated in the 1880s, Serpent Mound represents one of the first efforts at preserving a Native American site from destruction at the hands of pot hunters and farmers. For a long time after its exploration, archaeologists attributed construction of the mound to the Adena culture, which flourished in the Ohio area during the last several centuries BCE. Radiocarbon dates taken from the mound, however, indicate that the people known as Mississippians built it much later.

The mound measures nearly a quarter mile from its open jaw (FIG. 18-33, *top right*), which seems to clasp an oval-shaped mound in its mouth, to its tightly coiled tail (*far left*). Unlike most other ancient mounds—for example, Monk's Mound (FIG. 18-32A) in Cahokia, Illinois—Serpent Mound contained no evidence of burials or temples. Serpents, however, were important in Mississippian iconography, appearing, for instance, etched on shell *gorgets* similar to the one reproduced in FIG. 18-34. The Mississippians strongly associated snakes with the earth and the fertility of crops. A stone figurine found at one Mississippian site depicts a woman digging her hoe into the back of a large serpentine creature whose tail turns into a vine of gourds.

Some researchers have proposed another possible meaning for the construction of Serpent Mound. The suggested date for the mound, based on radiocarbon evidence, is 1070, not long after the brightest appearance in recorded history of Halley's Comet in 1066, an astronomical event recorded on the 11th-century *Bayeux Tapestry* (FIGS. 12-40 and 12-41) as an important omen. Could Serpent Mound have been built in response to the same comet lighting up the North American heavens? Scholars have even suggested that the serpentine form of the mound replicates Halley's Comet streaking across the night sky.

Whatever its meaning, an earthwork as large and elaborate as Serpent Mound could only have been built by a large labor force under the firm direction of a powerful elite eager to leave its mark on the landscape forever.

18-33 Serpent Mound, Ohio, Mississippian, ca. 1070 CE. 1200′ long, 20′ wide, 5′ high.

The Mississippians constructed effigy mounds in the form of animals and birds. This mound seems to depict a serpent. Some scholars, however, think that it replicates the path of Halley's Comet in 1066.

shell *gorget,* or neck pendant, was a favorite item. One example (FIG. 18-34), found at a site in Tennessee, dates from around 1250 to 1300 CE and depicts a running warrior, shown in the same kind of composite profile and frontal view with bent arms and legs used to suggest motion in other ancient cultures (compare, for instance, FIG. 5-16). The Tennessee warrior wears an elaborate headdress incorporating an arrow. He carries a mace in his left hand and a severed human head in his right. On his face is the painted forked eye of a falcon. Most Mississippian gorgets come from burial and temple mounds, and archaeologists believe they were gifts to the dead to ensure their safe arrival and prosperity in the land of the spirits. It is likely, however, that the deceased also wore these gorgets while alive, as status emblems. Other art objects found in similar contexts include fine mica and embossed copper cutouts of hands, bodies, snakes, birds, and other presumably symbolic forms.

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18-34 Incised gorget with running warrior, from Sumner County, Tennessee, Mississippian, ca. 1250–1300 CE. Shell, 4″ wide. National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C.

This neck pendant, once worn in life, was a gift to the dead to ensure safe passage to the afterlife. It represents a running Mississippian warrior holding a mace in one hand and a severed human head in the other.

Southwest

In the Southwest, Native Americans have been producing pottery since the late first millennium BCE, but the most impressive examples of decorated pottery date to after 1000 CE.

Mimbres. The Mimbres culture of southwestern New Mexico, which flourished between approximately 1000 and 1250 CE, is renowned for its black-on-white painted bowls. Mimbres bowls have been found in burials under house floors, inverted over the head of the deceased and ritually "killed" by puncturing a small hole at the base, perhaps to allow the spirits of the deceased to join their ancestors in the sky (which contemporary Southwestern peoples view as a dome). The bowl illustrated here (FIG. 18-35) dates to around 1250 and features an animated graphic rendering of two black cranes on a white ground. The contrast between the bowl's abstract border designs and the birds creates a dynamic tension.

Thousands of different compositions appear on Mimbres pottery. They range from lively and complex geometric patterns to abstract renditions of humans, animals, and composite mythological beings. Almost all are imaginative creations by artists who seem to have been determined not to repeat themselves. Their designs emphasize linear rhythms balanced and controlled within a clearly defined border. Because the potter's wheel was unknown in the Americas, the artists constructed their pots out of coils of clay, creating countless sophisticated shapes of varied size, always characterized by technical excellence. Although historians have no direct knowledge about the potters' identities, the fact that pottery making was usually women's work in the Southwest during the historical period (see "Gender Roles in Native American Art," page 1104) suggests that the Mimbres potters also may have been women.

Ancestral Puebloans. One of the greatest cultures of the American Southwest is the Ancestral Puebloan. Historians formerly called these northern neighbors of the Mimbres the Anasazi. (*Anasazi* means "enemy ancestors" in Navajo, a term the Native American descendants of the Ancestral Puebloans have understandably rejected.)

The Ancestral Puebloans occupied the Four Corners region where the present-day U.S. states of Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico meet. They emerged as an identifiable culture around 200 CE, but their art did not reach its peak until about 1000. The many ruined *pueblos* (urban settlements) scattered throughout the Southwest reveal the Ancestral Puebloans' masterful building skills.

Pueblo Bonito. During the late first and early second millennia CE, the densest Ancestral Puebloan population concentration was in Chaco Canyon in northwestern New Mexico. Chaco Canyon was the hub of an extensive planned network of hundreds of miles of unpaved roads connecting the residents of the canyon with other Native American communities in the Southwest and farther south into Mexico.

In the ninth century, the Ancestral Puebloans began to construct "great houses" in Chaco Canyon, huge complexes of living quarters, storerooms, and ceremonial chambers comparable to

18-35 Bowl with two cranes and geometric forms, from New Mexico, Mimbres, ca. 1250 CE. Painted ceramic, diameter 1′ $\frac{1}{2}$″. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Hugh L. and Mary T. Adams Fund).

Native Americans have been producing pottery for more than 2,000 years, long before the introduction of the potter's wheel. Mimbres bowls feature black-and-white animals and abstract patterns.

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18-36 Pueblo Bonito, Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, Ancestral Puebloan, mid-9th to mid-11th century CE.

Constructed of local sandstone, Pueblo Bonito is a D-shaped "apartment house" with hundreds of rooms in five stories beneath a 100-foot cliff. The large circular rooms are ceremonial centers called kivas.

18-37 Cliff Palace, Mesa Verde National Park, Colorado, Ancestral Puebloan, ca. 1150–1300 CE.

Cliff Palace, wedged into a sheltered ledge to heat the pueblo in winter and shade it during the hot summer months, contains about 200 stone-and-timber rooms plastered inside and out with adobe.

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modern apartment house complexes in function if not in form. The largest of the nine great houses in Chaco Canyon is Pueblo Bonito (Beautiful Town, FIG. 18-36), constructed from the local sandstone between the mid-9th and mid-11th centuries at the base of a 100-foot mesa on the northeastern side of the canyon. Eventually, Pueblo Bonito incorporated 600 to 800 rooms tightly arranged in a semicircular or D-shaped plan aligned to the cardinal points of the compass. In the curved section closest to the cliff wall of the canyon, Pueblo Bonito reached five stories in height.

Most of the rooms are rectilinear, but the builders also constructed more than 30 circular subterranean rooms, or *kivas,* up to 60 feet in diameter. The Ancestral Puebloans entered the kivas using a ladder extending through a hole in the flat roof. These rooms (compare FIG. 36-10) were the spiritual centers of native Southwest life, male council houses where the elders stored ritual regalia and where private rituals and preparations for public ceremonies took place—and still do.

Cliff Palace. Sometime in the late 12th century, a drought occurred, and the Ancestral Puebloans largely abandoned their open canyon-floor dwelling sites to move farther north to the steep-sided canyons and lusher environment of Mesa Verde in southwestern Colorado. Cliff Palace (FIG. 18-37) is wedged into a sheltered ledge above a valley floor. It contains about 200 rectangular rooms (mostly communal dwellings) of carefully laid stone and timber, once plastered inside and out with adobe. Scattered in front of Cliff Palace are about 25 kivas. The location for Cliff Palace was not accidental. The Ancestral Puebloans designed it to take advantage of the sun to heat the pueblo in winter and the sheltering ledge to shade it during the hot summer months.

The Ancestral Puebloans did not disappear but gradually evolved into the various Pueblo peoples who still live in Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. They continue to speak their native languages, practice deeply rooted rituals, and make pottery in the traditional manner. Their art is discussed in Chapter 36.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Native American Cultures before 1300

Mesoamerica

- The Olmec (ca. 1500–400 BCE) was the leading culture of early Mesoamerica. At La Venta and elsewhere, the Olmec built pyramids and ball courts and carved colossal basalt portraits of their rulers during the Preclassic period.
- In contrast to the embryonic civic centers of the Olmec, Teotihuacán in the Valley of Mexico was a huge metropolis laid out on a strict grid plan. Its major pyramids and plazas date to the late Preclassic period (ca. 50–250 CE).
- The Maya occupied parts of Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, and Honduras. During the Classic period (ca. 300–900 CE), at Copán, Tikal, and other sites, they built vast complexes of temple-pyramids, palaces, plazas, and ball courts and decorated them with large-scale sculptures and mural paintings glorifying their rulers and gods. The Maya also left extensive written records and possessed a sophisticated knowledge of astronomy and arithmetic calculation.
- The most famous late Maya site, which bridges the Classic and Postclassic (ca. 900–1521 CE) periods, is Chichén Itzá in the Yucatán Peninsula. It boasts a huge pyramid-temple to Kukulcán and the largest ball court in Mesoamerica.
- The heir to the Olmec culture in the Veracruz plain was the Classic Veracruz (ca. 300–900 CE), whose major site, El Tajín, boasts the Pyramid of the Niches, which incorporates solar symbolism in its form.

Colossal head, La Venta, Olmec, ca. 900–400 BCE

Castillo, Chichén Itzá, Maya, ca. 800–900 CE

South America

- The ancient civilizations of South America are even older than those of Mesoamerica. The earliest Andean sites, such as Caral in Peru, began to develop around 3000 BCE.
- At Chavín de Huántar, archaeologists have excavated U-shaped temple complexes and monumental statues and reliefs dating between about 800 and 200 BCE, during the Early Horizon period.
- The Paracas (ca. 400 BCE–200 CE), Nasca (ca. 200 BCE–600 CE), and Moche (ca. 1–800 CE) cultures of the Early Intermediate period in Peru produced extraordinary textiles, distinctive painted ceramics, and turquoise-inlaid goldwork. The subjects range from composite human-animals to ruler portraits. The largest Peruvian artworks are the Nasca Lines, which may have marked pilgrimage routes.
- The Tiwanaku (ca. 100–1000 CE) and Wari (ca. 500–800 CE) cultures of northern Bolivia and southern Peru flourished during the Middle Horizon period. Tiwanaku is noteworthy for its monumental stone architecture. The Wari produced magnificent tapestries.

Lima Tapestry, Wari, ca. 500–800 CE

North America

- The indigenous cultures of the United States and Canada date as far back as 12,000 BCE, but most of the preserved art objects date from the last 2,000 years. The Eskimo, for example, produced small-scale artworks in ivory beginning in the early first millennium CE, reflecting a nomadic lifestyle requiring portable objects.
- The peoples of the Mississippian culture (ca. 800–1500 CE) were great mound builders. Cahokia in Illinois encompassed about 120 mounds and was the largest city in North America during the early second millennium CE. Serpent Mound in Ohio may commemorate the appearance of Halley's Comet in 1066 CE.
- In the Southwest, Native Americans have been producing pottery for more than 2,000 years. The black-and-white painted bowls of the Mimbres (ca. 1000–1250 CE) are among the finest.
- The Ancestral Puebloans were master builders of pueblos—urban settlements of stone and wood, often plastered with adobe. Pueblo Bonito at Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, had 600 to 800 rooms. Cliff Palace, Colorado, is noteworthy for its sophisticated design, wedged into a sheltered ledge to take advantage of the winter sun and the summer shade.

Serpent Mound, Ohio, Mississippian, ca. 1070 CE

Cliff Palace, Colorado, Ancestral Puebloan, ca. 1150–1300 CE

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◀**19-1a** At the center of the hierarchical composition is a Benin king or chief, who wears an elaborate headdress, multistrand coral necklace, and coral and agate bracelets and anklets—emblems of his high office.

▶**19-1b** Horses have been a symbol of power and wealth in many societies worldwide. The Benin bronze-caster represented the king or chief as a larger-than-life figure who, contrary to nature, dwarfs his steed.

1 in.

▲**19-1c** Flanking the central figure are several attendants whose size varies according to their importance in Benin society. The two largest hold shields over the rider's head, underscoring his elevated status.

19-1 **King or chief mounted sidesaddle on a horse with attendants, from Benin, Nigeria, ca. 1550–1680. Brass, 1′ 7½″ × 1′ 4½″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, gift of Nelson A. Rockefeller).**

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AFRICA BEFORE 1800

19

FRAMING THE ERA

The Art of the Benin Kingdom

African art is as diverse as the continent is vast, and the variety of African artworks makes the study of African art especially fascinating. Africa also boasts some of the most ancient artworks ever found anywhere. Unfortunately, most African paintings and sculptures created before 1800 are hard to date and sometimes difficult to interpret—and what remains may not accurately reflect the range of early African art because much of it was probably fashioned from perishable materials.

The art of the Benin kingdom, just west of the lower reaches of the Niger River in what is today Nigeria (not to be confused with the modern Republic of Benin; see MAP 19-1), is exceptional. The kingdom, most likely established in the 13th century, reached the peak of its wealth and power in the 16th century, and the names and dates of many of the Benin kings have been recorded. Numerous extant artworks can even be confidently associated with specific rulers. As is true in many areas of Africa, Benin kingship was hereditary and considered sacred, and the purpose of the finest preserved Benin artworks was to honor the king, his family, and his ancestors.

The 16th- or 17th-century brass plaque illustrated here (FIG. 19-1) portrays either the king or a high-ranking chief (the headdress he wears is not exclusively royal) riding sidesaddle on a horse flanked by attendants. About a foot-and-a-half tall and almost as wide, the relief is one of hundreds of extant plaques that probably adorned the wood pillars of the main rooms of the Benin palace or another elite residence. This plaque characteristically features a symmetrical, hierarchical composition centered on the king or chief, who wears an elaborate headdress, multistrand coral necklace, and coral and agate bracelets and anklets—emblems of his high office. The artist represented the equestrian figure as a larger-than-life man who, contrary to nature, dwarfs the horse he rides. (Horses have been a symbol of power and wealth in many societies worldwide from prehistory to the present.) The central figure also is disproportionately large compared to his most important attendants. The two largest hold shields over the rider's head, which further underscores his elevated status. Several other figures, including two who seem to float in midair and one almost hidden by the horse, are of smaller size. The sculptor varied the size of each figure in the relief according to his relative importance—what art historians call *hierarchy of scale*—but also enlarged all the heads for emphasis. As in many other cultures, the Benin people considered the head the seat of a person's will and power. Benin men celebrate a festival of the head called Igue, and one of the king's praise names is "great head."

The glorification of kings and chiefs is a persistent theme in African art (see "Art and Leadership in Africa," page 557), but by no means the only one, as the sculptures and paintings examined in this chapter clearly demonstrate.

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AFRICAN PEOPLES AND ART FORMS

Africa (MAP 19-1) is a vast continent of 54 nations comprising more than one-fifth of the world's land mass and many distinct topographical and ecological zones. Parched deserts occupy the northern and southern regions, high mountains rise in the east, and three great rivers—the Niger, the Congo, and the Nile—and their lush valleys support agriculture and large settled populations. More than 2,000 distinct ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups, often but inaccurately called "tribes," have long inhabited the African continent. These population groups historically have ranged in size from a few hundred, in hunting and gathering bands, to 20 million or more. Councils of elders often governed smaller groups, whereas larger populations sometimes formed a centralized state under a king.

MAP 19-1 **Precolonial African peoples and sites.**

AFRICA BEFORE 1800

30,000–1000 BCE

- The oldest paintings in Africa, found in the Apollo 11 Cave in Namibia, date to the Paleolithic period and are among the most ancient artworks known
- Examples of African rock art are common throughout the continent; the earliest are datable ca. 6000–4000 BCE

1000–1 BCE

- The Nok culture produces the oldest preserved African sculptures in the round—hollow-cast terracottas depicting both men and women

1–1500 CE

- Sculptors at Igbo-Ukwu perfect lost-wax bronze-casting
- The markedly different style of sculptures from Ife and from Djenne underscores the regional diversity of African art
- Major Islamic and Christian shrines are erected in Mali and Ethiopia
- Stonemasons construct the Great Zimbabwe royal palace complex

1500–1800

- Benin sculptors produce a wide range of ivories and cast bronzes glorifying the royal family
- The Kuba carve wood statues of seated kings, called ndop
- Sapi artists working for Portuguese patrons produce elaborate ivory salt-cellars, an early example of artistic exchange between Europe and Africa

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Despite this great variety, African peoples have long shared many core beliefs and practices, especially before the spread of Christianity and Islam throughout the continent. These include honoring ancestors, worshiping nature deities, and elevating rulers to sacred status. These beliefs have given rise to many richly expressive art traditions. Some have close equivalents in Western cultures—for example, figural sculpture and sacred and secular architecture. But other art forms, poorly documented until recent times because of their perishable nature and because they did not conform to Western notions of "artworks," also played key roles in African life. These include the art of body decoration and modification, costumes, and masks.

Given the size of the African continent and the diversity of its ethnic groups, it is not surprising that African art varies enormously in subject, materials, and function. The most ancient artworks are rock engravings and paintings depicting animals and rituals, but in the first millennium BCE and the first millennium CE, Africans produced figural sculptures in terracotta, wood, and metal for display in shrines to legendary ancestors and to nature deities held responsible for the health of crops and the well-being of the people. The regalia, art, and architecture of kings and their courts, as elsewhere in the world, celebrate the wealth and power of the rulers themselves (see "The Art of the Benin Kingdom," page 551, and FIG. 19-1). Many African peoples have lavished artistic energy on the decoration of their bodies to express their identity and status, and many communities mount richly layered festivals, including *masquerades* (mask dancing; see "African Masquerades," page 1142), to celebrate harvests and the new year and to commemorate the deaths of leaders.

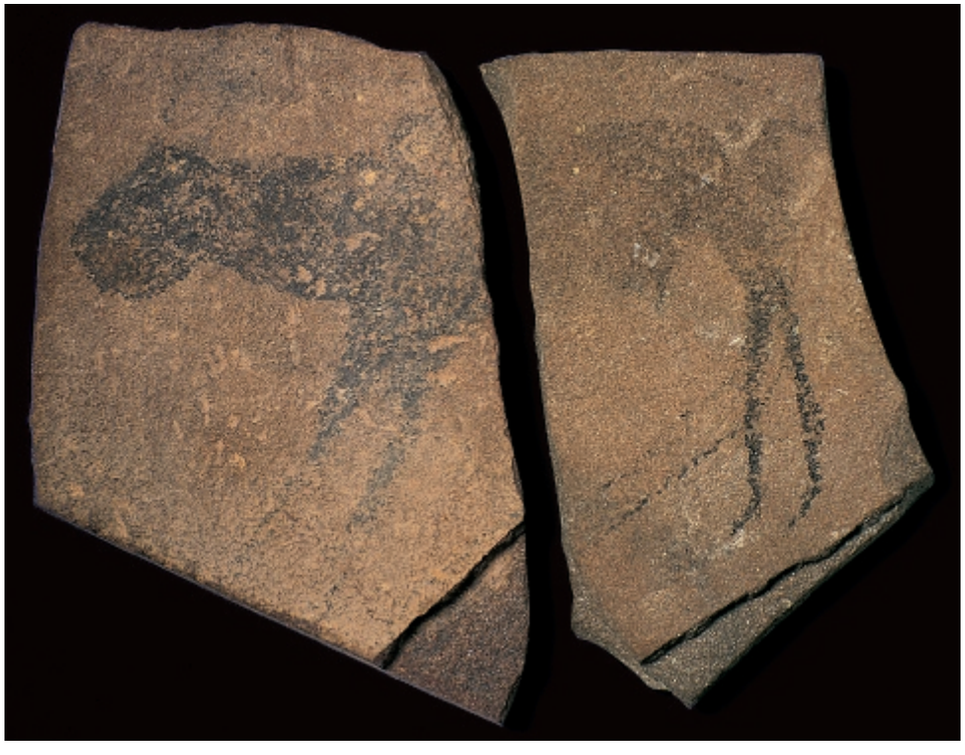
This chapter surveys the early, and often difficult to date, art and architecture of sub-Saharan Africa from prehistoric times through the 18th century (see "Dating African Art and Identifying African Artists," page 554). The discussion includes the effects on Africans and African art of the first contacts with Europeans, which began along the sea coasts in the late 15th century, but excludes the art and architecture of Egypt and of Roman and Islamic North Africa, already treated in Chapters 3, 7, and 10 respectively.

PREHISTORY AND EARLY CULTURES

Thousands of rock engravings and paintings found at hundreds of sites across the continent constitute the earliest known African art. Some painted animals from the Apollo 11 Cave in Namibia in southwestern Africa date to perhaps as long as 30,000 years ago, based on the charcoal remains in the cave. The Apollo 11 paintings are therefore older than all but the earliest *Paleolithic* (Old Stone Age) art of Europe (see "The Dawn of Art," page 15). The example reproduced here (FIG. 19-2) is a fragmentary stone plaque representing what seems to be a feline with human feet. The prehistoric artist characteristically depicted the real or imaginary beast in profile (see "How to Represent an Animal," page 17). Because humankind apparently originated in Africa, archaeologists may yet discover the world's most ancient art there as well.

Rock Art

An enormous chronological gap separates the Apollo 11 plaques from the much more abundant examples of *Neolithic* (New Stone Age) African rock art. The greatest concentrations of rock art are in the Sahara to the north, the Horn of Africa in the east (present-day Somalia), and the Kalahari Desert to the south, as well as in caves and on rock outcroppings in southern Africa (MAP 19-1). Accurately naturalistic renderings as well as stylized images on rock surfaces show not only animals, as in the Paleolithic examples, but also humans in many different positions and activities, singly or in groups, stationary or in motion. Dating is very uncertain, but most of these works were created after ca. 4000 BCE. They provide a rich record of the environment, human activities, and animal species of prehistoric Africa.



19-2 Feline with human feet, from the Apollo 11 Cave, Namibia, ca. 28,000 BCE. Charcoal on stone, 5″ × 4 1/4″. State Museum of Namibia, Windhoek.

One of the oldest artworks ever discovered is this stone plaque with a charcoal painting of what seems to be a feline with human feet. As in all Paleolithic art, the artist depicted the beast in strict profile.

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Dating African Art and Identifying African Artists

Most African objects bear neither labels nor signatures, and consequently it is nearly impossible to date them precisely or to identify their makers definitively. As in Europe, this is especially true for the oldest surviving artworks (FIGS. 19-2 and 19-3), but in Africa the absence of documentary information persisted until quite recently among most of the continent's cultural groups. Early collectors did not even bother to ask the names of living artists or when they made their works, let alone inquire about the makers and dates of older objects. Although a firm chronology for the full range of African arts is currently beyond reach, broad historical trends are reasonably clear. Still, until archaeologists conduct more extensive fieldwork in sub-Saharan Africa, many artworks will remain difficult to date even within a century, and whole cultures will continue to be poorly documented. Some African peoples, however, have left written documents that help date their artworks, even when their methods of measuring time differ from those used today. Other cultures, such as the Benin kingdom (FIGS. I-1, 19-1, 19-14, and 19-14A), preserve detailed oral records of past events that historians generally regard as reliable.

As in medieval and early modern Europe (see "Artists' Guilds, Artistic Commissions, and Artists' Contracts," page 430), when artists are members of craft guilds—such as blacksmiths and brass-casters in Western Sudan—commissions go to the workshop head, and the names of the assistants who worked on the commission are unknown. Nevertheless, art historians can identify individual hands, even within the same workshop, if an artist's work is distinctive. Documentation now exists for several hundred African artists, although most of their names are lost. For some sculptors who worked in the late 19th or early 20th century, however, scholars have been able to compile fairly detailed biographies (see "African Artists," page 1137).

Where documentation on authorship or dating is fragmentary or unavailable, art historians sometimes try to establish chronology from an object's style, although, as discussed in the Introduction, stylistic analysis is a subjective tool. Scientific techniques such as *radiocarbon dating* (measuring the decay rate of carbon isotopes in organic matter to provide dates for wood, fiber, and ivory) and *thermoluminescence* (dating the amounts of radiation found in fired clay objects) have also proved useful, but cannot provide precise dates. Nonetheless, art historians are slowly writing the history of African art, even if large gaps remain to be filled.

One major contemporary problem hindering the compilation of an accurate history of art in Africa is illegal and uncontrolled excavation. By removing artworks from the ground and refusing to reveal their place of origin when sold, treasure hunters disturb or ruin the objects' original contexts and reduce or eliminate the possibility of establishing accurate chronologies. This phenomenon is not unique to Africa, however (see "Cycladic Statuettes," page 87). Archaeologists on all continents confront the problem of looting and the consequent loss of knowledge about the provenance and original function of objects that collectors wish to acquire. The looting of African artworks is the unfortunate result of the worldwide appreciation of African art that began in the early 20th century, when many European artists looked to "primitive" art for inspiration (see "Primitivism and Colonialism," page 897). Nevertheless, funding for scientific excavations in sub-Saharan Africa has been meager compared to the investments that European and American governments, universities, foundations, and wealthy individuals have made in Greco-Roman and other ancient Mediterranean sites.

19-3 Running woman, rock painting, Tassili n'Ajjer, Algeria, ca. 6000–4000 BCE.

Prehistoric rock paintings are difficult to date and interpret. This Algerian example represents a woman with a painted body wearing a raffia skirt and horned headgear, apparently in a ritual context.

Tassili N'ajjer. A Neolithic painting (FIG. 19-3) from Tassili n'Ajjer in southeastern Algeria in the central Sahara is one of the earliest and finest surviving examples of rock art, datable ca. 6000–4000 BCE. In striking contrast to today, in prehistoric times, the Sahara had ample water, rich soil, foliage, and large populations of humans and animals. In the illustrated rock painting, a woman seems to be running, although the artist's intention may have been to show her dancing. In any case, the animation is

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convincing and the degree of detail significant. The dotted marks on her shoulders, legs, and torso probably indicate that she is wearing body paint applied for a ritual. Her face, however, is featureless, a common trait in the earliest art of Europe (FIGS. 1-4, 1-5, and 1-5A) as well as Africa. The white parallel patterns around her arms and waist probably represent flowing raffia decorations and a raffia skirt. (Raffia can no longer be found in the Sahara desert.) Horns are also part of her ceremonial attire, shown, as typically in prehistoric art (FIGS. 1-1, 1-8, and 1-10), in the *twisted perspective,* or *composite view*—that is, seen from the front even though on a profile head. If the woman is dancing and wearing a headdress, this (and other rock paintings from the same and other sites) are evidence that the important African ritual of masquerade is very ancient (see "African Masquerades," page 1142). Notably, the artist painted this detailed image over an earlier field of much smaller painted human beings, an example of why it is often so difficult to date and interpret art on rock surfaces, as subsequent superimpositions are frequent. Nonetheless, scholars have been able to establish a rough chronology for African rock art, an art form that continues to the present day.

Although the precise meaning of most African rock art also remains uncertain, a considerable literature exists describing, analyzing, and interpreting the varied human and animal activities shown, as well as the evidently symbolic, more abstract patterns. The human and humanlike figures may include representations of supernatural beings as well as mortals. Some scholars have, in fact, interpreted the woman from Tassili n'Ajjer as a horned deity rather than a human wearing ceremonial headgear.

Nok

Outside Egypt and neighboring Nubia (MAP 3-1, and FIG. 3-36), the earliest African sculptures in the round have been found at several sites in central Nigeria with a common artistic culture that archaeologists have dubbed the Nok culture, named after the site where these sculptures were first discovered in 1928. Scholars disagree on whether the Nok sites were politically or socially unified, but it is certain that the people of this region lived in villages, engaged in farming, and also knew how to mine and smelt iron ore. Hundreds of sculpted Nok-style human and animal heads, body parts, and figures have been found accidentally during modern tin-mining operations or washed up after especially heavy storms, but unfortunately the original context of none of the finds is known. All, however, can be dated broadly between 500 BCE and 200 CE.

A representative Nok terracotta sculpture (FIG. 19-4) in Houston is a fragment of what was originally a full figure of a woman. Preserved fragments of other statues indicate that the Nok sculptors fashioned a variety of types, including standing, seated, and kneeling figures. As in the much later Benin plaque (FIG. 19-1) and African art in general, the heads are disproportionately large compared with the bodies. The head of the Houston woman has an expressive face with large triangular eyes beneath arched eyebrows, flaring nostrils, parted lips, and a coiffure divided into tufted sections. The pierced pupils, mouth, and ear holes are characteristic of Nok sculpture and served as air vents during the firing process, helping to equalize the heating of the hollow clay figure. The details of strands of hair, the garment, and the bracelets were also added after the figure was formed but before it was fired in the kiln. The function of the Nok terracottas is unclear, but the necklaces and bracelets worn by both male and female figures indicate that most, if not all, of the persons portrayed held elevated positions in Nok society. The gender of the Nok artists is also unknown, but because the primary ceramists and clay sculptors across the continent have traditionally been women, Nok women may have sculpted these heads as well. Men, however, were the carvers of wood and ivory and the metalworkers in Africa (see "Gender Roles in African Art Production," page 1141).

19-4 Fragmentary figure of a woman, from the Jos Plateau region of Nigeria, ca. 500 BCE–200 CE. Terracotta, 1′ 10½″ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (Brown Foundation Accessions Endowment Fund).

The earliest African sculptures in the round come from the Nok culture, which produced hollow-cast terracotta figures. Necklaces and bracelets indicate that the figures represent elite persons.

Lydenburg

Later than the Nok examples are the seven life-size terracotta heads discovered carefully buried in a pit outside Lydenburg in present-day South Africa. Radiocarbon evidence indicates that the heads date to about 500 CE. The Lydenburg head illustrated here

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19-5 Head, from Lydenburg, South Africa, ca. 500 CE. Terracotta, 1′ 2 15/16″ high. IZIKO Museums of Cape Town, Cape Town.

This Lydenburg head resembles an inverted terracotta pot with a small animal perched on top. The sculptor depicted the features by applying thin clay fillets. The scarification marks are probably signs of beauty.

(FIG. 19-5), reconstructed from fragments, has a humanlike form, although its inverted pot shape differs markedly from the more naturalistic Nok heads. The artist formed the eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, as well as the hairline, by applying thin clay fillets onto the head. The same method produced what are probably meant to be *scarification* marks (scars intentionally created to form patterns on the flesh) on the forehead, temples, and between the eyes. Incised linear patterns also adorn the back of the head. (This head is among the earliest artworks documenting the ancient African practice of scarification—which may have been for the insertion of medicines but is usually thought to be a means of beautification—a custom different from, but comparable to, the Polynesian tradition of tattooing bodies; see "Tattoo in Polynesia," page 1125). The horizontal neck bands, with their incised surfaces, resemble the ringed or banded necks that Africans still consider signs of beauty in many parts of the continent. In Africa, it is not uncommon for the human body itself to become a work of art.

Another distinctive feature of this Lydenburg head is that there is a small animal of uncertain species perched atop it (compare FIG. 4-13). In the absence of contemporaneous written documents, researchers can only guess at the use and meaning of a head such as this one. Some scholars have suggested that the largest Lydenburg heads, all of which have small animals on top, may have served as helmet masks and probably had a ceremonial function. But there are no openings in the "mask" for the wearer's eyes, so the masquerade theory is problematic.

Igbo-Ukwu

19-5A Roped water basin, Igbo-Ukwu, 9th to 10th century CE.

By the 9th or 10th century, a West African bronze-casting tradition of great sophistication had developed in the lower Niger area, just east of that great river. Dozens of objects in an intricate refined style have been unearthed at Igbo-Ukwu in Nigeria. The ceramic, copper, bronze, and iron artifacts include basins (FIG. 19-5A), bowls, altar stands, staffs, swords, scabbards, knives, and pendants. In one extraordinary tomb, archaeologists discovered a treasure of prestige objects—copper anklets, armlets, spiral ornaments, a fan handle, and more than 100,000 beads, which may have been used as a form of currency. The burial chamber housing the deceased's remains also contained three elephant tusks, a beaded armlet, a crown, and a bronze leopard's skull. These items are doubtless the regalia of an elite Igbo man, probably either a secular or religious leader (see "Art and Leadership in Africa," page 557). They are the oldest cast-metal objects known from regions south of the Sahara.

Equestrian Fly Whisk. A lost-wax cast-bronze sculpture (FIG. 19-6), one of the earliest yet found in Africa, came from the same grave at Igbo-Ukwu as FIG. 19-5A. It depicts an equestrian figure on a fly-whisk handle. The African artist made the handle using a casting method similar to that documented much earlier in Mesopotamia (FIG. 2-12) and the Mediterranean (see "Hollow-Casting," page 129), but developed independently in Africa. The sculpture's upper section comprises a figure seated on a horse, a symbol of power in West Africa as elsewhere, and the lower part is an elaborately embellished handle with beaded and threadlike patterns. As is common in African art (compare FIG. 19-1), the sculptor intentionally represented the rider as much larger than his steed and also exaggerated the size of the man's head. The prominent facial stripes are another instance of scarification. Here the scars probably are marks of titled status. Similar examples of facial modification could still be found during the late 20th century among elderly elite Igbo-speaking peoples.

11TH TO 18TH CENTURIES

Although kings ruled some African population groups from an early date, the best evidence for royal arts in Africa comes from the several centuries between about 1000 and the beginning of

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ART AND SOCIETY

Art and Leadership in Africa

In Africa, the relationships between leaders and art forms are strong, complex, and universal. Political, spiritual, and social leaders—kings, chiefs, titled people, and religious specialists—have the power and wealth to obtain the services of the best artists and acquire the most costly materials to adorn themselves (FIG. 38-25), furnish their homes and palaces (FIGS. 38-11, 38-12, and 38-12A), and make visible the cultural and religious organizations they lead (FIGS. 19-1 and 38-4). Leaders also possess the power to dispense artworks or the right to own and display them.

A number of formal or structural principles characterize leaders' arts and thus set them off from the popular arts of ordinary Africans. Leaders' arts—for example, the lavish layered regalia of chiefs and kings (FIGS. 19-1 and 19-7)—tend to be durable and fashioned of rare and expensive materials, such as ivory (FIG. 19-14), beads (FIGS. 19-1 and 19-7), copper alloys, and other metals. Some of the objects made specifically for African leaders, such as stools or chairs (FIG. 38-11), ornate clothing (FIG. 38-25), and special weaponry, draw attention to their superior status. Handheld objects—for example, staffs (FIG. I-1), spears, knives, spoons (FIG. 38-10), scepters, pipes, and fly whisks (FIG. 19-6)—extend a leader's reach and magnify his or her gestures. Other objects associated with leaders, such as shields (FIG. 19-1), fans, and umbrellas, protect the leader both physically and spiritually. Sometimes the regalia and implements of an important person are so heavy that they render the leader virtually immobile (FIG. 38-25), suggesting that the temporary holder of an office is less significant than the eternal office itself. In African art, not only do leaders wear and hold the trappings of their high offices, but artists also commonly portrayed them as larger-than-life figures flanked by diminutive attendants (FIGS. I-1 and 19-1) or mounted on undersized horses (FIGS. 19-1 and 19-6). Often the leaders, both male and female, have facial scars (FIGS. 19-6, 19-7A, and 19-14; compare FIG. 38-23) denoting their elevated status in society.

Although leaders' arts are easy to recognize in centralized, hierarchical societies, such as the Benin kingdom (FIGS. I-1, 19-1, 19-14, and 38-4), leaders among less centralized peoples have been no less conversant with the power of art to move people and effect change. For example, African leaders often oversee religious rituals in which they may be less visible than the forms they commission and manipulate: shrines, altars, festivals, and rites of passage such as funerals, the last being especially elaborate and festive in many parts of Africa. The arts that leaders control thus help create pageantry, mystery, and spectacle (see "African Masquerades," page 1142), enriching and changing the lives of the people.

19-6 Equestrian figure on fly-whisk hilt, from Igbo-Ukwu, Nigeria, 9th to 10th century CE. Copper-alloy bronze, figure 6 $\frac{3}{16}$″ high. National Museum, Lagos.

Among the oldest African lost-wax cast bronzes is this fly-whisk hilt, which a leader used to extend his reach and magnify his gestures. The artist exaggerated the size of the ruler compared with his steed.

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European colonization in the 19th century.* During this period, Africans also constructed major houses of worship for the religions of Christianity and Islam, both of which originated in the Middle East but quickly gained adherents south of the Sahara.

Ife

Africans have long considered Ife, about 200 miles west of Igbo-Ukwu in southwestern Nigeria, the cradle of Yoruba civilization, the place where the gods Oduduwa and Obatala created the earth and its peoples. Tradition also names Oduduwa the first *oni* ("ruler" or "king") of Ife and the ancestor of all Yoruba kings.

Royal Portraits. Ife artists often portrayed their sacred kings in sculpture. One of the most impressive examples is a statuette (FIG. 19-7) of an Ife oni, cast in a zinc-brass alloy, datable to the 11th or 12th century. This and many similar representations of Ife rulers—for example, a 12th- or 13th-century head (FIG. 19-7A) found in the Wunmonije palace complex—are exceptional in

*From this point on, all dates in this chapter are CE unless otherwise stated.

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Ife Ruler Portraiture

Just after the turn of the 19th century, the German anthropologist Leo Frobenius (1873–1938) "discovered" the sculpture of ancient Ife in the Lower Niger River region. Because of the refinement and naturalism of the statues and heads he saw, Frobenius could not believe that these sculptures were the work of local artists. As did most Europeans at that time, Frobenius had preconceived notions about the "primitive" nature of African art. Consequently, he attributed the Ife sculptures to ancient Greek artists. Other scholars traced the Ife works to ancient Egypt, along with patterns of sacred kingship they also believed originated several thousand miles away in the Nile Valley. But excavations in and around ancient Ife, especially near the king's palace, which stood at the center of the circular settlement, have conclusively established that ancient Nigerian sculptors were indeed the artists who made the extraordinary sculptures in stone, terracotta, and copper alloys found at Ife. Radiocarbon dating places these works as early as the 11th or 12th century. Most of the finds date to what archaeologists have dubbed the "Pavement Era" of the 12th to 14th centuries, when the Yoruba paved several rectangular areas of their capital at Ife with bricklike ceramic pieces. These paved precincts were probably ritual centers where the Yoruba displayed the images of their deceased rulers on altars. The sculptures served the kings in ceremonies of installation, in funerals, and in annual festivals reaffirming the sacred power of the ruler and the allegiance of his people.

1 in.

19-7 King, from Ita Yemoo (Ife), Nigeria, 11th or 12th century. Zinc-brass, 1′ 6½″ high. Museum of Ife Antiquities, Ife.

Unlike most African sculptures, this royal figure has a naturalistically modeled torso and facial features approaching portraiture. The head, however, as the essence of being, is disproportionately large.

As is the case with the full-length portrait of the king illustrated here (FIG. **19-7**) and the head (FIG. **19-7A**) from the royal palace complex, the Ife sculptors usually modeled both heads and bodies in a strikingly naturalistic manner, apart from blemishes or signs of age, which they intentionally omitted. Thus Ife style is lifelike but at the same time idealized. The artists portrayed most people as young adults in the prime of life and without any disfiguring warts or wrinkles. Some life-size heads, although still idealized, take naturalism so far as to give the impression of being individual portraits. Several of the Ife heads have small holes above the forehead (FIG. 19-7A) and around the lips and jaw, and were found with black beads. The perforations and beads suggest that the heads once had beaded crowns with veils and perhaps human hair as well. Elaborate beadwork, a Yoruba royal prerogative, is also a key feature of the Ife royal statuette illustrated here (FIG. 19-7).

19-7A Head of a king, Ife, 12th or 13th century CE.

The terracotta and copper-alloy heads, body parts and fragments, animals, and ritual vessels from Ife attest to a remarkable period of African art during which sensitive, meticulously rendered idealized naturalism prevailed. To this day, works in this style stand in vivid contrast to the vast majority of African objects, which show the human figure in many different, quite strongly conventionalized styles. Diversity of style in the art of a continent as vast and ancient as Africa should surprise no one, however.

Africa because of the naturalistic recording of facial features and fleshy anatomy (see "Ife Ruler Portraiture," above). The naturalism does not extend to body proportions, however. The heads of the Ife rulers, for example, are disproportionately large compared to their bodies. For modern Yoruba, the head is the seat of an individual's destiny and the object of sacrifices, and these ideas probably developed at least 800 years ago, accounting for the emphasis on the head in Ife statuary. In the statuette illustrated here (FIG. 19-7), the artist also took great care to indicate the man's status as a sacred ruler by precisely reproducing the details of the king's heavily beaded costume, crown, and jewelry.

Often thought to be the work of a sculptor from Ife is a magnificent but problematic copper figure of a seated man (see "The Seated Man from Tada," page 559).

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A SECOND OPINION

The Seated Man from Tada

One of the masterpieces of early African sculpture is a statuette of a seated man (FIG. 19-8) found in a shrine about 120 miles from Ife on the banks of the Niger River near the small Nupe village of Tada. The work testifies to the extraordinary expertise of the foundry worker who made it, because the material is almost pure copper, which is extremely difficult to cast, even in separate smaller pieces, as is the case with this statuette. The man wears a thin cap on his head and has a patterned textile wrapper around his waist, which falls over his thighs and is tied at his left hip. The lower parts of both arms and the right leg are broken off, but it is clear that the figure originally sat on a low round stool, probably of stone. The statuette is very unlikely to have been manufactured in this remote village, and local oral history says that the work was brought from elsewhere—stolen from Idah, the capital of the Igala people, by the hero Tsoede, who founded the Nupe kingdom in the late 15th or early 16th century.

Many scholars have attributed the Tada seated man to an Ife metalworker because of its superficial similarity to the naturalistic style of Ife statuary (FIGS. 19-7 and 19-7A). However, the Tada figure differs from Ife statuettes not only in being cast in copper but also in its relaxed, asymmetrical pose and the more natural proportional relationship between head and body. The copper statue may therefore attest to an otherwise undocumented independent artistic center contemporaneous with the bronze workshops of Ife. Ife may have been only one of several stylistically related regional workshops. Discoveries such as this one are reminders that the record of early African art is very incomplete.

19-8 Seated man, from Tada, Nigeria, late 13th or early 14th century. Copper, 1′ 9 1/8″ high. National Museum, Lagos.

Although stylistically related to the naturalistic zinc-brass sculptures of Ife, this unique copper seated figure, found 120 miles away, may be the product of a distinct regional workshop.

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Djenne and Lalibela

The inland floodplain of the Niger River was for the African continent a kind of "fertile crescent" analogous to ancient Mesopotamia (see "Mesopotamia," page 34). By about 800, a walled town, Djenne in present-day Mali, had been built on high ground left dry during the flooding season. At this site, strategically situated on the important trans-Saharan trade route along the Niger River, archaeologists have uncovered evidence of many specialist workshops of blacksmiths, sculptors, potters, and other artisans.

Djenne Terracottas. Hundreds of sensitively modeled terracotta sculptures, most dating to between 1100 and 1500, have been found at numerous sites in the Djenne region. Production tapered off sharply, however, with the arrival of Islam, whose adherents shunned figural art in religious contexts. Unfortunately, as is true of the Nok terracottas, the vast majority of the known Djenne sculptures came from illegal excavations, and all contextual information about them has been destroyed. The subject matter includes male and female couples, people with what some scholars interpret as lesions and swellings, and snake-entwined figures. The Djenne sculptors depicted the human figures in a variety of postures—seated, reclining, kneeling, standing, and on horseback. Some are warriors. Others wear elaborate jewelry, but many are without adornment or attributes. The range of subjects and postures is extraordinary at this date.

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19-9 Archer, from Djenne, Mali, 13th to 15th century. Terracotta, 2′ $\frac{3}{8}$″ high. National Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C.

Djenne terracottas present a striking contrast to statues from Ife. This archer is thin, with tubular limbs and an elongated head featuring a prominent chin, bulging eyes, and large nose.

The terracotta figure illustrated here (FIG. 19-9) dates to the 13th to 15th century and represents a Djenne warrior with a quiver of arrows on his back and knives strapped to his left arm. The proportions of the figure present a striking contrast to those from Ife and Tada (FIGS. 19-7 and 19-8)—thin and tall with tubular limbs and an elongated head with a prominent chin, bulging eyes, and large nose, distinctive features of the Djenne style, which characterizes the figural art of this region even today.

Great Mosque, Djenne. One of the most ambitious examples of *adobe* (sun-dried mud-brick) architecture in the world is Djenne's Great Mosque (FIG. 19-10), originally built in the 13th century by the first Djenne king to convert to Islam, and reconstructed in 1906–1907. (The mosque had been razed in 1830 by a Muslim ruler who judged its size and lavish decoration to be offensive to the tenets of his faith.) The mosque has a large courtyard in front of a roofed prayer hall, emulating the plan of many of the oldest mosques known (see "The Mosque," page 299)—for example, the Great Mosques at Damascus (FIG. 10-5) in Syria and at Kairouan (FIG. 10-7) in Tunisia. Djenne's *qibla* wall faces Mecca, as do all qibla walls, but the mosque's facade is unlike that of any other Islamic shrine. It features soaring adobe towers and vertical buttresses resembling engaged columns that produce a majestic rhythm. The many rows of protruding wood beams further enliven the walls but also serve a practical function as perches for workers undertaking the essential recoating of sacred clay on the exterior that occurs during an annual festival.

Lalibela. Many early African cultures maintained trade networks that sometimes extended well beyond the continent and as far away as China, centuries before the first sustained contact

19-10 Aerial view of the Great Mosque (looking northwest), Djenne, Mali, constructed in the 13th century, razed in 1830, and rebuilt in 1906–1907.

The Great Mosque at Djenne resembles Middle Eastern mosques in plan (large courtyard in front of a roofed prayer hall), but the construction materials—adobe and wood—are distinctly African.

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King Lalibela's New Jerusalem in Ethiopia

Christianity arrived in Ethiopia in the early fourth century, when the region was part of the indigenous Aksum Empire. In the early 13th century, King Lalibela (r. 1181–1221) of the Zagwe dynasty, which had conquered Aksum, eagerly embraced Christianity. He decided to transform his capital city of Roha (renamed Lalibela in his honor after his death), situated in the highlands south of the former Aksum capital, into a "New Jerusalem," a pilgrimage site for Ethiopian Christians, which it still is today. He built 11 churches in all—or, more accurately, he commissioned stonemasons and sculptors to cut the churches out of the bedrock of Roha. To solve the problem of access to the churches by the pilgrims whom Lalibela wished to attract to his Jerusalem, he also directed the stonemasons to link the 11 churches by tunnels and walkways below ground level.

Not the largest but probably the latest and in many ways the most interesting of these rock-cut churches is Beta Giorghis (FIG. 19-11), the Church of Saint George, which Lalibela's stonemasons cut out of the red tufa in the form of a *Greek cross* (a cross with four arms of equal length), revealing a familiarity with contemporaneous Byzantine architecture (FIG. 9-22). About 43 feet tall, the structure has a 40-by-40-foot Greek cross sculpted in relief on the roof, underscoring the sacred shape of the church. Inside, after cutting their way in through the windows, the stonemasons hollowed out a hemispherical dome beneath the cruciform roof. Carving from the bedrock as grandiose a structure as Beta Giorghis, with all its details, required careful planning and highly skilled labor. The volcanic bedrock is soft and easily worked, but the designer had to visualize all aspects of the complete structure before the work began because there was no possibility of revision or correction.

Rock-cut buildings are rare but well documented in Egypt, Jordan, and India (see, for example, FIGS. 3-23, 7-53, 15-15A, and 15-23A). Scholars debate which of these sources may have served as models for the Lalibela churches. Whatever the models, the Ethiopian designs are among the most complex in the world. They are testaments both to the ambitious vision of King Lalibela and to the skill of his stonemasons and sculptors.

19-11 Beta Giorghis (Church of Saint George, looking northwest), Lalibela, Ethiopia, ca. 1220.

The Christian king Lalibela sought to build a New Jerusalem in Ethiopia for pilgrims. The rock-cut church of Saint George emulates Byzantine models and has a Greek-cross plan and internal dome.

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with Europeans. The exchange of goods also brought an exchange of artistic ideas and forms. One striking example is Lalibela in the rugged highlands of present-day Ethiopia, where land travel is difficult (see "King Lalibela's New Jerusalem in Ethiopia," above).

Great Zimbabwe

Many of the earliest artworks found in Africa come from the southern part of the continent (for example, FIG. 19-2). The most famous southern African site is a complex of stone ruins at the large southeastern political center called Great Zimbabwe. First occupied in the 11th century, the site features walled enclosures and towers dating from about the late 13th to the middle of the 15th century. (In Shona, the local language today, *Zimbabwe* means "stone houses.") At that time, the Great Zimbabwe Empire had a wide trade network. Finds of beads and porcelain pottery from Mesopotamia and China, along with copper, gold, and ivory objects, underscore that Great Zimbabwe was a prosperous trade center long before Europeans began their coastal voyaging in the late 15th century.

Great Enclosure. Great Zimbabwe was a royal residence with special areas for the ruler, his wives, and nobles, including an open court for ceremonial gatherings (the royal hill complex). At the peak of the empire's power, as many as 18,000 people may have lived in the surrounding area, with most of the commoners residing outside the enclosed complex reserved for royalty. Although the habitations themselves have not survived, the walls of the enclosures remain. They are unusual for their size and the excellence of their stonework, which consists of regularly shaped blocks laid in courses without mortar or any other binding material. The royal complex

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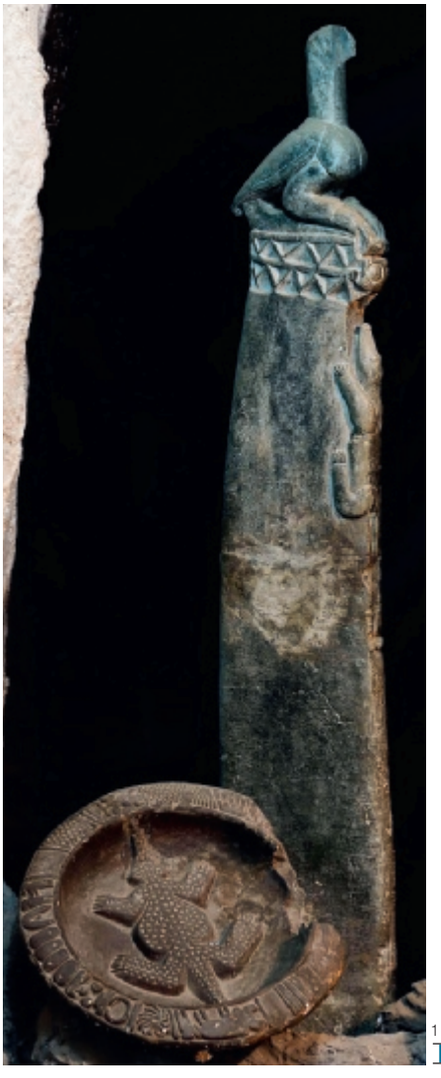
19-12 Walls and tower, Great Enclosure (looking north), Great Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, 14th century.

The Great Zimbabwe Empire in southern Africa had a trade network that extended to Mesopotamia and China. Stone walls up to 32 feet high and conical towers enclosed the royal residence.

known as the Great Enclosure (FIG. 19-12) has a perimeter more than 800 feet long. Some sections are 32 feet tall and 17 feet thick in the lowest courses. The Great Enclosure houses one large and several small conical, towerlike stone structures, which some archaeologists have interpreted symbolically as masculine (large) and feminine (small) forms, but their precise significance is unknown. The form of the large tower suggests a granary. Grain bins were symbols of royal power and generosity, as the ruler received tribute in grain and dispensed it to the people in times of need, a social service with parallels in many civilizations—for example, the ancient Roman Empire—that also legitimized the ruler's authority.

Soapstone Monoliths. Explorations at Great Zimbabwe have yielded eight soapstone *monoliths* (sculptures carved from a single block of stone). Seven came from the royal hill complex and probably stood in shrines to ancestors. The eighth monolith (FIG. 19-13), found in an area now considered the ancestral shrine of the ruler's first wife, stands several feet tall. Some have interpreted the bird at the top as symbolizing the king or his ancestors. (Ancestral spirits among the present-day Shona-speaking peoples of the area take the form of birds, especially eagles, believed to communicate between the sky and the earth.) The crocodile on the front of the monolith may represent the wife's elder male ancestors. The circles beneath the bird are called "eyes of the crocodile" in Shona and may symbolically represent elder female ancestors. The double- and single-chevron motifs may stand for young male and young female ancestors, respectively. The bird seems to be a bird of prey, such as an eagle, but this and other bird sculptures from the site have feet with five humanlike toes, rather than an eagle's three-toed talons. The Great Zimbabwe birds are of no known species, and some scholars have speculated that the five-toed bird and the crocodile symbolize previous rulers who would have acted as messengers between the living and the dead, as well as between the sky and the earth.



19-13 Monolith with bird and crocodile, from Great Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, 15th century. Soapstone, bird 1′ 2½″ high. Great Zimbabwe Site Museum, Great Zimbabwe.

This soapstone monolith was found in the ancestral shrine of a Great Zimbabwe ruler's wife. The bird and crocodile may symbolize previous rulers who act as messengers between the living and dead.

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Benin

According to oral tradition, the first Benin king in the 13th century was the grandson of an Ife king. Benin reached its greatest power and geographical extent in the 16th century. The kingdom's slow decline thereafter culminated in 1897, when the British burned and sacked the Benin palace and city. Benin City thrives today, however, and the palace, where the Benin *oba* (king) continues to live, has been partially rebuilt. In addition to expertly cast copper-alloy sculptures (FIGS. I-1 and 19-1), Benin artists have produced sophisticated artworks in ivory, coral, wood, ceramic, and wrought iron. The hereditary oba and his court still use and dispense art objects as royal favors to title holders and other chiefs (see "Art and Leadership," page 557).

Queen Mother Idia. Among the masterworks of Benin art are the royal plaque (FIG. 19-1) already discussed and the altar (FIG. I-1) honoring Oba Eresonyen (r. ca. 1735–1750) treated in the Introduction, both fashioned of brass. A third is the extraordinary ivory pendant (FIG. 19-14), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, portraying Idia, the mother of Oba Esigie (r. ca. 1504–1550), under whom the Benin kingdom enjoyed great prosperity and expanded through a flourishing trade with the Portuguese. A nearly identical pendant, fashioned from the same piece of ivory, is in the British Museum. Idia had helped her son in warfare, and in return Esigie created for her the title of *iy'oba* (queen mother) and built her a separate palace and court. He and his successors also set up altars to their mothers on which they displayed bronze portraits of them (for example, FIG. 19-14A)—all the more remarkable because the queen mother and her maids are the only women depicted in Benin art, whereas women are common subjects in the art of other African cultures. Esigie probably wore the pair of ivory pendants at his waist, making his mother's face an integral part of his own identity.

19-14A
Head of a queen mother, Benin, ca. 1520–1550.

Both portraits are remarkable for their sensitive naturalism. On the queen mother's crown are alternating bearded Portuguese heads and mudfish, symbolic references respectively to Benin's trade and diplomatic relationships with the Portuguese and to Olokun, god of the sea, wealth, and creativity. The mudfish, equally at home on land and in the sea, also symbolized the dual human/divine aspect of the ruler. Another series of Portuguese heads adorns the lower part of the carving. In the late 15th and 16th centuries, the Benin people probably associated the Portuguese—with their large ships from across the sea, their powerful weapons, and their wealth in metals, cloth, and other goods—with Olokun, the deity they deemed responsible for abundance and prosperity.

1 in.

19-14 **Waist pendant of Queen Mother Idia, from Benin, Nigeria, ca. 1520. Ivory and iron, 9 3/8″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, gift of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1972).**

This head portraying Idia, mother of Oba Esigie, is one of a pair of ivory pendants worn on the king's waist. Above Idia's head are Portuguese heads and mudfish, symbols of trade and of the sea god Olokun.

Kuba

Most of the objects examined thus far come from western or southern Africa. Fewer early artworks have survived from the densely wooded areas of central Africa, where the climate is not conducive to the preservation of the materials most commonly used by African artists. Notable exceptions are the carved wood royal portrait figures (*ndop*) of Kuba kings from the Democratic Republic of Congo.

1 in.

Shyaam Ambul Angoong. The founder of the Kuba Bushoong royal line was Shyaam aMbul aNgoong (Shyaam "the Great"), who lived around 1625. The ndop portrait of Shyaam illustrated here (FIG. 19-15)

19-15 **Ndop of the Kuba king Shyaam aMbul aNgoong, from Democratic Republic of Congo, ca. 1760–1780. Wood, 1′ 9 1/2″ high. British Museum, London.**

Among the oldest known African wood sculptures are the ndop portraits of seated Kuba kings. Shyaam aMbul aNgoong, who wears the distinctive Kuba crown with visor, founded the Bushoong dynasty.

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is, however, like all the other known Kuba portraits of this type, an idealized posthumous representation of the king (*nyim*) in the prime of life, intended to capture his spirit rather than his individual likeness. The Kuba kept the ndop portraits in a shrine in the women's quarters of the palace. They rubbed the statuettes with oil, which produced a glowing reddish surface symbolizing the king's magical powers. When one of the Kuba women was about to give birth, they placed the ndop near her to ensure a successful delivery.

The surviving ndop figures all date to the second half of the 18th century. They may be replacements for earlier images of the Kuba rulers and are testimonials to the strength of Kuba oral history, which preserved the names of kings who died more than a century before. The ndop are among the oldest preserved wood sculptures from Africa. All of them depict the king seated cross-legged on a plinth with an identifying emblem between his legs. Shyaam's is a board game, which he is said to have introduced to his people. He holds a sword in his left hand and wears a sash and armbands. On his head is the distinctive Bushoong visor crown.

Sapi

Between 1490 and 1540, some peoples on the Atlantic coast of Africa in present-day Sierra Leone, whom the Portuguese collectively called the Sapi, created art not only for themselves but also for Portuguese explorers and traders, who brought the objects back to Europe.

Sapi Saltcellars. The Portuguese commissions included delicate spoons, forks, and elaborate containers usually referred to as *saltcellars,* as well as boxes, hunting horns, and knife handles. Salt was a valuable commodity, used both as a flavoring and as a food preservative. Costly saltcellars were prestige items that graced the tables of the European elite (compare FIG. 22-45). Sapi sculptors meticulously carved the saltcellars from elephant tusk ivory, which was plentiful in those early days and was one of the coveted exports in the early West and Central African trade with Europe. The ivories the Sapi produced for export are a fascinating hybrid art form. Characterized by refined detail and careful finish, they are the earliest examples of African tourist art.

Art historians have attributed the saltcellar shown here (FIG. 19-16), almost 17 inches high, to the MASTER OF THE SYMBOLIC EXECUTION, one of the three major Sapi ivory carvers during the period. This saltcellar, which depicts an execution scene, is one of the artist's best pieces and the source of the assigned name. A kneeling figure with a shield in one hand holds an ax (restored) in the other hand over another seated figure about to lose his head. On the ground before the executioner, six severed heads grimly testify to the executioner's power. A double zigzag line separates the lid of the globular container from the rest of the vessel. This vessel rests in turn on a circular platform held up by slender rods adorned with crocodile images. Two male and two female figures sit between these rods, grasping them. The executioner and the other men wear European-style pants and have long, straight hair. They are Portuguese, whereas the women, who wear skirts but have bare breasts and display elaborate decorative scars on their chests, are Africans.

The European components of this saltcellar are the overall design of a spherical container on a pedestal and some of the geometric patterning on the base and the sphere, as well as certain elements of dress, such as the shirts and hats. Distinctly African are the style of the human heads and figures and their proportions, the latter skewed here to emphasize the head, as so often seen in African art. Identical large noses with flaring nostrils, as well as the conventions for rendering eyes and lips, characterize Sapi stone figures from the same region and period. In fact, the sculptor made no distinction between the facial traits and proportions of the Europeans and the Africans. Scholars do not know whether it was the African carver or the European patron who specified the subject matter and the configurations of various parts, but the Sapi works testify to a fruitful artistic interaction between Africans and Europeans during the early 16th century.

Artistic exchanges between Europe and Africa became much more common in the late 19th and especially the 20th centuries. These developments and the continuing vitality of the native arts in Africa are examined in Chapter 38. Contemporary African art in its global context is discussed in Chapter 32.

19-16 MASTER OF THE SYMBOLIC EXECUTION, saltcellar, Sapi-Portuguese, from Sierra Leone, ca. 1490–1540. Ivory, 1′ $4\frac{7}{8}$″ high. Museo Nazionale Preistorico e Etnografico Luigi Pigorini, Rome.

The Sapi exported saltcellars combining African and Portuguese traits. This one represents an execution scene with an African-featured man wearing European pants seated among severed heads.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Africa before 1800

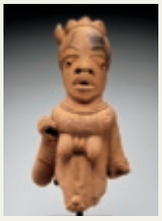
Prehistory ca. 30,000–1000 BCE

- Humankind apparently originated in Africa, and some of the oldest known Paleolithic artworks, datable ca. 28,000 BCE, come from the Apollo 11 Cave in Namibia in southwestern Africa.
- Most examples of African rock art, however, date to the Neolithic era. Some of the oldest, ca. 6000–4000 BCE, are at Tassili n'Ajjer in Algeria in northwestern Africa.

Running woman, Tassili n'Ajjer, ca. 6000–4000 BCE

Early Cultures ca. 1000 BCE–1000 CE

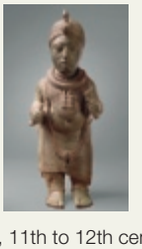
- The Nok culture of central Nigeria produced the oldest African examples of sculpture in the round between 500 BCE and 200 CE. The pierced eyes, noses, and mouths served as air vents, helping to equalize the heat during the firing process.
- Archaeologists have uncovered life-size terracotta heads datable around 500 CE at Lydenburg in South Africa.
- The earliest examples of African bronze-casting using the lost-wax method are the 9th- or 10th-century CE sculptures found at Igbo-Ukwu (Nigeria).



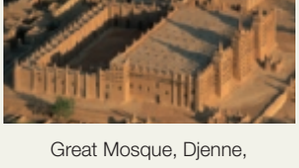
Nok terracotta woman, ca. 500 BCE–200 CE

11th to 15th Centuries

- The sculptors of Ife (Nigeria) fashioned cast zinc-bronze images of their kings in an unusually naturalistic style during the 11th and 12th centuries, but the heads of the figures are disproportionately large, as in most African artworks.
- The terracotta sculptures of Djenne (Mali), datable about 1100–1500, encompass an extraordinary variety of subjects, including warriors and equestrian figures. They display a distinctive style featuring tubular limbs and elongated heads.
- In northern Africa, converts to Islam and Christianity constructed major religious shrines that emulated foreign models but employed different building materials and methods—for example, the adobe Great Mosque at Djenne and the rock-cut church of Beta Giorghis (Saint George) at Lalibela (Ethiopia), which reveals a familiarity with Byzantine architecture.
- In southern Africa, the Great Zimbabwe Empire conducted prosperous trade with Mesopotamia and China long before the first contact with Europeans. A stone wall circuit 800 feet long with conical towers enclosed the royal palace complex.



Ife king, 11th to 12th centuries



Great Mosque, Djenne, 13th century and later

16th to 18th Centuries

- The Benin kingdom in the Lower Niger region, probably founded in the 13th century, reached its zenith in the 16th century. Benin sculptors excelled in ivory carving and bronze-casting, producing artworks that glorified the royal family.
- Among the oldest preserved wood sculptures from Africa are the seated portraits of Kuba kings.
- An early example of the interaction between African artists and European patrons is the series of Sapi ivory saltcellars from Sierra Leone datable between 1490 and 1540.

Benin king or chief on horseback, ca. 1550–1680

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◀**20-1a** Many details have symbolic meaning. The armrest depicting Adam, Eve, and the serpent reminded viewers that Mary is the new Eve and Christ the new Adam who will redeem humanity from Original Sin.

1 ft.

20-1 **Rogier van der Weyden, *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin,* ca. 1435–1440. Oil and tempera on wood, 4′ 6⅛″ × 3′ 7⅝″. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Lee Higginson).**

▲**20-1b** The Virgin Mary has invited Saint Luke to paint her portrait in her elegant home—the type that wealthy 15th-century Flemish merchants owned. In the background is a view of a typical Flemish town.

▲**20-1c** Probably commissioned by the painters' guild in Brussels, *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* honors the first Christian artist and the profession of painting. Luke may be a self-portrait of Rogier van der Weyden.

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LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY RENAISSANCE NORTHERN EUROPE

20

FRAMING THE ERA

Rogier van der Weyden and Saint Luke

In the 15th century, Flanders—a region corresponding to what is today Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and part of northern France (MAP 20-1)—enjoyed widespread prosperity. Successful merchants and craft guilds joined the clergy and royalty in commissioning artists to produce works for both public and private venues. Especially popular were paintings prepared using the recently perfected medium of oil-based pigments, which soon became the favored painting medium throughout Europe.

One of the early masters of oil painting was ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN (ca. 1400–1464) of Tournai in present-day Belgium. Rogier made Brussels his home in 1435 and soon thereafter painted *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (FIG. 20-1), probably for the city's artists' *guild,* the Guild of Saint Luke. Luke was the patron saint of artists because legend said he had painted a portrait of the Virgin Mary (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). Rogier's subject was therefore perfectly suited for the headquarters of a painters' guild. It shows Luke (his identifying attribute, the ox, is at the right; see "The Four Evangelists," page 331) at work in the kind of private residence that wealthy Flemish merchants of this era owned. Mary has miraculously appeared before Luke and invited him to paint her portrait as she nurses her son. The saint begins the process by making a preliminary drawing, the same process Rogier himself would have used when he began this commission. The painting thus not only honors Luke but also pays tribute to the profession of painting in Flanders (see "The Artist's Profession in Flanders," page 580) by documenting the preparatory work required before artists can begin painting the figures and setting.

The subject also draws attention to the venerable history of portrait painting. A rare genre during the Middle Ages, portraiture became a major source of income for Flemish artists, and Rogier was one of the best portrait painters (FIG. 20-12A) in Flanders. In fact, some scholars have suggested that Rogier's Saint Luke is a self-portrait, identifying the painter with the first Christian artist and underscoring the holy nature of painting. *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* is also emblematic of 15th-century Flemish painting in aiming to record every detail of a scene with loving fidelity to optical appearance, seen here in the rich fabrics, the patterned floor, and the landscape visible through the window. Also characteristic of Flemish art is the imbuing of many of the painting's details with symbolic significance. For example, the carved armrest of the Virgin's bench depicts Adam, Eve, and the serpent, reminding the viewer that Mary is the new Eve and Christ the new Adam who will redeem humanity from Adam and Eve's Original Sin.

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NORTHERN EUROPE IN THE 15TH CENTURY

As the 15th century opened, Rome and Avignon were still the official seats of two competing popes (see "The Great Schism," page 423), and the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) between France and England still raged. The general European movement toward centralized royal governments, begun in the 12th century, continued apace, with a corresponding waning of *feudalism*. A rising merchant class, whose success depended on individual effort and talent instead of inherited nobility, spawned a new economic system—the early stage of European capitalism. In response to the financial requirements of trade, new credit and exchange systems created a network of enterprising European cities. Trade in money accompanied trade in commodities, and the former financed industry. Both were in the hands of international banking companies, such as those of Jacques Coeur in Bourges (FIG. 13-31) and the Medici in Florence (see "The Medici," page 593). In 1460, Flemish entrepreneurs established the first international commercial stock exchange in Antwerp. In fact, the French word for stock market (*bourse*) comes from the name of the van der Beurse family of Bruges, the wealthiest city in 15th-century Flanders.

Art also thrived in northern Europe during this time, under royal, ducal, church, and private patronage. Two developments in particular were of special significance: the adoption by Rogier van der Weyden (FIG. 20-1) and his contemporaries of oil-based pigment as the preferred medium for painting, and the blossoming of printmaking as a major art form, which followed Johannes Gutenberg's invention of moveable type and the printing press. These new media had a dramatic influence on artistic production both north and south of the Alps.

THE FRENCH DUCAL COURTS

In the 15th century, Flanders was not an independent state but a region under the control of the duke of Burgundy, the ruler of the fertile east-central region of France still famous for its wines (MAP 20-1). Duke Philip the Bold (r. 1363–1404) was one of four

MAP 20-1 France, the duchy of Burgundy, and the Holy Roman Empire in 1477.

LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY RENAISSANCE NORTHERN EUROPE

1395–1425

- Claus Sluter carves life-size statues of biblical figures with portraitlike features, and Jacques de Baerze and Melchior Broederlam carve and paint the *Retable de Champmol* for Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy
- The Limbourg brothers expand the illusionistic capabilities of manuscript illumination for Jean, duke of Berry

1425–1450

- In Flanders, Robert Campin, Jan van Eyck, and Rogier van der Weyden use oil paints to record the exact surface appearance of objects, fabrics, and faces
- Flemish painters establish portraiture as a major art form
- German graphic artists pioneer woodcut printing, making art affordable to the masses

1450–1475

- The second generation of Flemish master painters—Petrus Christus, Dieric Bouts, and Hugo van der Goes—continues to use oil paints for altarpieces featuring naturalistic representations of religious themes
- In Germany, Johannes Gutenberg invents moveable type and prints the first Bibles on a letterpress

1475–1500

- In Flanders, Hans Memling specializes in paintings of the Madonna and Child and portraits of wealthy merchants
- The Late Gothic style lingers in Germany in the large wood altarpieces carved by Veit Stoss and Tilman Riemenschneider
- Martin Schongauer becomes the first Northern European master of metal engraving

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sons of King John II (r. 1350–1364) of France. In 1369, Philip married Margaret de Mâle, the daughter of the count of Flanders, and acquired territory in the Netherlands. Thereafter, the major source of Burgundian wealth was Bruges, the city that made Burgundy a powerful rival of France, which then, as in the Gothic age, was a much smaller kingdom geographically than the modern nation-state. Bruges initially derived its wealth from the wool trade, but soon expanded into banking, becoming the financial clearinghouse for all of northern Europe. Indeed, Bruges so dominated Flanders that the duke of Burgundy eventually chose to make the city his capital and moved his court there from Dijon.

Due to the expanded territory and the prosperity of the duchy of Burgundy, Philip the Bold and his successors were probably the most powerful northern European rulers during the first three quarters of the 15th century. Although members of the French royal family, they usually supported England during the Hundred Years' War because they relied on English raw materials for their wool industry. At times, the dukes of Burgundy controlled much of northern France, including Paris, the seat of the French monarchy. At the height of Burgundian power, the ducal lands stretched from the Rhône River to the North Sea.

20-2 Claus Sluter, *Well of Moses,* Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon, France, 1396–1406. Asnières limestone, painted and gilded by Jean Malouel, Moses 6′ high.

The *Well of Moses,* a symbolic fountain of life made for the duke of Burgundy, originally supported a sculpted Crucifixion group. Sluter's figures recall French Gothic jamb statues, but are far more realistic.

Chartreuse de Champmol

The great wealth the Burgundy court acquired enabled it to become a significant patron of the arts. Burgundian dukes fully appreciated that artworks could support their dynastic and political goals as well as adorn their castles and townhouses. Philip the Bold's grandest artistic enterprise was the Chartreuse de Champmol, near Dijon. A *chartreuse* ("charter house" in English) is a Carthusian monastery. The Carthusian order, founded by Saint Bruno (ca. 1030–1101) in the late 11th century at Chartreuse, near Grenoble in southeastern France, consisted of monks who devoted their lives to solitary living and prayer. Unlike monastic orders that earned income from farming and other work, the Carthusians generated no revenues. Philip's generous endowment at Champmol was therefore the sole funding for an ambitious artistic program inspired by the French royal abbey at Saint-Denis (see "Abbot Suger and the Rebuilding of Saint-Denis," page 383, and FIG. 13-1), the burial site of the French kings. The duke's choice for architect was Drouet de Dammartin, who had worked for his brother King Charles V (r. 1364–1380) on the Louvre (FIG. 20-6), the French royal palace in Paris. In 1372, Philip appointed as chief sculptor the Netherlandish master Jean de Marville (d. 1389), who had also worked for Charles V, but at Rouen Cathedral. Emulating the royal burials at Saint-Denis, Philip decided to create at the Dijon chartreuse a ducal *mausoleum* that would serve both as a means of securing salvation in perpetuity for the ducal family (the monks prayed continuously for their souls) and as a dynastic symbol of Burgundian power.

Claus Sluter. In 1389, following the death of Jean de Marville, Philip placed the Netherlandish sculptor Claus Sluter (ca. 1360–1406) of Haarlem in charge of the sculptural program (FIGS. 20-2 and 20-2A). Sluter had joined the Chartreuse de Champmol sculpture workshop as Jean's assistant in 1385. For the portal (FIG. 20-2A) of the monastery's chapel, Sluter's workshop produced statues of the duke and his wife kneeling before the Virgin and Child. For the cloister, Sluter designed a large sculptural fountain located in a well (FIG. 20-2). The well itself served as a water source for the monastery, but Sluter's fountain did not spout water because the Carthusian commitment to silence and prayer would have precluded anything producing sound.

20-2A Sluter, Chartreuse de Champmol portal, 1390–1393.

The *Well of Moses* features statues of Moses and five other Old Testament prophets (David, Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zachariah) ringing a base that once supported a 25-foot-tall group of Christ on the cross mourned by Mary Magdalene, joined perhaps by the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist. Art historians usually describe the *Well of Moses* as a *fons vitae,* a fountain of everlasting life, in which the blood of the crucified Christ, symbolized by water, flows down into a basin, and anyone who drinks from the fountain is redeemed. Sluter incorporated the symbolism of the fons vitae in his waterless fountain, in which the viewer must imagine Christ's blood streaming down over grieving angels and the Savior's prophetic predecessors. Although the models for the Old Testament figures may have been French Gothic cathedral portal statues, as was certainly the case for the Dijon chapel statues (FIG. 20-2A), the inspiration for the *Well of Moses* prophets may have come more directly from contemporaneous *mystery plays* in which actors portraying prophets frequently delivered commentaries on events in Christ's life.

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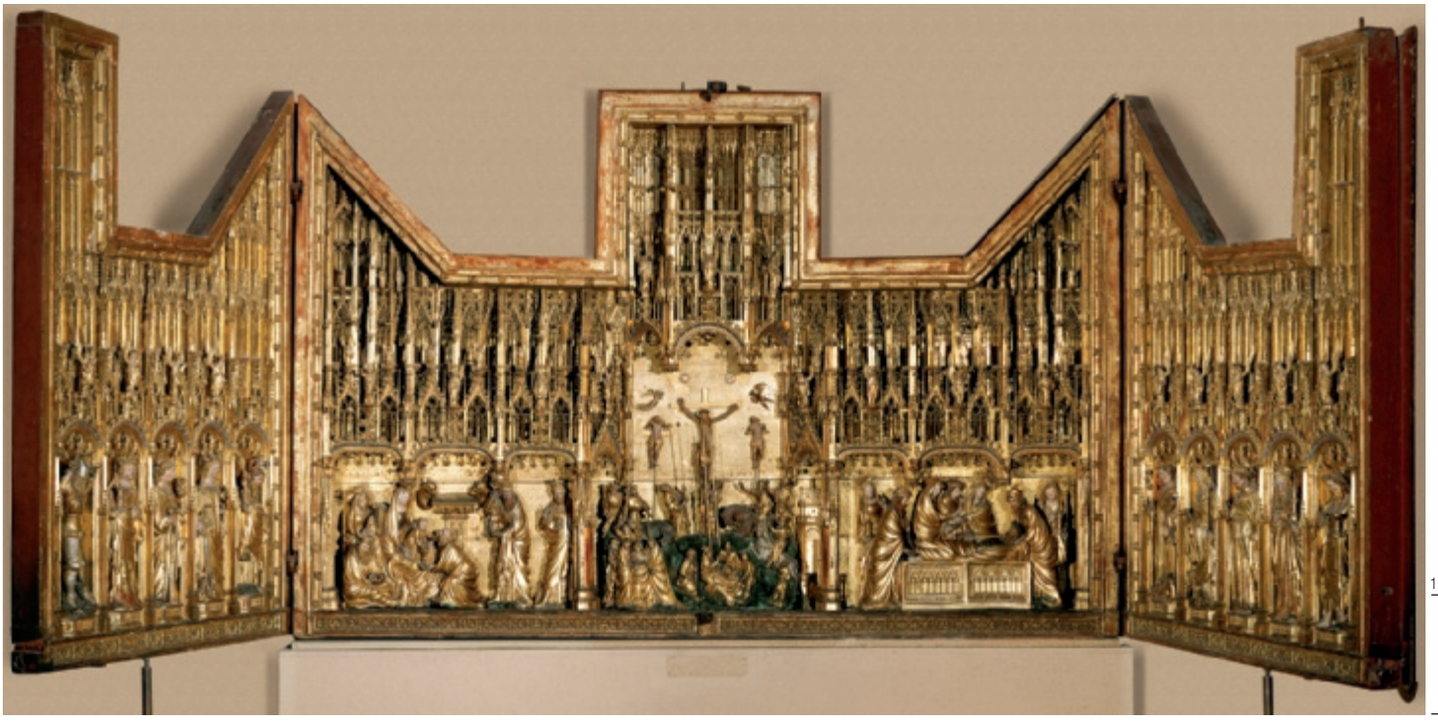
The six prophets have almost portraitlike features and distinct individual personalities and costumes. For example, David is an elegantly garbed Gothic king and Moses an elderly horned prophet (compare FIG. 12-38) with a waist-length beard. Sluter intensely studied the natural appearance of faces and fabrics in order to sculpt the biblical figures in minute detail. Heavy draperies with voluminous folds swathe the life-size statues. Sluter succeeded in making their difficult, complex surfaces seem remarkably naturalistic. He enhanced this effect by skillfully differentiating textures, from coarse drapery to smooth flesh and silky hair. Paint, much of which has flaked off, further augmented the naturalism of the figures. (The painter was JEAN MALOUEL [ca. 1365–1415], another Netherlandish master.) This fascination with the specific and tangible in the visible world became one of the chief characteristics of 15th-century Flemish art.

Retable de Champmol. Philip the Bold also commissioned a major altarpiece—the *Retable de Champmol* (FIGS. 20-3 and 20-4)—for the main altar in the chapel of the Chartreuse. A collaborative project between two Flemish artists, this altarpiece consisted of a



20-3 JACQUES DE BAERZE, *Retable de Champmol* (open), from the chapel of the Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon, France, installed 1399. Wood, center section 5′ $5\frac{3}{4}$″ × 8′ $3\frac{1}{4}$″. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon.

Worshipers could view the interior of the Champmol altarpiece on Sundays and feast days. Jacques de Baerze carved three scenes of Jesus's life centered on the Crucifixion, a fitting backdrop for the Eucharist.

20-4 MELCHIOR BROEDERLAM, *Retable de Champmol* (closed), from the chapel of the Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon, France, installed 1399. Oil and tempera on wood, each wing 5′ $5\frac{3}{4}$″ × 4′ $1\frac{1}{4}$″. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon.

This early example of oil painting attempts to represent the three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional surface, but the gold background and flat halos recall medieval pictorial conventions.

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large sculptured shrine (FIG. 20-3) by JACQUES DE BAERZE (active ca. 1384–1399) and a pair of painted exterior panels (FIG. 20-4) by MELCHIOR BROEDERLAM (active ca. 1387–1409).

Altarpieces were a major art form north of the Alps during the late 14th and the 15th century. From their position behind the altar, they served as backdrops for the Mass, the ritual celebration of the Holy Eucharist. At the Last Supper, Christ commanded his apostles to reenact the Eucharistic meal and repeat in memory of him the communion credo, wherein he tenders his body to eat and his blood to drink (see "The Life of Jesus in Art," pages 244–245). This act serves as the nucleus of the Mass, which involves this reenactment as well as prayer and contemplation of the word of God. Because the Mass involves not only a memorial rite but Christian doctrine as well, art has traditionally played an important role in giving visual form to complex theological concepts for the faithful. Like the narrative reliefs in medieval church portals, these altarpieces had an important teaching function, especially for the illiterate. By reinforcing Church doctrines visually, they also stimulated devotion.

These altarpieces most often took the form of *polyptychs*—hinged multipaneled paintings or multiple carved relief panels. The hinges enabled the clergy to close the polyptych's side wings over the central panel(s). Because artists decorated both the exterior and interior of the altarpieces, this multi-image format provided the opportunity to construct narratives through a sequence of images. Although concrete information is lacking about when the clergy opened and closed the altarpieces, the wings probably normally remained closed but were opened on Sundays and feast days. On this schedule, viewers could have seen both the interior and exterior—diverse imagery at various times according to the liturgical calendar.

Given their placement in churches as backdrops to the Mass, it is not surprising that among the many kinds of scenes depicted on altarpieces, themes directly related to Christ's sacrifice are common. The Champmol altarpiece, or *retable,* for example, features sculpted passion scenes on the interior: the Crucifixion (at the center) and (at left and right respectively) the adoration of the magi and the entombment of Christ, with rows of saints on the wings, all framed by delicate *pinnacles, tracery,* and *lancets.* The carved wood narratives span the full life cycle of Jesus from his birth to his death and burial, with the figure of the Savior on the cross forming a fitting backdrop to the Eucharist.

On the Champmol retable's painted wings (FIG. 20-4), Broederlam depicted the Annunciation and Visitation (on the left panel) and the presentation in the temple and flight into Egypt (on the right). Thus Broederlam's painted images on the altarpiece's exterior gave a fuller account of the Savior's early life and set the stage for de Baerze's passion scenes when the wings were folded back to reveal the sculpted narratives. The two painted wings include both landscape and interior scenes. Broederlam depicted the buildings in both *Romanesque* and *Gothic* styles. Scholars have suggested that the juxtaposition of different architectural styles in the left panel is symbolic. The *rotunda* (round building, usually with a dome, a common antique type) refers to the Old Testament, whereas the "modern" Gothic porch with its lancet windows and tracery relates to the New Testament. In the right panel, a statue of a Greco-Roman god falls from the top of a column as the holy family approaches. These and other details announce the coming of the new order under Christ.

Stylistically, Broederlam's panels are a mixture of three-dimensional rendition of the landscape and buildings with a solid gold background and flat gold haloes for the holy figures, regardless of the positions of their heads. Despite these lingering medieval pictorial conventions, the altarpiece is an early example of many of the artistic developments that preoccupied European artists throughout the 15th century, especially the illusionistic depiction of three-dimensional objects and the naturalistic representation of landscape.

Oil Painting. The *Retable de Champmol* also foreshadowed another significant development in 15th-century art: the widespread adoption of *oil paints,* which Broederlam mixed with *tempera* in this early example (see "Tempera and Oil Painting," page 574). Oil paints facilitated the exactitude in rendering details so characteristic of Northern European painting. Although the Italian biographer Giorgio Vasari (see "Giorgio Vasari's *Lives,*" page 648) and other 16th-century commentators credited the Flemish master Jan van Eyck (discussed later in this chapter) with the invention of *oil painting,* recent evidence has revealed that oil paints had been known for some time, well before Melchior Broederlam liberally used oils for Philip the Bold's Dijon altarpiece. Flemish painters built up their pictures by superimposing translucent paint layers on a layer of underpainting, which in turn had been built up from a carefully planned drawing (compare Saint Luke at work in FIG. 20-1) made on a panel prepared with a white ground. With the oil medium, artists could create richer colors and more subtle gradations of tone than previously possible, giving their paintings the illusion of glowing light and glistening surfaces. These traits differed significantly from the high-keyed color, sharp light, and rather *matte* (dull) surface of tempera. The brilliant and versatile oil medium suited perfectly the formal intentions of the generation of Flemish painters after Broederlam, who aimed for sharply focused clarity of detail in their representation of objects ranging in scale from large to almost invisible.

Manuscript Painting

During the 15th century, Northern European artists built on the achievements of Gothic painters (see "Gothic Book Production," page 402) and produced exquisitely refined illuminated manuscripts. Among the most significant developments in manuscript painting was a new interest in representing fully modeled figures moving freely in convincing three-dimensional settings. Increased contact with Italy, where Renaissance artists had revived the pictorial principles of classical antiquity, may have influenced Northern painters' interest in illusionism.

Limbourg Brothers. The most innovative early-15th-century manuscript illuminators were the three LIMBOURG BROTHERS—POL, HERMAN, and JEAN—from Nijmegen in the Netherlands. They were nephews of Jean Malouel, the court artist of Philip the Bold, who painted Sluter's *Well of Moses* statues (FIG. 20-2). Following in the footsteps of earlier illustrators such as Jean Pucelle (FIGS. 13-36 and 13-36A), the Limbourg brothers expanded the illusionistic capabilities of illumination. Trained in the Netherlands, the brothers moved to Paris no later than 1402, and between 1405 and their death in 1416 (probably from the plague), they worked in Paris and Bourges for Jean, duke of Berry (r. 1360–1416) and brother of Philip the Bold of Burgundy and King Charles V (r. 1364–1380) of France.

Jean ruled the western French regions of Berry, Poitou, and Auvergne (MAP 20-1). The duke was an avid art patron and focused on collecting manuscripts, jewels, and rare artifacts. Among the more than 300 manuscripts he owned were Pucelle's *Belleville Breviary* (FIG. 13-36) and the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* (FIG. 13-36A) as well as *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (*The Very Sumptuous Hours of the Duke of Berry*; FIGS. 20-5 and 20-6), which he commissioned the Limbourg brothers to produce. A *Book of Hours,* like a *breviary,* was

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20-5 **Limbourg brothers (Pol, Herman, Jean),** ***January,*** **from** ***Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry,*** **1413–1416. Colors and ink on vellum, 8 7/8″ × 5 3/8″. Musée Condé, Chantilly.**

The pictures in *Les Très Riches Heures* depict characteristic activities of each month. The prominence of genre subjects reflects the increasing integration of religious and secular art in the 15th century.

20-6 **Limbourg brothers (Pol, Herman, Jean),** ***October,*** **from** ***Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry,*** **1413–1416. Colors and ink on vellum, 8 7/8″ × 5 3/8″. Musée Condé, Chantilly.**

The Limbourg brothers were pioneers in expanding the illusionistic capabilities of manuscript painting with their care in rendering architectural details and their convincing depiction of cast shadows.

a book used for reciting prayers (see "Medieval Books," page 324). As prayer books, they replaced the traditional *psalters* (books of psalms), which were the only liturgical books in private hands until the mid-13th century. Books of Hours contained liturgical passages to be read privately at set times during the day, from *matins* (dawn prayers) to *compline* (the last of the prayers recited daily), including the "Office [prayer] of the Blessed Virgin." An illustrated calendar containing local religious feast days usually preceded the Office of the Blessed Virgin. Penitential psalms, devotional prayers, litanies to the saints, and other prayers, including those of the Holy Cross and for the dead, followed. Books of Hours became favorite possessions of the Northern European aristocracy during the 14th and 15th centuries. These costly books eventually became available to affluent merchants and contributed to the decentralization of religious practice that was one factor in the Protestant Reformation in the early 16th century (see "Luther and the Reformation," page 692).

The full-page calendar pictures of *Les Très Riches Heures* are the most famous in the history of manuscript illumination. They represent the 12 months in terms of the associated seasonal tasks, alternating scenes of nobility and peasantry, and featuring the duke's relationship with his courtiers and peasants. Above each picture is a *lunette* in which the Limbourgs depicted the zodiac signs and the chariot of the sun as it makes its yearly cycle through the heavens. Beyond its function as a religious book, *Les Très Riches Heures* also furnishes a picture of life in the territory the duke ruled—a picture designed to flatter the Limbourgs' patron. For example, the colorful calendar picture for January (fig. 20-5) portrays a New Year's reception at court. The duke appears as magnanimous host, his head circled by the fire screen, almost halolike, behind him. His chamberlain stands next to him, urging the guests forward with the words "*aproche, aproche,*" words that call attention to the Limbourgs' success in creating the illusion of deep spatial recession. The lavish spread of food on the table and the large tapestry on the back wall augment the richness of the setting and the occasion.

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By contrast, the illustration for October (FIG. 20-6) focuses on the peasantry. Here, the Limbourg brothers depicted a sower, a man plowing on horseback, and washerwomen, along with city dwellers, who promenade in front of the Louvre, the French king's residence at the time, now one of the world's great art museums. (Paris was not then the highly populated urban center it is today. Open fields surrounded the royal palace.) The peasants do not appear discontented as they go about their various tasks. Surely this imagery flattered the duke's sense of himself as a compassionate master. The growing artistic interest in naturalism is evident here in the careful way the painter recorded the architectural details of the Louvre and in the convincing shadows of the people and objects (such as the archer scarecrow and the horse) in the scene.

As a whole, *Les Très Riches Heures* reinforced the image of the duke of Berry as a devout man, cultured *bibliophile* ("lover of books"), sophisticated art patron, and powerful and magnanimous leader. Further, the expanded range of subject matter, especially the prominence of *genre* subjects in a religious book, reflected the increasing integration of religious and secular concerns in both art and life during the 15th century.

Although all three Limbourg brothers worked on *Les Très Riches Heures,* art historians have never been able to ascertain definitively which brother painted which images. (One scholar has suggested that because the book was left unfinished at the time of the brothers' deaths, some of the details are the work of a fourth artist, who completed the illustrations around the middle of the century.) Given the common practice of collaboration on artistic projects at this time, however, the determination of specific authorship is not very important. Together, the *Très Riches Heures* illuminators reoriented the art of manuscript illumination to approximate more closely the art of panel painting, treating the pages of books as if they were windows onto the world of 15th-century Europe.

Mary of Burgundy. The Limbourgs' most accomplished successor at the end of the century was an anonymous illuminator known as the MASTER OF MARY OF BURGUNDY. Some scholars identify him as ALEXANDER BENING (ca. 1444–1519) of Ghent, a painter in the circle of Hugo van der Goes (FIG. 20-16). The two facing pages illustrated here (FIG. 20-7) are the opening full-page illumination and one of the daily prayers in the private devotional Book of Hours that belonged to Mary, the last duchess of Burgundy (r. 1477–1482) and daughter of Charles the Bold. She is the elegantly dressed woman sitting in a private chapel with her pet dog on her lap, reading from a prayer book of the same size and format as the one in which her portrait appears. On a ledge to her left are her rosary beads and a tall vase with purple irises—flowers associated

20-7 MASTER OF MARY OF BURGUNDY, *Mary of Burgundy at Prayer,* **folios 14 verso and 15 recto of the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy,* ca. 1477. Colors and ink on parchment, illumination on left page $7\frac{3}{8}'' \times 5\frac{1}{8}''$. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.**

In this Book of Hours, the page became literally a window onto the world. Mary of Burgundy prays in a private chapel. Seen through a window is the answer to her prayers—an audience with the Virgin.

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Tempera and Oil Painting

The generic words *paint* and *pigment* encompass a wide range of substances that artists have used through the ages. Fresco aside (see "Fresco Painting," page 428), during the 14th century, egg *tempera* was the material of choice for most painters, both in Italy and northern Europe. Tempera consists of egg combined with a wet paste of ground pigment. In his influential 1437 guidebook *Il libro dell'arte* (*The Handbook of Art*; see "Imitation and Emulation in Renaissance Art," page 606), Cennino Cennini (ca. 1370–ca. 1440) noted that artists mixed only the egg yolk with the ground pigment, but analyses of paintings from this period have revealed that some artists chose to use the entire egg. Images painted with tempera have a velvety sheen. Artists usually applied tempera to the painting surface with a light touch because thick application of the pigment mixture would result in premature cracking and flaking.

Some artists used oil paints (powdered pigments mixed with linseed oil) as far back as the eighth century, but not until the early 1400s did oil painting become widespread. Melchior Broederlam (FIG. 20-4), Robert Campin (FIG. 20-8), and other Flemish artists were among the first to employ oils extensively, often mixing them with tempera, as Broederlam did. (Italian painters soon followed suit, underscoring that artistic exchanges across the Alps went in both directions during the Renaissance.)

The discovery of better drying components in the early 15th century enhanced the setting capabilities of oils. Rather than apply these oils in the light, flecked brushstrokes that the tempera technique encouraged, artists laid down the oils in transparent layers, or *glazes,* over opaque or semiopaque underlayers. In this manner, painters could build up deep and subtly gradated tones through repeated *glazing.* Unlike works in tempera, whose surface dries quickly due to water evaporation, oils dry more uniformly and slowly, giving the artist time to rework areas. This flexibility must have been particularly appealing to artists who worked very deliberately, such as Campin, Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, and the other Flemish masters discussed in this chapter, as well as the Italian Leonardo da Vinci (FIGS. 22-2 and 22-5). Leonardo also preferred oil paint because its gradual drying process and consistency enabled him to blend the pigments, thereby creating the impressive *sfumato* (smoky) effect that contributed to his fame. Moreover, while drying, oil paints smooth out, erasing any trace of the brush that applied the paint. Oil paints also produce a glowing surface, creating a rich visual effect unlike the duller sheen of tempera.

Both tempera and oils can be applied to various surfaces. Through the early 16th century, wood panels served as the foundation for most paintings. Italians painted on poplar. Northern European artists used oak, lime, beech, chestnut, cherry, pine, and silver fir. Local availability of these timbers determined the choice of wood. Linen canvas became increasingly popular in the late 16th century. Although evidence suggests that artists did not intend permanency for their early images on canvas, the material proved particularly useful in areas such as Venice where high humidity warped wood panels and made fresco unfeasible. Furthermore, until artists began to use wood bars to stretch the canvas to form a taut surface, canvas paintings could be rolled and were lighter and more compact and therefore more easily portable than wood panels.

20-8 Robert Campin (Master of Flémalle), *Mérode Triptych* (open), ca. 1425–1428. Oil on wood, center panel $2' 1\frac{3}{8}'' \times 2' \frac{7}{8}''$, each wing $2' 1\frac{3}{8}'' \times 10\frac{7}{8}''$. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (The Cloisters Collection, 1956).

Campin was the leading painter of Tournai and an early master of oil painting. In the *Mérode Triptych,* he set the Annunciation in a Flemish merchant's home in which many objects have symbolic significance.

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with the Virgin Mary. The masterful representation of rich fabrics, Mary's transparent veil, and the still life of flowers all attest to this painter's skill and powers of observation.

Even more remarkable is the illuminator's meticulously detailed depiction of the Gothic church seen through the window of Mary's chapel, especially because the manuscript page is only half the size of Jan van Eyck's *Madonna in a Church* (FIG. 20-10A). The scene presented to the viewer through the chapel window within the page's "window onto the world"—a brilliant conception in itself—is the realization of Mary's prayers. The duchess has been granted a private audience with the Virgin without any interceding priest. She, accompanied by her ladies-in-waiting, kneels before the Virgin, who sits in front of the church altar, attended by angels and holding the Christ Child in her lap. Both holy figures turn their heads to look at the duchess. The illumination has few peers in the history of art as an image of pious devotion.

FLANDERS

As noted, the greatest single source of income for the Burgundian ducal court came from banking and trade activities in Flanders, territory that Philip the Bold acquired when he married the Flemish count's daughter. Flanders was also the leading artistic center of Northern Europe in the 15th century.

Master of Flémalle

One of the greatest Flemish painters of the generation after Melchior Broederlam was the man known as the MASTER OF FLÉMALLE, whom most art historians identify as ROBERT CAMPIN (ca. 1375–1444), the leading painter of Tournai, who also worked in the newly popular medium of oil painting (see "Tempera and Oil Painting," page 574). His most famous work is the *Mérode Triptych* (FIG. 20-8), although it has recently been suggested that the *triptych* (three-panel painting) is the work of more than one artist and that the wings are a later addition. The question of authorship apart, the painting is one of the many small works of this period produced for private patrons and intended for household prayer. Perhaps the most striking feature of these private devotional images is the integration of religious and secular concerns. For example, artists often presented biblical scenes as taking place in a house (compare FIG. 20-1). Religion was such an integral part of Flemish life that separating the sacred from the secular was almost impossible—and undesirable. Furthermore, the presentation in religious art of familiar settings and objects no doubt strengthened the direct bond that the patron or viewer felt with biblical figures.

The Annunciation, prophesied in Isaiah 7:14, is the subject of the central panel of Campin's triptych. Unseen by the Virgin, a tiny figure of Christ carrying the cross of his martyrdom and of human salvation enters the room on a ray of light, a potent symbol of the Incarnation and a foreshadowing of what lies ahead for the future Mother of God and her son. The archangel Gabriel approaches Mary, who sits reading inside a well-kept Flemish home. Through the window in the background of the right wing, the viewer sees a local cityscape, as in Rogier van der Weyden's later *Saint Luke* (FIG. 20-1). The depicted accessories, furniture, and utensils confirm the locale as Flanders. However, the objects represented are not merely decorative. They also function as religious symbols. The book, extinguished candle, and lilies on the table; the copper basin in the corner niche; the towels, fire screen, and bench all symbolize, in different ways, the Virgin's purity and her divine mission.

In the right panel, Joseph, apparently unaware of the angel's arrival, has constructed two mousetraps, symbolic of the theological concept that Christ is bait set in the trap of the world to catch the Devil. The ax, saw, and rod that Campin painted in the foreground of Joseph's workshop not only are tools of the carpenter's trade but also are mentioned in Isaiah 10:15. In the left panel, the closed garden is symbolic of Mary's purity, and the flowers Campin included relate to Mary's virtues, especially humility.

The triptych's donor, Peter Inghelbrecht, a wealthy merchant, and his wife, Margarete Scrynmakers, kneel in the garden and witness the momentous event through an open door. *Donor portraits*—portraits of the individual(s) who commissioned (or "donated") the work—became very popular in the 15th century. In this instance, in addition to asking to be represented in their altarpiece, the Inghelbrechts probably specified the subject. *Inghelbrecht* means "angel bringer," a reference to Gabriel's bringing the news of Christ's birth to Mary in the central panel. *Scrynmakers* means "cabinet- or shrine-makers," and probably inspired the workshop scene in the right panel.

Jan van Eyck

In 1425, JAN VAN EYCK (ca. 1395–1441), the most famous of several internationally renowned Flemish artists, became the court painter of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy (r. 1419–1467). In 1431, he moved his studio to Bruges, where the duke maintained his official residence.

Ghent Altarpiece. The year Jan arrived in Bruges, he set out to complete the *Ghent Altarpiece* (FIGS. 20-9 and 20-10), which, according to the dedicatory inscription, his older brother, HUBERT VAN EYCK (ca. 1385–1426), had begun. Given Jan's stature today, it is noteworthy that the inscription describes Hubert as an artist "than whom there was no greater" and Jan as "his brother, second in art." The nearly 12-foot-tall Ghent retable is one of the largest of the 15th century. Jodocus Vyd (d. 1439), diplomat-retainer of Philip the Good, and his wife, Elisabeth Borluut (d. 1443), commissioned the polyptych as the centerpiece of the chapel Vyd built in the Ghent church originally dedicated to Saint John the Baptist (since 1540, Saint Bavo Cathedral). Vyd's largesse and the political and social connections that the *Ghent Altarpiece* revealed to its audience contributed to Vyd's appointment as the city's *burgomeister* (chief magistrate; mayor) shortly after the unveiling of the work. Two of the exterior panels (FIG. 20-9) depict the donors. The husband and wife, in paired niches with Gothic tracery, kneel with their hands clasped in prayer. They gaze piously at two illusionistically rendered statues (painted in *grisaille*—that is, solely in gray tones to imitate stone) that reflect the innovative style of Claus Sluter (FIGS. 20-2 and 20-2A). The sculptures represent Ghent's patron saint, John the Baptist, and John the Evangelist, who was probably Vyd's patron saint. The Annunciation appears on the upper register, with a careful representation of a Flemish town outside the painted window of the center panel (compare FIGS. 20-1 and 20-8). In the uppermost arched panels, Jan depicted the Old Testament prophets Zachariah and Micah, along with *sibyls,* Greco-Roman mythological female prophets whose writings the Church interpreted as prophecies of Christ. An interesting detail is the exchange of words between Gabriel and the Virgin. Jan painted the words of Mary's response upside down, because they are directed to God in Heaven.

When open (FIG. 20-10), the altarpiece reveals a richly colored painting of human redemption through Christ. In the upper register, God the Father—wearing the pope's triple tiara, with a worldly

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20-9 Hubert and Jan van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece* (closed), Saint Bavo Cathedral, Ghent, Belgium, ca. 1423–1432. Oil on wood, 11′ 5″ × 7′ 6″.

Grandiose multipanel painted altarpieces were popular in Flemish churches. Artists decorated both the interiors and exteriors of these polyptychs, which often, as here, included donor portraits.

20-10 Hubert and Jan van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece* (open), Saint Bavo Cathedral, Ghent, Belgium, ca. 1423–1432. Oil on wood, 11′ 5″ × 15′ 1″.

In this richly colored painting of salvation from the Original Sin of Adam and Eve, God the Father presides in majesty. The van Eyck brothers used oil paints to render every detail with loving fidelity to appearance.

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20-10A Van Eyck, *Madonna in a Church,* ca. 1430–1440.

crown at his feet and resplendent in a deep-scarlet mantle—presides in majesty. To God's right is the Virgin, represented, as in the Gothic age and in a small Jan van Eyck *diptych* (two-paneled painting; fig. **20-10A**), as the queen of Heaven, with a crown of 12 stars on her head. John the Baptist sits to God's left. To either side is a choir of angels, with an angel playing an organ on the right. Adam and Eve appear in the far panels. The inscriptions in the arches above Mary and Saint John extol the Virgin's virtue and purity and Saint John's greatness as the forerunner of Christ (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). The inscription above the Lord's head translates as "This is God, all-powerful in his divine majesty; of all the best, by the gentleness of his goodness; the most liberal giver, because of his infinite generosity." The step behind the crown at the Lord's feet bears the inscription "On his head, life without death. On his brow, youth without age. On his right, joy without sadness. On his left, security without fear." The entire altarpiece amplifies the central theme of salvation. Even though humans, personified by Adam and Eve, are sinful, they will be saved because God, in his infinite love, will sacrifice his own son for their sake.

The panels of the lower register extend the symbolism of the upper. In the center panel, saints arrive from the four corners of the earth through an opulent, flower-spangled landscape. They proceed toward the altar of the Lamb and the octagonal fountain of life (compare fig. 20-2). The book of Revelation passage that recounts the adoration of the Lamb is the main reading on All Saints' Day (November 1). The Lamb symbolizes the sacrificed son of God, whose heart bleeds into a chalice, while into the fountain spills the "pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb" (Rev. 22:1). On the right, the

A SECOND OPINION

Giovanni Arnolfini and His Wife

In 1434, Jan van Eyck depicted Giovanni Arnolfini, a Lucca financier who had established himself in Bruges as an agent of the Medici family, and his second wife in their home (fig. **20-11**). Arnolfini holds the hand of his spouse, whose name is not known. That much is certain, but the purpose and meaning of the double portrait remain the subject of considerable debate, with a few new interpretations having been advanced just during the last several years. According to the traditional interpretation of the painting, Jan recorded the couple taking their marriage vows. As in the *Mérode Triptych* (fig. 20-8), almost every object portrayed carries meaning. For example, the little dog symbolizes fidelity (the common canine name *Fido* originated from the Latin *fidere,* "to trust"). The *finial* (crowning ornament) of the marriage bed at the right is a tiny statue of Saint Margaret, patron saint of childbirth. (The bride is not yet pregnant, although the fashionable costume she wears makes her appear so.) From the finial hangs a whiskbroom, symbolic of domestic care. Indeed, even the placement of the two figures in the room is meaningful. The woman stands near the bed and well into the room, whereas the man stands near the open window, symbolic of the outside world.

Many art historians, however, dispute this interpretation because, among other things, the room in which Arnolfini and his wife stand is a public reception area, not a bedchamber. One scholar has suggested that Arnolfini is conferring legal privileges on his wife to conduct business in his absence. Another thinks that this may be a memorial portrait of a wife who died in childbirth.

In any case, an important aspect of the painting is that the artist functions as a witness to whatever event is taking place. In the background, framed by the arms and joined hands of the two figures, is a convex mirror (complete with its spatial distortion, brilliantly recorded; compare fig. 22-40), in which Jan depicted not only the principals, Arnolfini and his wife, but also two persons who look into the room through the door. (Arnolfini's raised right hand may be a gesture of greeting to the two men.) One of these must be the artist himself, as the elegant inscription above the mirror, *Johannes de Eyck fuit hic* ("Jan van Eyck was here"), announces that he was present. The self-portrait also underscores the painter's self-consciousness as a professional artist whose role deserves to be recorded and remembered.

20-11 Jan van Eyck, *Giovanni Arnolfini and His Wife,* 1434. Oil on wood, 2′ 9″ × 1′ 10½″. National Gallery, London.

Jan van Eyck played a major role in establishing portraiture as an important Flemish art form. In this portrait of an Italian financier and his wife, he also portrayed himself in the convex mirror on the rear wall.

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Framed Paintings

Until the mid-20th century, when painters began to affix canvas to simple wood *stretcher bars* to provide a taut painting surface devoid of ornamentation, artists considered the frame an integral part of the painting. Frames served a number of functions, some visual, others conceptual. For paintings such as large-scale altarpieces that were part of a larger environment, frames often served to integrate the painting with its surroundings. Frames could also be used to reinforce the illusionistic nature of the painted image. For example, the Italian painter Giovanni Bellini, in his *San Zaccaria Altarpiece* (FIG. 22-29), duplicated the carved *pilasters* of the architectural frame in the painting itself, thereby enhancing the illusion of space and giving the painted figures an enhanced physical presence. In the *Ghent Altarpiece,* the frame seems to cast shadows on the floor between the angel and Mary in the Annunciation scene (FIG. 20-9, *top*). More commonly, artists used frames specifically to distance the viewer from the (often otherworldly) scene by calling attention to the separation of the image from the viewer's space.

Most 15th- and 16th-century paintings included elaborate frames that the artists themselves helped design and construct. Extant contracts reveal that the frame could account for as much as half of the cost of an altarpiece. Frequently, the commissions called for painted or gilded frames, adding to the expense. For small works, artists sometimes affixed the frames to the panels before painting, so that the frame was a point of reference as they worked. Occasionally, a single piece of wood served as both panel and frame, and the artist (or, in practice, an assistant) carved the painting surface from the wood, leaving the edges as a frame. Larger images with elaborate frames, such as altarpieces, required the services of a professional woodcarver or stonemason. The painter worked closely with the individual constructing the frame to ensure its appropriateness for the image(s) produced.

Unfortunately, over time, many frames have been removed from their paintings. For instance, in 1566 church officials dismantled the *Ghent Altarpiece* and detached its elaborately carved frame in order to protect the sacred work from Protestant *iconoclasts* (see "Art and the Reformation," page 692). As ill luck would have it, when the panels were reinstalled in 1587, no one could find the frame. Sadly, the absence of many of the original frames of old paintings deprives viewers today of the painter's complete artistic vision. Conversely, when the original frames exist, they sometimes provide essential information, such as the subject, name of the painter, and date. For example, the inscriptions on the frame of Jan van Eyck's *Man in a Red Turban* (FIG. 20-12) state that he painted it on October 21, 1433, and the inclusion of "As I can" and omission of the sitter's name suggest that the painting is a self-portrait.

1 in.

20-12 JAN VAN EYCK, *Man in a Red Turban,* 1433. Oil on wood, $1' \, 1\frac{1}{8}'' \times 10\frac{1}{4}''$. National Gallery, London.

Man in a Red Turban is the first known Western painted portrait in a thousand years in which the sitter looks directly at the viewer. The inscribed frame suggests that it is a self-portrait of Jan van Eyck.

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12 apostles and a group of martyrs in red robes advance. On the left appear prophets. In the right background come the virgin martyrs, and in the left background the holy confessors approach. On the lower wings, hermits, pilgrims, knights, and judges enter from left and right. They symbolize the four cardinal virtues: Temperance, Prudence, Fortitude, and Justice, respectively. The altarpiece celebrates the whole Christian cycle from the fall of man to the redemption, presenting the Church triumphant in heavenly Jerusalem.

Jan used oil paints to render the entire altarpiece in shimmering colors that defy reproduction. No small detail escaped the painter. With pristine specificity, he revealed the beauty of the most insignificant object. He depicted the soft texture of hair, the glitter of gold in the heavy brocades, the luster of pearls, and the flashing of gems, all with loving fidelity to appearance. This kind of meticulous attention to recording details became a hallmark of Flemish panel painting in the 15th century.

Giovanni Arnolfini. Emerging capitalism led to prosperity in Europe's booming urban centers and fueled in turn the growing bourgeois market for art objects, particularly in Bruges, Antwerp, and, later, Amsterdam. The increased wealth of the merchant class contributed to an expanded market for secular art in addition to religious artworks. It is noteworthy, for example, that both the *Mérode Triptych* and the *Ghent Altarpiece*—certainly to be categorized as "religious art"—include painted portraits of their donors. These paintings marked a significant revival of portraiture, a genre that had languished since antiquity. Private commissions for portraits as independent artworks began to multiply as both artists and

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patrons became interested in the reality (both physical and psychological) that portraits could reveal.

In the 15th century, Flemish patrons eagerly embraced the opportunity to have their likenesses painted. The elite wanted to memorialize themselves in their dynastic lines and to establish their identities, ranks, and stations with images far more concrete than heraldic coats of arms. Portraits also served to represent state officials at events they could not attend. Royalty, nobility, and the very rich would sometimes send artists to paint the likeness of a prospective bride or groom. For example, when young King Charles VI (r. 1380–1422) of France sought a bride, he dispatched a painter to three different royal courts to make portraits of the candidates. But prosperous merchants also commissioned portraits for their homes. An early example of secular portraiture is Jan van Eyck's difficult-to-interpret depiction of the banker Giovanni Arnolfini (see "*Giovanni Arnolfini and His Wife,*" page 577).

Man in a Red Turban. Whatever the intended meaning of *Giovanni Arnolfini and His Wife,* the painting is representative of the growing importance of secular portraiture as an income-producing artistic genre in 15th-century Flanders. In *Man in a Red Turban* (FIG. 20-12), the man whom Jan van Eyck portrayed looks directly at the viewer. This is the first known Western painted portrait in a thousand years where the sitter does so. The level, composed gaze, directed from a true three-quarter head pose, must have impressed observers deeply. The painter created the illusion that from whatever angle a viewer observes the face, the eyes return that gaze. Jan, with his considerable observational skill and controlled painting style, injected a heightened sense of specificity into this portrait by including beard stubble, veins in the bloodshot left eye, and weathered, aged skin. Although a definitive identification of the sitter has yet to be made, most art historians consider *Man in a Red Turban* a self-portrait, which Jan painted by looking at his image in a mirror (as he depicted himself in the mirror in the Arnolfinis' home; FIG. 20-11). The inscriptions on the frame (see "Framed Paintings," page 578) reinforce this identification. Across the top, Jan wrote "As I can" in Flemish using Greek letters. One suggestion is that this portrait was a demonstration piece intended for prospective clients, who could compare the painting with the painter and judge what he "could do" in terms of recording a faithful likeness. Across the bottom appear the date and a statement in Latin: "Jan van Eyck made me." The use of both Greek and Latin suggests that the artist viewed himself as both a learned man and a worthy successor to the fabled painters of antiquity.

Rogier van der Weyden

When Jan van Eyck began work on the *Ghent Altarpiece,* Rogier van der Weyden (FIG. 20-1) was an assistant in the workshop of Robert Campin (FIG. 20-8), but the younger Tournai painter's fame soon eclipsed Campin's and eventually rivaled Jan's. Rogier's renown rested on his skill in recording individual features and character in his portraits (FIG. 20-12A) and especially on the dynamic compositions of his narrative works, which stress human action and drama. He concentrated on Christian themes, especially those episodes in the life of Jesus that elicited powerful emotions—for example, the Crucifixion and *Pietà* (the Virgin Mary cradling the dead body of her son)—moving observers deeply by vividly portraying the sufferings of Christ.

20-12A VAN DER WEYDEN, *Portrait of a Lady,* ca. 1460.

Deposition. One of Rogier's early masterworks is *Deposition* (FIG. 20-13), the center panel of a triptych commissioned by the archers' guild of Louvain for the church of Notre-Dame hors-les-murs (Church of Our Lady—the Virgin—outside the [town] walls). Rogier acknowledged the patrons of this large painting by incorporating the crossbow (the guild's symbol) into the decorative tracery in the corners. Instead of creating a deep landscape setting, as Jan van Eyck might have, Rogier compressed the figures and action onto a shallow stage with a golden back wall, imitating the large sculptured shrines so popular in the 15th century, of which Jacques de Baerze's *Retable de Champmol* (FIG. 20-3) is one of many Netherlandish examples (compare FIGS. 20-21 and 20-22). The device admirably served his purpose of expressing maximum action within a limited space

1 ft.

20-13 ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN, *Deposition,* center panel of a triptych from Notre-Dame hors-les-murs, Louvain, Belgium, ca. 1435–1442. Oil on wood, 7′ $2\frac{5}{8}$″ × 8′ $7\frac{1}{8}$″. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Deposition resembles a relief carving in which the biblical figures act out a drama of passionate sorrow as if on a shallow theatrical stage. The painting makes an unforgettable emotional impression.

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and dramatically confronting the viewer, but the setting of the Crucifixion in a box is unrealistic, as is the size of the cross, the arms of which are not wide enough for Jesus's hands to have been nailed to them. The painting, with the artist's crisp drawing and precise modeling of forms, resembles a stratified relief carving, and the viewer may wonder if this is a painting of the biblical event or a painting of a shrine representing the event. In any case, a series of lateral undulating movements gives the group a compositional unity, a formal cohesion that Rogier strengthened by depicting the sorrowful anguish that many of the figures share. Present are the Virgin, several of her half-sisters, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, Saint John the Evangelist, and Mary Magdalene. The similar poses of Christ and his mother further unify the composition, evoke the shape of the crossbows in the corner tracery, and reflect the belief that Mary suffered the same pain at the Crucifixion as her son.

Rogier's extraordinary ability to represent flesh and fabric rivaled Jan van Eyck's, and few painters, not even Jan, have equaled him in rendering passionate sorrow as it vibrates through a figure or distorts a tearstained face. Rogier's depictions of the agony of loss in *Deposition* and of the terror of the damned in *Last Judgment* (FIG. 20-13A) are among the most moving and unforgettable images in religious art. It was probably Rogier whom Michelangelo had in mind when, according to the Portuguese painter Francisco de Hollanda (1517–1584), the Italian master observed, "Flemish painting [will] please the devout better than any painting of Italy, which will never cause him to shed a tear, whereas that of Flanders will cause him to shed many."[1]

20-13A VAN DER WEYDEN, *Last Judgment,* ca. 1443–1451.

ART AND SOCIETY

The Artist's Profession in Flanders

As they did in Italy (see "Artistic Training," page 434), guilds controlled artistic production in Flanders. To pursue a craft, individuals had to belong to the guild representing that craft. Painters, for example, sought admission to the Guild of Saint Luke, the patron saint of painters because Luke made a portrait of the Virgin Mary (FIG. 20-1). The patron saint of the metalworkers' guild was Saint Eligius (FIG. 20-14), who was a goldsmith before devoting himself to the Church and eventually becoming bishop of Tournai.

The path to eventual membership in the guild began, for men, at an early age, when the father apprenticed his son in boyhood to a master, with whom the young aspiring painter lived. The master taught the fundamentals of his craft—how to make implements, prepare panels with *gesso* (plaster mixed with a binding material), and mix colors, oils, and varnishes. Once the youth mastered these procedures and learned to work in the master's traditional manner, he usually spent several years working as a journeyman in various cities, observing and absorbing ideas from other masters. He then was eligible to become a master and could apply for admission to the guild. Fees could be very high, especially if an artist was not a citizen of the same city, as was the case, for example, when Petrus Christus of Baerle purchased citizenship in Bruges in order to join that city's painters' guild. Sometimes, an artist seeking admission to a guild would marry the widow of a member. (A woman could inherit her husband's workshop, but could not run it.) Guild membership was essential for establishing an artist's reputation and for obtaining commissions. The guild inspected paintings to evaluate workmanship and ensure that its members used quality materials. It also secured adequate payment for its artists' labor.

Women had far fewer opportunities than men to train as artists, in large part because of social and moral constraints that forbade women to reside as apprentices in the homes of male masters. Moreover, from the 16th century, when academic training courses supplemented and then replaced guild training, until the 20th century, women would not as a rule expect or be permitted instruction in figure painting, because it involved dissection of cadavers and study of the nude male model. Flemish women interested in pursuing art as a career—for example, Caterina van Hemessen (FIG. 23-16)—most often received tutoring from fathers and husbands who were professionals and whom the women assisted in all the technical procedures of the craft. Despite these obstacles, membership records of the art guilds of Bruges and other cities reveal that a substantial number of Flemish women were able to establish themselves as artists during the 15th century. That they succeeded in negotiating the difficult path to acceptance as professionals is a testament to both their tenacity and their artistic skill.

20-14 **PETRUS CHRISTUS, *A Goldsmith in His Shop,* 1449. Oil on wood, 3′ 3″ × 2′ 10″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Robert Lehman Collection, 1975).**

Once thought to depict Eligius, the patron saint of goldsmiths, Christus's painting, made for the Bruges goldsmiths' guild, is more likely a genre scene of a couple shopping for a wedding ring.

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Later Flemish Painters

Robert Campin, Jan van Eyck, and Rogier van der Weyden were the leading figures of the first generation of "Northern Renaissance" painters. (Art historians usually transfer to Northern Europe, with less validity than in its original usage, the term *Renaissance,* coined to describe the conscious revival of classical art in Italy.) The second generation of Flemish masters, active during the latter half of the 15th century, had much in common with their illustrious predecessors, especially a preference for using oil paints to create naturalistic representations, often, although not always, of traditional Christian subjects for installation in churches.

Petrus Christus. One work of uncertain Christian content is *A Goldsmith in His Shop* (FIG. 20-14) by PETRUS CHRISTUS (ca. 1410–1472), who settled in Bruges in 1444. According to the traditional interpretation, *A Goldsmith in His Shop* portrays Saint Eligius (who was initially a master goldsmith before committing his life to God) sitting in his stall, showing an elegantly attired couple a selection of rings. The bride's betrothal girdle lies on the table as a symbol of chastity, and the woman reaches for the ring the goldsmith weighs. The artist's inclusion of a crystal container for Eucharistic wafers (on the lower shelf to the right of Saint Eligius) and the scales (a reference to the Last Judgment) supports a religious interpretation of this painting and continues the Flemish tradition of imbuing everyday objects with symbolic significance. A halo once encircled the goldsmith's head, seemingly confirming the religious nature of this scene. Scientists have determined, however, that the halo was a later addition by another artist, and restorers have removed it.

Most scholars now think that the painting, although not devoid of religious content, should be seen as a vocational painting of the type often produced for installation in Flemish guild chapels. Although the couple's presence suggests a marriage portrait, the patrons were probably not the couple portrayed but rather the goldsmiths' guild in Bruges. Saint Eligius was the patron saint of gold- and silversmiths, blacksmiths, and metalworkers, all of whom shared a chapel in a building adjacent to their meetinghouse. The reconsecration of this chapel took place in 1449, the same date as the Christus painting. Therefore, it seems probable that the artist painted *A Goldsmith in His Shop,* which illustrates an economic transaction and focuses on the goldsmith's profession, specifically for the guild chapel.

A guild chapel is also the likely original setting of Rogier van der Weyden's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin* (FIG. 20-1). As noted, in the 15th century, in addition to their primary function as "trade unions," guilds played an increasingly important role in community life and often became major patrons of art in their cities (see "The Artist's Profession in Flanders," page 580).

Christus went to great lengths to produce a historically credible image. For example, the variety of objects depicted in the painting serves as advertisement for the goldsmiths' guild. Included are the goldsmiths' raw materials (precious stones, beads, crystal, coral, and seed pearls) scattered among finished products (rings, buckles, and brooches). The pewter vessels on the upper shelves are donation pitchers, which town leaders gave to distinguished guests. All these meticulously painted objects not only attest to the centrality and importance of goldsmiths to both the secular and sacred communities but also enhance the naturalism of the painting. The convex mirror in the foreground showing another couple and a street with houses serves to extend the painting's space into the viewer's space, further creating the illusion of reality, as in Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait (FIG. 20-11).

Dieric Bouts. In *Last Supper* (FIG. 20-15), DIERIC BOUTS (ca. 1415–1475) of Haarlem chose a different means of suggesting

20-15 DIERIC BOUTS, *Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament,* Saint Peter's, Louvain, Belgium, 1464–1468. Oil on wood, center panel (*Last Supper*) 6′ × 5′.

The *Last Supper,* the central panel of this altarpiece, is one of the earliest Northern Renaissance paintings to employ Italian linear perspective. Included are portraits of the work's Flemish patrons.

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20-15A Bouts, *Beheading of the Count,* ca. 1473–1481.

20-15B Bouts, *Justice of Otto III,* ca. 1470–1473.

spatial recession. The painting is the central panel of the *Altarpiece of the Holy Sacrament,* which the Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in Louvain commissioned in 1464. Four years later, Bouts became the city's official painter and was asked to produce a series of panels—including *Wrongful Beheading of the Count* (fig. 20-15A) and *Justice of Otto III* (fig. 20-15B)—for Louvain's town hall. Bouts's *Last Supper* is one of the earliest Northern Renaissance paintings to employ *linear perspective* and a *vanishing point* to create the illusion of depth. All of the central room's *orthogonals* (converging diagonal lines imagined to be behind and perpendicular to the picture plane) lead to the vanishing point in the center of the mantelpiece above Jesus's head. The small side room, however, has its own vanishing point, and neither it nor the vanishing point of the main room falls on the horizon of the landscape (the *horizon line*) seen through the windows, as in Italian Renaissance paintings composed according to the strict rules of linear perspective (see "Linear Perspective," page 599).

In *Last Supper,* Bouts did not depict the biblical narrative itself but instead presented Jesus in the role of a priest performing the liturgical ritual of the consecration of the Eucharistic wafer. By dividing the apostles into two asymmetrical groups with no one sitting at the middle of the near side of the table, Bouts focused attention on the Savior and the food platter and wine chalice at the table's center. Bouts's *Last Supper* contrasts strongly with other depictions of the same subject, which often represented Jesus's prediction of Judas's betrayal or his comforting of John. The Confraternity of the Holy Sacrament dedicated itself to the worship of the Eucharist, and the smaller panels on the altarpiece's wings depict Old Testament *prefigurations* of the Eucharist—for example, at the top right, the gathering of manna in the desert and, at bottom left, Jews celebrating Passover (the occasion for Jesus's final meal). Bouts also added four servants (two looking through the window-like opening in the rear wall and two standing) not mentioned in the New Testament account, all dressed in Flemish attire. These are portraits of the four members of the confraternity who contracted Bouts to paint the altarpiece, continuing the Flemish tradition of inserting into representations of biblical events portraits of the painting's patrons, first noted in the *Mérode Triptych* (fig. 20-8), where the Inghelbrechts are also looking into the room from outside; that is, they are not participants in but witnesses of the biblical event.

Hugo van der Goes. By the mid-15th century, Flemish art had achieved renown throughout Europe. The *Portinari Altarpiece* (fig. 20-16), for example, is a large-scale Flemish work in a family chapel in Florence, Italy. The artist who received the commission was Hugo van der Goes (ca. 1440–1482), who joined the painters' guild of Ghent as a master in 1467 and served as the guild's dean from 1473 to 1475. Hugo painted the triptych in Flanders for Tommaso Portinari, an Italian shipowner and agent in Bruges for the powerful Medici bank of Florence. The altarpiece was Portinari's gift to the church of Sant'Egidio, and he appears on the wings with his family and their patron saints, who are much larger than the donors. The main panel, *Adoration of the Shepherds,* depicts a subject based on the 14th-century vision of a Swedish saint in which Mary, instead of cradling her newborn son, kneels solemnly to join Joseph, the angels, and the shepherds in adoring the infant Savior, who lies on the ground and glows with divine light. In order to situate the main actors at the center of the panel, Hugo tilted the ground, a compositional device he may have derived from the tilted stage floors of 15th-century mystery plays. Three shepherds enter

20-16 Hugo van der Goes, *Adoration of the Shepherds* (*Portinari Altarpiece,* open), from Sant'Egidio, Florence, Italy, ca. 1473–1478. Tempera and oil on wood, center panel 8′ 3½″ × 10′, each wing 8′ 3½″ × 4′ 7½″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

This altarpiece is a rare instance of the awarding of a major commission in Italy to a Flemish painter. The Florentines admired Hugo's realistic details and brilliant portrayal of human character.

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from the right rear. Hugo represented them in attitudes of wonder, piety, and gaping curiosity. Their lined faces, work-worn hands, and uncouth dress and manner indicate that they are common folk, very different than the three magi who will soon come to adore the newborn Jesus.

The architecture and a continuous Northern European landscape unify the three panels. (The bare trees of the setting establish that it is winter, the season of Christ's birth.) Symbols surface throughout the altarpiece. Iris and columbine flowers are emblems of the sorrows of the Virgin. The angels represent the 15 joys of Mary. A sheaf of wheat stands for Bethlehem (the "house of bread" in Hebrew), a reference to the Eucharist. The harp of David, emblazoned over the building's portal in the middle distance (just to the right of the Virgin's head), signifies the ancestry of Christ. To stress the meaning and significance of the illustrated event, Hugo revived medieval pictorial devices. Small scenes shown in the background of the altarpiece represent (from left to right) the journey of Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem, the annunciation to the shepherds, and the arrival of the magi. Hugo's variation in the scale of his figures to differentiate them by their importance to the central event also reflects older traditions. Still, he put a vigorous, penetrating realism to work in a new direction, characterizing human beings according to their social level while showing their common humanity.

After Portinari placed the altarpiece in his family's chapel in the Florentine church of Sant'Egidio, it created a considerable stir among Italian artists. Although the painting may have seemed unstructured to the Italians and the employing of *hierarchy of scale* old fashioned, Hugo's masterful technique and what the Florentines deemed incredible realism in representing drapery, flowers, animals, and, above all, human character and emotion made a deep impression on them. At least one Florentine artist, Domenico Ghirlandaio (FIGS. 21-26 and 21-27), paid tribute to the Flemish master by using Hugo's most striking motif, the adoring shepherds, in one of his own *Nativity* paintings.

Hans Memling. Hugo's contemporary, HANS MEMLING (ca. 1430–1494), may have trained as a painter in Rogier van der Weyden's studio. He became a citizen of Bruges in 1465 and received numerous commissions from the city's wealthy merchants, Flemish and foreign alike. He specialized in portraits of his patrons (one of whom was Tommaso Portinari; FIG. 20-18A) and images of the Madonna. Memling's many paintings of the Virgin portray young, slight, pretty princesses, each holding a doll-like infant Jesus. The center panel of the *Saint John Altarpiece* is *Virgin with Saints and Angels* (FIG. 20-17). The patrons of this altarpiece—two brothers and two sisters of the order of the Hospital of Saint John in Bruges—appear on the exterior side panels (not illustrated). In the main panel, two angels, one playing a musical instrument and the other holding a book, flank the Virgin. To the sides of Mary's throne stand Saints John the Baptist on the left and John the Evangelist on the right. Seated in the foreground are Saints Catherine and Barbara. This gathering celebrates the *mystic marriage* of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, one of many virgin saints believed to have entered into a spiritual marriage with Christ. As one of the most revered virgins of Christ, Saint Catherine provided a model of devotion that resonated with women viewers (especially nuns). The altarpiece exudes an opulence that results from the rich colors, the meticulously depicted tapestries and brocades, and the serenity of the figures. The composition

20-17 HANS MEMLING, *Virgin with Saints and Angels,* center panel of the *Saint John Altarpiece,* Hospitaal Sint Jan, Bruges, Belgium, 1479. Oil on wood, center panel 5′ 7¾″ × 5′ 7¾″, each wing 5′ 7¾″ × 2′ 7⅛″.

Memling specialized in images of the Madonna. His *Saint John Altarpiece* exudes an opulence that results from the sparkling and luminous oil colors and the realistic depiction of rich tapestries and brocades.

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1 in.

20-18 Hans Memling, *Diptych of Martin van Nieuwenhove,* 1487. Oil on wood, each panel 1′ 5 3/8″ × 1′ 1″. Memlingmuseum, Bruges.

In this diptych, the Virgin and Child pay a visit to the home of 23-year-old Martin van Nieuwenhove. A round convex mirror reflects the three figures and unites the two halves of the diptych spatially.

is balanced and serene, the color sparkling and luminous, and the execution of the highest technical quality.

Memling combined portraiture and Madonna imagery again in a much less ambitious—and more typical—work (fig. 20-18) that he painted for Martin van Nieuwenhove (1464–1500). The smaller scale of the private commission and its much more intimate character underscore the different approaches that painters regularly took when producing artworks for different kinds of patrons and for public versus private settings. Martin van Nieuwenhove was a member of an important Bruges family that held various posts in the civic government. He himself served as burgomeister of Bruges in 1497. The painting takes the form of a diptych, with the patron portrayed on the right wing praying to the Madonna and Child on the left wing, a format invented by Rogier van der Weyden. According to inscriptions on the frames, van Nieuwenhove commissioned the work in 1487 when he was 23 years old. He died only 13 years later, 3 years after becoming mayor.

The format of the van Nieuwenhove diptych follows the pattern that Memling used earlier for his wedding triptych *Tommaso Portinari and Maria Baroncelli* (fig. 20-18A) but with only a single (male) portrait. (The lost central section of the Portinari triptych probably closely resembled the van Nieuwenhove Madonna and Child.) Memling's portrayals of Mary and Jesus consistently feature a tender characterization of the young Virgin and her nude infant son. Here, however, Memling set both the Madonna and her patron in the interior of a well-appointed Flemish home featuring stained-glass windows. The window to the left of the Virgin's head bears van Nieuwenhove's coat of arms. The window behind the donor depicts his patron saint, Martin of Tours. These precisely recorded details identify the home as van Nieuwenhove's (the Minnewater Bridge in Bruges is visible through the open window), and the Madonna and Child have honored him by coming to his private residence. Even Saint Luke had to go to the Virgin's home to paint her portrait (fig. 20-1), but the conceit is a familiar one in Flemish painting. An early example is the Annunciation taking place in the home of Peter Inghelbrecht in Robert Campin's *Mérode Triptych* (fig. 20-8). In the Memling portrait diptych, the Christ Child sits on the same ledge as the donor's open prayer book. Also uniting the two wings of the diptych is the round convex mirror behind the Virgin's right shoulder in which the viewer sees the reflection of the Virgin's back and van Nieuwenhove as well as the rest of the room (compare figs. 20-11 and 20-14).

20-18A Memling, *Tommaso Portinari and Maria Baroncelli,* ca. 1470.

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FRANCE

In contrast to the prosperity and peace that Flanders enjoyed during the 15th century, in France the Hundred Years' War crippled economic enterprise and prevented political stability. The anarchy of war and the weakness of the kings gave rise to a group of duchies, each with significant power and the resources to commission major artworks. The strongest and wealthiest of these has already been examined—the duchy of Burgundy, which controlled Flanders, as well as the duchy of Berry in France. The French dukes of Bourbon and Nemours as well as members of the French royal court were also important art patrons. In addition to illustrated books, such as the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (FIGS. 20-5 and 20-6), independent paintings were popular in France, as in Flanders, for private devotional use. The preferred medium was oil paint on wood panels.

Jean Fouquet. Among the French artists whose paintings were in high demand was JEAN FOUQUET (ca. 1425–1478). Fouquet's workshop was in Tours, and he received important commissions from King Charles VII (r. 1422–1461, the patron and client of Jacques Coeur; FIG. 13-31) and from the duke of Nemours and other elite members of the French aristocracy. Fouquet painted a diptych (FIG. 20-19) for Étienne Chevalier, who, despite his lowly birth as the son of one of Charles VII's secretaries, rose to become royal treasurer in 1452. In the left panel of the *Melun Diptych* (named for its original location in Melun Cathedral), Chevalier appears with his patron saint, Saint Stephen (Étienne in French). Appropriately, Fouquet's donor portrait of Chevalier depicts his prominent patron as devout—kneeling, with hands clasped in prayer. The representation of the pious donor with his standing saint recalls Flemish art, as do the three-quarter stances and the realism of Chevalier's portrait. The artist portrayed Saint Stephen, whose head also has a portraitlike quality, holding the stone symbolizing his martyrdom (death by stoning) atop a volume of the holy scriptures, thereby ensuring that viewers can properly identify the saint. Fouquet rendered the entire image in meticulous detail and included a highly ornamented architectural setting.

In its original diptych form (the two panels are now in different museums), the viewer would follow the gaze of Chevalier and Saint Stephen over to the right panel, which depicts the Virgin Mary and Christ Child in a most unusual way—with marblelike flesh, surrounded by red and blue *cherubs* (chubby winged child angels). The juxtaposition of these two images enabled the patron to bear witness to the sacred. The integration of sacred and secular (especially the political or personal), prevalent in other Northern Renaissance artworks, also emerges here, which complicates the reading of this diptych. Agnès Sorel (1421–1450), the mistress of Charles VII, was Fouquet's model for the Virgin Mary, whose left breast is exposed, presumably to nurse the infant Jesus, but she does not look at her son or the viewer. (Mary as nursing mother is a not uncommon way of representing the Virgin in Northern Europe; compare FIG. 20-1.) Chevalier commissioned this painting after Sorel's death, probably by poisoning while pregnant with the king's child. Thus, in addition to the religious interpretation of this diptych, there is surely a personal

20-19 JEAN FOUQUET, *Melun Diptych,* ca. 1452. Left wing: *Étienne Chevalier and Saint Stephen.* Oil on wood, 3′ $\frac{1}{2}$″ × 2′ 9$\frac{1}{2}$″. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin. Right wing: *Virgin and Child.* Oil on wood, 3′ 1$\frac{1}{4}$″ × 2′ 9$\frac{1}{2}$″. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp.

Fouquet's meticulous representation of a pious kneeling donor with a standing patron saint recalls Flemish painting, as do the three-quarter stances and the realism of the donor's portrait head.

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20-20 Konrad Witz, *Miraculous Draft of Fish,* exterior wing of *Altarpiece of Saint Peter,* from the Chapel of Notre-Dame des Maccabées, Cathedral of Saint Peter, Geneva, Switzerland, 1444. Oil on wood, 4′ 3″ × 5′ 1″. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.

Konrad Witz set this biblical story on Lake Geneva. The painting is one of the first 15th-century works depicting a specific locale and is noteworthy for the painter's skill in rendering water effects.

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and political narrative here as well, made all the more complex given that Sorel gave birth to three of the king's daughters, but never a son.

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Because the Holy Roman Empire (whose core was Germany) did not participate in the drawn-out saga of the Hundred Years' War, its economy remained stable and prosperous. Without a dominant court to commission artworks, wealthy merchants and clergy became the primary German art patrons during the 15th century.

Panel Painting

The art of the early Northern Renaissance in the Holy Roman Empire displays a pronounced stylistic diversity. Some artists followed developments in Flemish painting, and large-scale altarpieces featuring naturalistically painted biblical themes were familiar sights in German churches.

Konrad Witz. Among the most notable 15th-century German altarpieces is the *Altarpiece of Saint Peter,* painted by Konrad Witz (ca. 1400–1446) for the chapel of Notre-Dame des Maccabées in the Cathedral of Saint Peter in Geneva. Signed by "Magister Conradus of Basel" and dated 1444, the altarpiece is a triptych featuring Witz's paintings on both the exterior and interior. *Miraculous Draft of Fish* (fig. 20-20) appears on one of the exterior wings. The other (not illustrated) depicts the release of Saint Peter from prison. The central panel is lost. On the interior wings, Witz painted scenes of the adoration of the magi and of Saint Peter's presentation of the donor (Bishop François de Mies) to the Virgin and Child. *Miraculous Draft of Fish* shows Peter, the first pope, unsuccessfully trying to emulate Christ walking on water. The choice of this episode from among others in Peter's life (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247) may be a commentary on the part of Witz's patron, the Geneva cardinal, on the limited power of the pope in Rome.

The painting is particularly significant because of the landscape's prominence. Witz showed his considerable skill in the recording of water effects—the shimmering sky on the slowly moving lake surface, the mirrored reflections of the figures in the boat, and the transparency of the shallow water in the foreground. He observed and represented the landscape so carefully that art historians have been able to determine the exact location shown. Witz presented a view of the shores of Lake Geneva, with the town of Geneva on the right and Le Môle Mountain in the distance behind Christ's head. This painting is one of the first 15th-century works depicting a specific, identifiable site.

The work of other leading German painters of the mid-15th century—for example, Stefan Lochner (ca. 1400–1451)—retained medieval features to a much greater degree, as is immediately evident in a comparison between Witz's landscape and Lochner's *Madonna in the Rose Garden* (fig. 20-20A).

20-20A Lochner, *Madonna in the Rose Garden,* ca. 1435–1440.

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Sculpture

As in Flanders (FIG. 20-3), in the Holy Roman Empire many of the leading 15th-century artists specialized in carving large wood retables. These grandiose sculpted altarpieces reveal the lingering power of the Late Gothic style.

Veit Stoss. The sculptor VEIT STOSS (ca. 1447–1533) trained in the Upper Rhine region, possibly in Strasbourg, but settled in Kraków (in present-day Poland) in 1477. In that year, he began work on a monumental altarpiece for the church of Saint Mary in Kraków, paid for by the city's citizens. In the central boxlike shrine is *Death and Assumption of the Virgin* (FIG. 20-21), peopled by huge carved, painted, and gilded figures, some 9 feet high. On both the outer and inner faces of the wings, Stoss portrayed scenes from the lives of Christ and Mary. The altar forcefully expresses the intense piety of Gothic culture in its late phase, when artists used every figural and ornamental motif in the repertoire of Gothic art to heighten the emotion and glorify sacred events. In the center panel of the Kraków altarpiece, Christ's disciples congregate around the Virgin, who collapses, dying. One of them supports her, while another wrings his hands in grief. Above, Mary rises to Heaven with the resurrected Christ. Stoss posed others in attitudes of woe and psychic shock, striving for realism in every minute detail. He engulfed the figures in restless, twisting, and curving swaths of drapery whose broken and writhing lines unite the whole tableau in a vision of agitated emotion. The artist's massing of sharp, broken, and pierced forms that dart flamelike through the composition—at once unifying and animating it—recalls the design principles of Late Gothic architecture (FIG. 13-28). Indeed, in the Kraków altarpiece, Stoss merged sculpture and architecture, enhancing their union with paint and gilding.

The Kraków altarpiece gives modern viewers the opportunity to appreciate the polychromy that was standard in ancient and medieval sculpture in both wood and stone. Examples such as this one are unfortunately rare. The vast majority of preserved statues and reliefs from antiquity and the Middle Ages give a false impression of their original appearance (compare FIGS. 3-13A and 5-63A) because the paint has disappeared.

20-21 VEIT STOSS, *Death and Assumption of the Virgin,* center panel of the *Altarpiece of the Virgin Mary* (with wings open), Church of Saint Mary, Kraków, Poland, 1477–1489. Painted and gilded lime-wood, central panel 23′ 9″ high.

In this huge painted and gilded sculptured wood altarpiece, Stoss used every figural and ornamental element from the vocabulary of Gothic art to heighten the emotion and glorify the sacred event.

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20-22 Tilman Riemenschneider, *Assumption of the Virgin* (*Creglingen Altarpiece*), Herrgottskirche, Creglingen, Germany, ca. 1495–1505. Lime-wood, 30′ 2″ high.

Riemenschneider specialized in carving large unpainted wood retables. His works feature intricate Gothic tracery and religious figures whose bodies are almost lost within their swirling garments.

Tilman Riemenschneider. *Assumption of the Virgin* is also the center panel of the *Creglingen Altarpiece* (fig. 20-22), carved by Tilman Riemenschneider (ca. 1460–1531) of Würzburg for a parish church in Creglingen, Germany. Riemenschneider incorporated intricate Gothic forms, especially in the 30-foot-tall altarpiece's elaborate canopy, but unlike Stoss, he did not paint the figures or the background, relying instead purely on sculptural form. The Würzburg master succeeded in setting the whole design into fluid motion by employing an endless and restless line running through the garments of the figures. The draperies float and flow around bodies lost within them, serving not as descriptions but as design elements that tie the figures to one another and to the framework. A look of psychic strain, a facial expression common in Riemenschneider's work, heightens the spirituality of the figures, immaterial and weightless as they appear.

Graphic Arts

A new age blossomed in the 15th century with a sudden technological advance that had widespread effects—the invention by Johannes Gutenberg (ca. 1400–1468) of moveable type around 1450 and the development of the printing press. Printing had been known in China centuries before, but had never fostered, as it did in 15th-century Europe, a revolution in written communication and in the generation and management of information. Printing provided new and challenging media for artists, and the earliest form was the *woodcut.* Artists produced inexpensive woodcuts such as the *Buxheim Saint Christopher* (fig. 20-22A) before the development of moveable-type printing. But when the improved economy and a rise in literacy necessitated the production of illustrated books on a grand scale, artists met the challenge of bringing the woodcut picture onto the same letterpress text pages (see "How to Illustrate Printed Books," page 589).

20-22A *Buxheim Saint Christopher,* 1423(?).

Martin Schongauer. The woodcut medium hardly had matured when printmakers introduced the technique of *engraving* (see "Engraving and Etching," page 590). Begun in the 1430s and well developed by 1450, engraving proved much more flexible than woodcut. Predictably, in the second half of the century, engraving began to replace the woodcut process for making both book illustrations and widely popular single prints. Not surprisingly, many of the earliest engravers were professional goldsmiths, who easily applied their training in incising designs into gold and silver jewelry to the new art form.

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How to Illustrate Printed Books

With the invention of moveable type in the 15th century and the new widespread availability of paper from commercial mills, the art of printmaking developed rapidly in Europe. A *print* is an artwork created by transferring a design on a metal plate or a wood or stone block to a sheet of paper. Prints are usually produced in multiple impressions. The set of prints that an artist creates from a single block or plate is called an *edition.* Like the manufacturing of books on a press, the printmaking process involves the transfer of ink from a printing surface to paper. This can be accomplished in several ways.

The oldest and simplest is the *relief* method—carving the design into a surface, usually a soft wood, such as pear. Relief printing requires artists to conceptualize their images in reverse—that is, they must draw mirror images of the intended design on the wood block. They then remove the surface areas around the drawn lines using a gouging instrument. Thus when the printmaker inks the ridges that correspond to the original (reversed) drawing, the hollow areas remain dry, and a correctly oriented image results when the artist presses the printing block against paper. Because artists produce *woodcuts* through a subtractive process (removing parts of the material), it is difficult to create very thin, fluid, and closely spaced lines. Moreover, if the ridges are too thin, they will break during printing. As a result, woodcut prints (for example, FIGS. I-9, 20-22A, and 20-23) tend to exhibit stark contrasts between the dark lines and the blank background.

During the later 15th century, publishers realized that the woodcut was the ideal medium for solving the problem of illustrating their new printed books. The new technology quickly led to the demise of the manuscript illuminator as well as the scribe, both of whom had been essential for the production of illustrated books through the late Middle Ages, whether they were monks working in monastic *scriptoria* or lay professionals employed in the for-profit workshops of Paris and other cities.

The most ambitious early effort to produce low-cost mass-produced printed books was the so-called *Nuremberg Chronicle,* a history of the world produced in Nuremberg by ANTON KOBERGER (ca. 1445–1513), with more than 650 illustrations furnished by the workshop of MICHAEL WOLGEMUT (1434–1519). The hand-colored page illustrated here (FIG. 20-23) represents *Madeburga* (modern Magdeburg, Germany). The blunt, simple lines of the woodcut technique give a detailed perspective of Magdeburg, its harbor and shipping, its walls and towers, its churches and municipal buildings, and a statue-topped columnar monument. Despite the numerous architectural structures, this illustration is not an accurate depiction of the city but the product of the artist's fanciful imagination. Wolgemut often used the same image to illustrate different cities, even those with very little in common—for example, Verona, Italy, and Damascus, Syria. This depiction of Magdeburg is a generic view of a late medieval German town, not a portrait of a specific place. Regardless, the *Nuremberg Chronicle* is a monument to a new craft, which expanded in concert with the art of the printed book.

1 in.

20-23 MICHAEL WOLGEMUT and workshop, *Madeburga,* page from the *Nuremberg Chronicle,* 1493. Woodcut, 1′ 6 $\frac{1}{8}$″ × 2′ 1 $\frac{5}{8}$″. Printed by ANTON KOBERGER.

The *Nuremberg Chronicle* is an early example of woodcut illustrations in printed books. The more than 650 pictures include detailed views of towns, but they are generic rather than specific portrayals.

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MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Engraving and Etching

In contrast to the production of relief prints, in the *intaglio* method of printmaking, the artist *incises* (cuts) the lines on a metal plate, often copper, rather than cuts away the area around the lines, as the relief printer does. The image can be created on the plate manually (*engraving* or *drypoint*; for example, FIG. 20-24) using a tool (a *burin* or *stylus*) or chemically (*etching*; for example, FIG. 25-16). In the etching process, an acid bath eats into the exposed parts of the plate where the artist has drawn through an acid-resistant coating. When the artist inks the surface of the intaglio plate and wipes it clean, the ink is forced into the incisions. Then the artist runs the plate and paper through a roller press, and the paper absorbs the remaining ink, creating the print. Because the artist "draws" the image onto the plate, intaglio prints differ in character from relief prints, such as woodcuts. Engravings, drypoints, and etchings generally present a wider variety of linear effects, as is immediately evident in a comparison of the roughly contemporaneous woodcut (FIG. 20-23) by Michael Wolgemut and an engraving (FIG. 20-24) by Martin Schongauer. Intaglio prints also often reveal to a greater extent evidence of the artist's touch, the result of the hand's changing pressure and shifting directions.

The paper and inks that artists use also affect the finished look of the printed image. During the 15th and 16th centuries, European printmakers used papers produced from cotton and linen rags that papermakers mashed with water into a pulp. The papermakers then applied a thin layer of this pulp to a wire screen and let it dry to create the paper. As contact with Asia increased, printmakers made greater use of what was called Japan paper (of mulberry fibers) and China paper. Artists, then as now, could select from a wide variety of inks. The type and proportion of the ink ingredients affect the consistency, color, and oiliness of inks, which various papers absorb differently.

Paper is lightweight, and the portability of prints has been an important factor in their appeal to artists. The opportunity to produce numerous impressions from the same print surface also made printmaking attractive to 15th- and 16th-century artists. In addition, prints can be sold at much lower prices than paintings or sculptures. Consequently, prints reached a far wider audience than did one-of-a-kind artworks. The number and quality of existing 15th- and 16th-century European prints attest to the importance of the new print medium.

20-24 MARTIN SCHONGAUER, *Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons*, ca. 1480. Engraving, 1′ $\frac{1}{4}$″ × 9″. Fondazione Magnani Rocca, Corte di Mamiano.

Schongauer was the most skilled of the early masters of metal engraving. By using a burin to incise lines in a copper plate, he was able to create a marvelous variety of tonal values and textures.

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MARTIN SCHONGAUER (ca. 1430–1491) of Colmar, a painter and the son of a goldsmith, was the most skilled and subtle Northern European master of metal engraving. His *Saint Anthony Tormented by Demons* (FIG. 20-24) shows both the versatility of the medium and the artist's mastery of it. The stoic saint is caught in a revolving thornbush of spiky demons, who claw and tear at him furiously. With unsurpassed skill and subtlety, Schongauer incised lines of varying thickness and density into a metal plate and created marvelous distinctions of tonal values and textures—from smooth skin to rough cloth, from the furry and feathery to the hairy and scaly. The use of *cross-hatching* (sets of engraved lines at right angles) to describe forms, which Schongauer probably developed, became standard among German graphic artists. The Italians preferred *parallel hatching* (FIG. 21-29) and rarely adopted cross-hatching, which, in keeping with the general Northern Renaissance approach to art, tends to describe the surfaces of things rather than their underlying structures.

Schongauer probably engraved *Saint Anthony* around 1480. By then, the political geography of Europe had changed dramatically. Charles the Bold, who had assumed the title of duke of Burgundy in 1467, died in 1477, bringing to an end the Burgundian dream of forming a strong middle kingdom between France and the Holy Roman Empire. After Charles's death at the battle of Nancy, the French monarchy reabsorbed the southern Burgundian lands, and the Netherlands passed to the Holy Roman Empire by virtue of the dynastic marriage of Charles's daughter, Mary of Burgundy (FIG. 20-7), to Maximilian of Habsburg, inaugurating a new political and artistic era in Northern Europe, examined in Chapter 23. The next two chapters, however, explore Italian developments in painting, sculpture, and architecture during the 15th and 16th centuries.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Northern Europe

French Ducal Courts

- The most powerful rulers north of the Alps during the first three quarters of the 15th century were the dukes of Burgundy. They controlled Flanders, which derived its wealth from wool and banking, and were great art patrons. Duke Philip the Bold (r. 1363–1404) endowed the Carthusian monastery at Champmol, near Dijon, which became a ducal mausoleum. The head of Philip's sculptural workshop was Claus Sluter, whose *Well of Moses* features innovative statues of prophets with portraitlike features and realistic costumes.
- In the 15th century, Northern European artists popularized the use of oil paints on wood panels. By superimposing translucent glazes, painters could create richer colors than possible using tempera or fresco. One of the earliest examples of oil painting is Melchior Broederlam's wings of the *Retable de Champmol,* painted for Philip the Bold. Carved wood narrative reliefs by Jacques de Baerze fill the retable's interior.
- The Limbourg brothers expanded the illusionistic capabilities of manuscript illumination in the Book of Hours they produced for Jean, duke of Berry (r. 1360–1416) and brother of King Charles V (r. 1364–1380). Their full-page calendar pictures alternately represent the nobility and the peasantry, always in seasonal, naturalistic settings with realistically painted figures.

de Baerze, *Retable de Champmol,* 1399

Limbourg brothers, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry,* 1413–1416

Flanders

- A major art form in Flemish churches and private homes alike was the altarpiece with folding wings. In Robert Campin's *Mérode Triptych,* the Annunciation takes place in a Flemish home. As is typical of "Northern Renaissance" art, the everyday objects in the triptych have symbolic significance. The largest altarpiece of the era is the *Ghent Altarpiece,* begun by Hubert van Eyck and completed by his brother Jan.
- Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, and others established portraiture as an important art form in 15th-century Flanders. Their subjects were successful businessmen, both Flemish and foreign, and occasionally themselves. Jan portrayed himself wearing a red turban, and Rogier represented himself in the guise of Saint Luke drawing the Virgin.
- Among the other major Flemish painters were Petrus Christus and Hans Memling of Bruges, Dieric Bouts of Louvain, and Hugo van der Goes of Ghent, all of whom produced both altarpieces for churches and portraits for the homes of wealthy merchants.

van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece,* ca. 1423–1432

France and the Holy Roman Empire

- During the 15th century, the Hundred Years' War crippled the French economy, but dukes and members of the royal court still commissioned some notable artworks. French court art—for example, Jean Fouquet's *Melun Diptych*—owes a large debt to Flemish painting in style and technique as well as in the integration of sacred and secular themes.
- The Late Gothic style remained popular in 15th-century Germany for large carved wood retables featuring highly emotive figures amid Gothic tracery. The leading sculptors were Veit Stoss and Tilman Riemenschneider.
- The major German innovation of the 15th century was the development of the printing press, which publishers soon used to produce books with woodcut illustrations. Woodcuts are relief prints in which the artist carves out the areas around the lines to be printed.
- German artists, such as Martin Schongauer, were the earliest masters of engraving. The intaglio technique enables a wider variety of linear effects because the artist incises the image directly onto a metal plate.

Fouquet, *Melun Diptych,* ca. 1452

Nuremberg Chronicle, 1493

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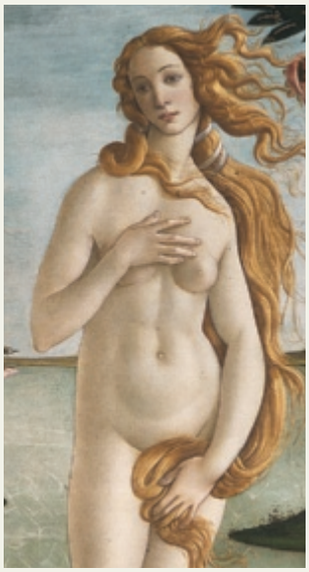
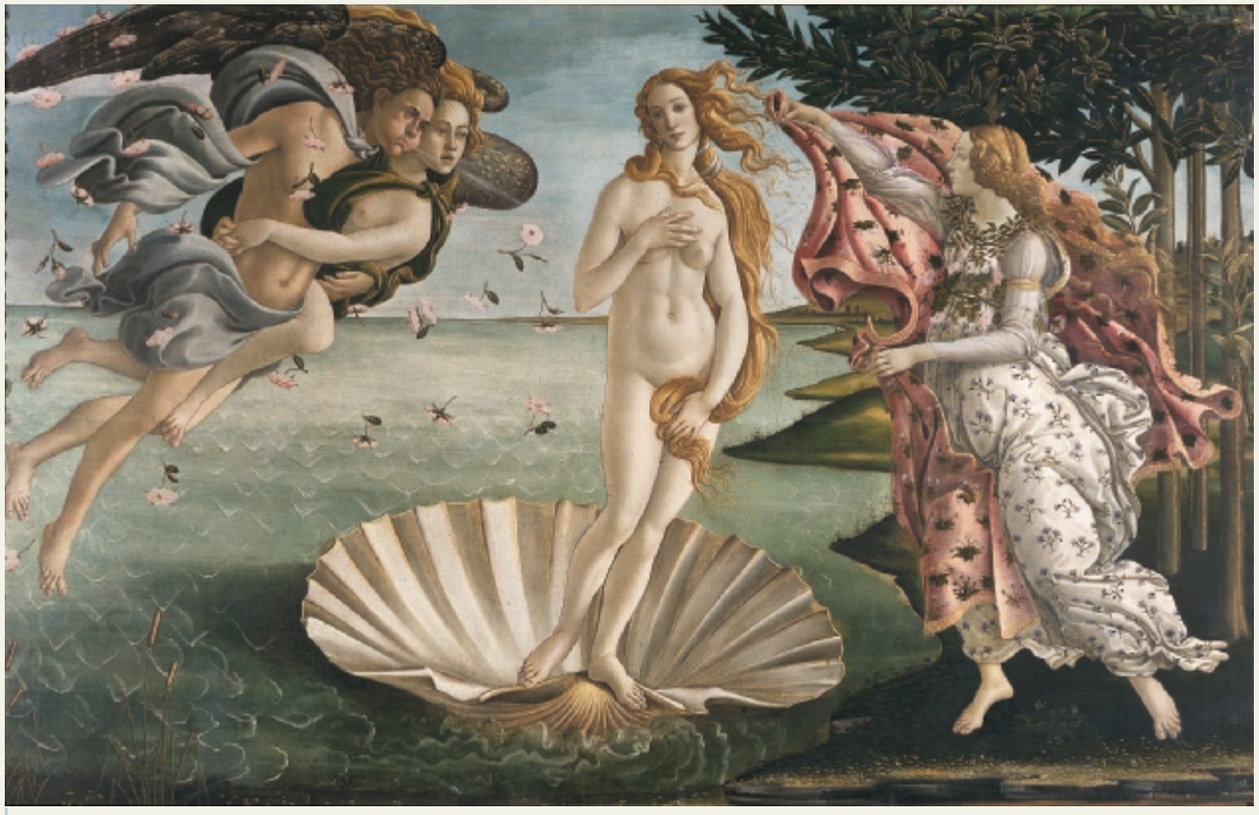
◀**21-1a** Inspired by a poem by Angelo Poliziano, Botticelli painted *Birth of Venus* for the Medici between 1484 and 1486. At the left, Zephyrus, carrying Chloris, blows Venus on a cockleshell to Cyprus.



◀**21-1b** Botticelli's revival of the theme of the female nude, largely absent from medieval art, was consistent with the Quattrocento view that beholding physical beauty prompts the contemplation of spiritual beauty.



1 ft.

21-1 **Sandro Botticelli, *Birth of Venus,* ca. 1484–1486. Tempera on canvas, 5′ 9″ × 9′ 2″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.**

◀**21-1c** Awaiting the newborn goddess of love on her sacred island is the nymph Pomona, who runs to meet Venus with a brocaded mantle. Her draperies undulate loosely in the gentle gusts of wind.

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THE RENAISSANCE IN QUATTROCENTO ITALY 21

FRAMING THE ERA

The Medici, Botticelli, and Classical Antiquity

The leading, but by no means the only, center of the Renaissance in 15th-century Italy was Florence (see "The Princely Courts," page 625). And the name above all that has become synonymous with that extraordinary cultural phenomenon is Medici. By early in the *Quattrocento* (the '400s, in Italian), the banker Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici (ca. 1360–1429) had established the family fortune. His son Cosimo (1389–1464) became a great patron of art and of learning in the broadest sense. Cosimo's grandson Lorenzo (1449–1492), called *Il Magnifico* (the Magnificent), gathered about him a galaxy of artists and gifted men in all fields and spent lavishly on buildings, paintings, and sculptures. Indeed, scarcely a single great Florentine Quattrocento architect, painter, sculptor, philosopher, or humanist scholar failed to enjoy Medici patronage.

Of all the masters the Medici employed, perhaps the most famous today is Sandro Botticelli (1444–1510). His work is a testament to the intense interest that Quattrocento humanist scholars and the Medici had in the art, literature, and mythology of the Greco-Roman world—often interpreted in terms of Christianity according to the philosophical tenets of Renaissance humanism.

Botticelli painted *Birth of Venus* (fig. 21-1) for the Medici based on a poem by Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), a leading humanist of the day. In Botticelli's representation of Poliziano's version of the Greek myth, Venus (the Roman equivalent of the Greek goddess Aphrodite), born of the sea foam (*aphros*), stands on a floating cockleshell at the center of the painting. Zephyrus, the west wind, carrying the *nymph* Chloris, blows Venus to her sacred island, Cyprus. There, the nymph Pomona runs to meet her with a brocaded mantle. Zephyrus's breath moves all the figures without effort. Draperies undulate easily in the gentle gusts, perfumed by rose petals that fall on the whitecaps.

The most remarkable aspect of *Birth of Venus* is that Botticelli used as a model for his Venus an ancient statue similar to the *Aphrodite of Knidos* (fig. 5-62) by the famed Greek sculptor Praxiteles. The nude, especially the female nude, was exceedingly rare during the Middle Ages. The artist's depiction of Venus unclothed (especially on such a large scale—roughly life-size) could have drawn harsh criticism. But in the more accommodating Renaissance culture and under the protection of the powerful Medici, Botticelli's nude Venus went unchallenged, in part because his painting was susceptible to a Christian reading. Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), for example, made the case in his treatise *On Love* (1469) that those who embrace the contemplative life of reason—including, of course, the humanists in the Medici circle—will immediately contemplate spiritual and divine beauty whenever they behold physical beauty. In this manner, Italian Renaissance patrons made classical learning and Christian faith compatible.

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RENAISSANCE HUMANISM

The humanism that Petrarch and Boccaccio promoted during the 14th century (see "Renaissance Humanism," page 424) fully blossomed in the 15th century. Increasingly, Italians in elite circles embraced the tenets underlying humanism—an emphasis on education and on expanding knowledge (especially of classical antiquity), the exploration of individual potential and a desire to excel, and a commitment to civic responsibility and moral duty. Quattrocento Italy also enjoyed an abundance of artistic talent. The fortunate coming together of artistic genius, the spread of humanism, and economic prosperity nourished the Renaissance, forever changing the direction and perception of art in the Western world.

For the Italian humanists, the quest for knowledge began with the legacy of the Greeks and Romans—the writings of Plato, Aristotle, Ovid, and others. The development of a vernacular literature based on the commonly spoken Tuscan dialect expanded the audience for humanist writings. Further, the invention of moveable metal type in Germany around 1445 facilitated the printing and wide distribution of books (see "Printed Books," page 589). Italians greeted this new printing process enthusiastically. By 1464, Subiaco (near Rome) boasted a press, and by 1469, Venice had established one as well. Among the first books printed in Italy using this new technology was Dante's *Divine Comedy,* his epic about Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell. The production of editions in Foligno (1472), Mantua (1472), Venice (1472), Naples (1477 and 1478–1479), and Milan (1478) testifies to the widespread popularity of Dante's work.

The humanists also avidly acquired information in a wide range of fields, including botany, geology, geography, optics, medicine, and engineering. Leonardo da Vinci's phenomenal expertise in many fields—from art and architecture to geology, aerodynamics, hydraulics, botany, and military science, among many others (see "Leonardo da Vinci," page 636)—still defines the modern notion of the "Renaissance man." Humanism also fostered a belief in individual potential and encouraged personal achievement, as well as civic responsibility. Whereas people in medieval society accorded great power to divine will in determining the events that affected lives, those in Renaissance Italy adopted a more secular stance. Humanists not only encouraged individual improvement but also rewarded excellence with fame and honor. Achieving and excelling through hard work became moral imperatives.

Quattrocento Italy witnessed constant fluctuations in its political and economic spheres, including shifting power relations among the numerous city-states and the rise of princely courts (see "Art in the Princely Courts of Renaissance Italy," page 625). *Condottieri* (military leaders) with large numbers of mercenary troops at their disposal played a major role in the ongoing struggle for power. At Urbino, Mantua, and elsewhere, courts headed by dukes and condottieri emerged as cultural and artistic centers alongside the great civic art centers of the 14th century, especially the Republic of Florence. The association of humanism with education and culture appealed to accomplished individuals of high status, and humanism had its greatest impact among the elite and powerful—the most influential art patrons—whether in the republics or the princely courts. As a result, humanist ideas came to permeate Italian Renaissance art. The intersection of art with humanist doctrines during the Renaissance is evident in the popularity of subjects selected from classical history or mythology (for example, FIG. 21-1), in the increased concern with developing perspective systems and depicting anatomy accurately, in the revival of portraiture and other self-promoting forms of patronage, and in citizens' extensive commissions of civic and religious art.

FLORENCE

Because high-level patronage required significant accumulated wealth, those individuals, whether princes or merchants, who had managed to prosper came to the fore in artistic circles. The best-known Italian Renaissance art patrons were the Medici, the leading bankers of the Republic of Florence (see "The Medici," page 593), yet the earliest important artistic commission in 15th-century Florence was not a Medici project but rather a competition held by the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore and sponsored by the city's guild of wool merchants.

Sculpture

In 1401, at a time when Florence was threatened from without, the cathedral's art directors held a competition to make bronze doors for the east portal of the Baptistery of San Giovanni (FIG. 12-30). In the late 1390s, Giangaleazzo Visconti, the first duke of Milan (r. 1378–1395), had begun a military campaign to take over the Italian peninsula. By 1401, when the cathedral's art directors initiated the baptistery doors competition, Visconti's troops had surrounded Florence, and its independence was in serious jeopardy. Despite dwindling water and food supplies, Florentine officials exhorted the public to defend the city's freedom. For example, the humanist chancellor Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) urged his fellow citizens to adopt the republican ideal of civil and political liberty associated with ancient Rome and to identify themselves with its spirit. To be a citizen of the Florentine Republic was to be Roman. Freedom was the distinguishing virtue of both societies. The decision to beautify the city's baptistery in the face of Visconti's threat was an expression of Florentine freedom and defiance—and an opportunity for the wool merchants to assert their preeminence among Florentine guilds. In 1402, when Visconti died suddenly, Florence retained its independence, and the wool guild proceeded with the baptistery doors.

THE RENAISSANCE IN QUATTROCENTO ITALY

1400–1425	1425–1450	1450–1475	1475–1500
■ Ghiberti wins the competition to design new doors for Florence's baptistery ■ Nanni di Banco, Donatello, and others create statues for Or San Michele ■ Masaccio carries Giotto's naturalism further in the Brancacci chapel ■ Brunelleschi develops linear perspective and designs the Ospedale degli Innocenti, the first Renaissance building	■ Ghiberti installs the *Gates of Paradise* facing Florence Cathedral ■ Donatello revives freestanding nude male statuary ■ Michelozzo builds the new Medici palace in Florence ■ Alberti publishes his treatise on painting ■ Marino Contarini builds his "House of Gold" in Venice	■ Federico da Montefeltro brings Piero della Francesca to the Urbino court ■ Alberti applies the principles of his *On the Art of Building* to architectural projects in Florence and Mantua ■ Mantegna creates illusionistic paintings for the Camera Picta in Mantua ■ Pietro Lombardo and his sons carve tombs for the doges of Venice	■ Botticelli paints classical mythological allegories for the Medici ■ Savonarola condemns humanism, and the Medici flee Florence ■ Pope Sixtus IV employs leading painters to decorate the Sistine Chapel ■ Bellini founds the Venetian High Renaissance school of painting

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Sacrifice of Isaac. The Florentines considered the baptistery doors commission singularly prestigious because the east entrance to the baptistery faced the cathedral (FIG. 14-19; see MAP 21-1, page 615). The competition is historically important not only for the quality of the work submitted by those seeking the commission but also because it showcased several key elements of Italian Renaissance art: personal or, in this case, guild patronage as both a civic duty and a form of self-promotion; the esteem accorded to individual artists; and the development of a new pictorial illusionism.

Between 1330 and 1335, Andrea Pisano had designed the south doors (FIG. 14-20) of the baptistery with reliefs framed by Gothic quatrefoils. The jurors of the 1401 competition for the second set of doors required each entrant to submit a similarly framed relief panel depicting the sacrifice of Isaac. This episode from the book of Genesis (22:2–13) centers on God's order to Abraham to sacrifice his son Isaac as a demonstration of Abraham's devotion (see "Old Testament Subjects in Christian Art," page 242). As Abraham was about to comply, an angel intervened and stopped him from plunging the knife into his son's throat. Because of the parallel between Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac and God's sacrifice of his son to redeem humankind, Christians viewed the sacrifice of Isaac as a *prefiguration* (prophetic forerunner) of Jesus's crucifixion.

Brunelleschi and Ghiberti. The jury selected seven semifinalists from among the many artists who entered the widely advertised competition. Only the panels of the two finalists, FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI (1377–1446) and LORENZO GHIBERTI (1378–1455), have survived. At 24 and 23 years old respectively, they were also the two youngest entrants in the competition. As instructed, both artists used the same French-style frames and depicted the same moment of the narrative—the angel's interruption of the action. Brunelleschi's entry (FIG. 21-2) is a vigorous interpretation of the theme and recalls the emotional agitation of Giovanni Pisano's relief sculptures (FIG. 14-4). Abraham seems suddenly to have summoned the dreadful courage needed to murder his son at God's command. He lunges forward, robes flying, and exposes the terrified Isaac's throat to the knife. Matching Abraham's energy, the saving angel flies in from the left, grabbing Abraham's arm to stop the killing (compare FIG. 13-46). Brunelleschi's figures demonstrate his ability to represent faithfully and dramatically all the elements in the biblical narrative.

Whereas Brunelleschi imbued his image with violent movement and high emotion, Ghiberti emphasized grace and smoothness. In Ghiberti's panel (FIG. 21-3), Abraham appears in a typically Gothic pose with outthrust hip (compare FIG. 13-27) and seems to contemplate the act he is about to perform, even as he draws back his arm to strike. The figure of Isaac, beautifully posed and rendered, recalls Greco-Roman statuary, and many art historians cite it as the first classical nude since antiquity. (Compare, for example, the torsion of Isaac's body and the dramatic turn of his head with the posture of the ancient statue of a Gaul plunging a sword into his own chest; FIG. 5-81.) Unlike his medieval predecessors, Ghiberti revealed a genuine appreciation of the nude male form and a deep interest in how the muscular system and skeletal structure move the human body. Even the altar on which Isaac kneels displays Ghiberti's emulation of antique models. Decorating it are acanthus scrolls of a type that commonly adorned Roman temple friezes in

21-2 FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI, *Sacrifice of Isaac,* competition panel for the east doors of the Baptistery of San Giovanni, Florence, Italy, 1401–1402. Gilded bronze, 1′ 9″ × 1′ 5½″. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

Brunelleschi's entry in the competition to create new bronze doors for the Florentine baptistery shows a frantic angel about to halt an emotional, lunging Abraham clothed in swirling Gothic robes.

21-3 LORENZO GHIBERTI, *Sacrifice of Isaac,* competition panel for the east doors of the Baptistery of San Giovanni, Florence, Italy, 1401–1402. Gilded bronze, 1′ 9″ × 1′ 5½″. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

In contrast to Brunelleschi's panel (FIG. 21-2), Ghiberti's entry in the baptistery competition features gracefully posed figures that recall classical statuary. Isaac's altar has a Roman acanthus frieze.

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ARTISTS ON ART

The *Commentarii* of Lorenzo Ghiberti

In addition to his many achievements as an artist, Lorenzo Ghiberti was also the first Renaissance art historian. His *Commentarii* in three books revives an ancient literary genre. The first book, which is heavily dependent on Pliny the Elder (see "Polykleitos's Prescription for the Perfect Statue," page 131) and Vitruvius (see "Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture,*" page 204), is an admiring account of the naturalistic art of classical antiquity. Book 2 deals with the art of his own time and the previous century and notably includes the earliest preserved autobiography of an artist. The third book enumerates the disciplines that a successful sculptor must master, including anatomy and optics.

Ghiberti's account of Early Renaissance art in his second *Commentary,* like Vasari's later biographies (see "Giorgio Vasari's *Lives,*" page 648), centers on individual artists. It opens with the author's lament that Constantine's embrace of Christianity brought an end to the glorious art of classical antiquity chronicled in the first *Commentary*. In Ghiberti's view, art "began to rise again" only when Cimabue, who painted "in the Greek [that is, Byzantine] manner" discovered Giotto drawing in a field and took him into his workshop. Ghiberti describes Giotto as having "brought about the new art; he left behind the coarseness of the Greeks" and was "the inventor and discoverer of so much knowledge which had been buried for around six hundred years" (2.3)—that is, since the Carolingian "Renaissance" (see Charlemagne's *Renovatio Imperii Romani,*" page 329). Among the other 13th- and 14th-century masters whom Ghiberti singled out for praise were Pietro Cavallini, Andrea Orcagna, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Simone Martini, and Duccio, although Ghiberti tempers his praise of Duccio by noting that he, like Cimabue, "adhered to the Greek manner" (2.15). The sculptors whom Ghiberti admired included Giovanni and Andrea Pisano (FIGS. 14-4 and 14-20).

In the spirit of Quattrocento humanism, Ghiberti frequently quotes from classical literature and dates the artists that he discusses according to Olympiads, reviving the ancient Greek practice of dating events to four-year periods corresponding to the Olympic Games, which had not been held since 390. Ghiberti inserts himself into the history of art beginning in the year 1400 and describes how he

> tried to investigate how nature manifests itself and, in order to approximate nature, how appearances reach the eye and how the visual faculties work and how visual things function and in what way the theory of statuary art and of painting should be put into practice (2.18).

Then follows Ghiberti's account of the Florentine baptistery doors competition, culminating in his boast about the outcome, which also reveals the fame and glory increasingly accorded to individual achievement in 15th-century Italy:

> The palm of the victory was granted to me by all the skilled men and by all those who had competed with me. The glory was universally conceded to me without any exception. To all it appeared that I had surpassed the others at that time without any exception, after very great deliberation and examination by learned men. . . . There were thirty-four judges from the city and the other surrounding regions; by all the confirmation of victory was given in my favor (2.19).*

*All translations by Christie Knapp Fengler, *Lorenzo Ghiberti's* Second Commentary: *The Translation and Interpretation of a Fundamental Renaissance Treatise on Art* (Diss. University of Wisconsin, 1974), 16–19, 45, 54, 57–58.

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Italy and throughout the former Roman Empire (for example, FIG. 7-32). These classical references reflect the influence of humanism in Quattrocento Italy. Ghiberti's entry in the baptistery competition is also noteworthy for the artist's interest in spatial illusion. The rocky landscape seems to emerge from the blank panel toward the viewer, as does the strongly foreshortened angel, creating a cohesive unity among the elements. Brunelleschi's image, by contrast, emphasizes the planar orientation of the surface and isolates the individual figures against the blank background.

Ghiberti's training included both painting and metalwork. His careful treatment of the gilded bronze surfaces, with their sharply and accurately incised detail, proves his skill as a goldsmith. That Ghiberti cast his panel in only two pieces (thereby reducing the amount of bronze needed) no doubt also impressed the selection committee. Brunelleschi's panel consists of several cast pieces. Thus Ghiberti's doors, as proposed, would be both lighter and significantly less expensive. The younger artist's submission clearly had much to recommend it, both stylistically and technically, and the judges awarded the commission to him—an achievement that he noted with exceptional pride in his *Commentaries* (see "The *Commentarii* of Lorenzo Ghiberti," above).

Or San Michele. A second major Florentine sculptural project of the early 1400s was the placement of statues on the exterior of Or San Michele (FIG. 14-20A), an early-14th-century building prominently located on the main street connecting the Palazzo della Signoria (FIG. 14-19B; seat of Florence's governing council) and the Duomo (cathedral; FIG. 14-19; see MAP 21-1). At various times, Or San Michele housed a church, a granary, and the headquarters of Florence's guilds. In 1349, city officials had assigned the niches on the building's four sides to specific guilds, instructing each guild to place a statue of its patron saint in its niche. But by 1406, the guilds had filled only 5 of the 14 niches, and the Signoria ordered the guilds to comply with the original plan to embellish their assigned niches.

A few years later, Florence was once again under siege, this time by King Ladislaus (r. 1399–1414) of Naples. Ladislaus had marched north, occupied Rome and the Papal States (MAP 14-1) by 1409, and threatened to overrun Florence. As they had done when Visconti was at the city's doorstep, Florentine officials urged citizens to stand firm and defend the republic from tyranny. Once again, Florence escaped unscathed. Ladislaus, on the verge of military success in 1414, fortuitously died. The guilds may well have viewed this new threat as an opportunity to perform their civic duty by rallying their fellow Florentines while also promoting their own importance and position in Florentine society. By 1423, statues by Ghiberti and other leading Florentine artists were on display in the nine remaining niches of Or San Michele. As with the baptistery competition, artists vied with one another to be recognized as the best sculptor, spurring significant innovation and a definitive break from the conventions of medieval sculpture in Italy.

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21-4 **Nanni di Banco, *Four Crowned Saints,* statues in a niche on the north side of Or San Michele, Florence, Italy, ca. 1410–1414. Marble, figures 6′ high. Modern copy; original sculpture in the museum on the second floor of Or San Michele, Florence.**

Nanni's group representing the four martyred patron saints of Florence's sculptors' guild is an early example of Renaissance artists' attempt to liberate statuary from its architectural setting.

Nanni di Banco. Among the niches filled during the Neapolitan king's siege was the one assigned to the Florentine guild of stone- and woodworkers. They chose a guild member, the sculptor Nanni di Banco (ca. 1384–1421), to create four life-size marble statues of the guild's martyred patron saints. (Below the statues is a relief depicting guild members at work.) These four Early Christian sculptors had defied an order from Emperor Diocletian (r. 284–305) to carve a statue of a Roman deity. In response, Diocletian ordered them put to death. Because they placed their faith above all else, these saints, in addition to representing the sponsoring guild, were perfect role models for the 15th-century Florentines whom city leaders exhorted to stand fast in the face of Ladislaus's armies.

Nanni's sculptural group, *Four Crowned Saints* (fig. 21-4), is an early Renaissance attempt to solve the problem of integrating figures and architecture on a monumental scale. The artist's positioning of the figures, which stand in a niche that is *in* but confers some separation *from* the wall, furthered the gradual emergence of sculpture from its architectural setting. This process began with works such as the 13th-century statues (fig. 13-25) on the jambs of the west facade portals of Reims Cathedral. At Or San Michele, the niche's spatial recess presented Nanni di Banco with a dramatic new possibility for the interrelationship of the figures. By placing them in a semicircle within their deep niche and relating them to one another by their postures and gestures, the Quattrocento sculptor arrived at a unified spatial composition. A remarkable psychological unity also connects these unyielding figures, whose bearing expresses the discipline and integrity necessary to face adversity. As the figure on the right speaks, pointing to his right, the two men opposite listen, and the one next to him (carved from the same block of marble) looks out into space, pondering the meaning of the words and reinforcing the formal cohesion of the figural group with psychological cross-references.

Four Crowned Saints, consistent with the renewed interest in ancient statues, also reveals Nanni's close study of Roman portraits. The emotional intensity of the faces of the two inner saints owes much to the extraordinarily moving portrayals in stone of third-century Roman emperors (figs. 7-67 and 7-67A), and the bearded heads of the outer saints make evident Nanni's familiarity with second-century imperial portraiture (figs. 7-58 and 7-58A). Renaissance artists seeking to portray individual personalities often turned to ancient Roman models for inspiration, but they did not simply copy them. Rather, they strove to reinterpret their classical models in the manner of humanist scholars dealing with classical texts.

Donatello. Another sculptor who carved statues for Or San Michele's niches was Donato di Niccolo Bardi, called Donatello (ca. 1386–1466), a former apprentice in Ghiberti's workshop. Donatello incorporated Greco-Roman sculptural principles in his *Saint Mark* (fig. 21-5), executed for the guild of linen

21-5 **Donatello, *Saint Mark,* statue in a niche on the south side of Or San Michele, Florence, Italy, ca. 1411–1413. Marble, figure 7′ 9″ high. Modern copy; original sculpture in the museum on the second floor of Or San Michele, Florence.**

In this statue carved for the guild of linen makers and tailors, Donatello introduced classical weight-shift stance into Quattrocento sculpture. The drapery falls naturally and moves with the body.

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21-6 Donatello, *Saint George,* statue in a niche on the north side of Or San Michele, Florence, Italy, ca. 1415–1418. Marble, figure 6′ 10″ high. Modern copy; original in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

Donatello's statue for the armorers' guild once had a bronze sword and helmet. The warrior saint stands defiantly, ready to spring from his niche to defend Florence, his sword pointed at the spectator.

makers and tailors. (The saint stands on one of the guild's pillows. Below him (not visible in FIG. 21-5) is his symbol, the lion; see "The Four Evangelists," page 331.) In this statue, the Florentine sculptor took a fundamental step toward depicting motion in the human figure by recognizing the principle of weight shift. Greek sculptors of the fifth century BCE were the first to grasp that the act of standing requires balancing the position and weight of the different parts of the human body, as they demonstrated in works such as *Kritios Boy* (FIG. 5-35) and *Doryphoros* (FIG. 5-41). In contrast to earlier sculptors, Greek artists recognized that the human body is not a rigid mass but a flexible structure that moves by continuously shifting its weight from one supporting leg to the other. Donatello reintroduced this concept into Renaissance statuary. As the saint's body "moves," his garment "moves" with it, hanging and folding naturally from and around different body parts so that the viewer senses the figure as a nude human wearing clothing, not as a stone statue with arbitrarily composed drapery folds. Donatello's *Saint Mark* is the first Renaissance statue whose voluminous robe (the pride of the Florentine guild that paid for the statue) does not conceal but accentuates the movement of the arms, legs, shoulders, and hips. This development further contributed to the sculpted figure's independence from its architectural setting. Saint Mark's stirring limbs, shifting weight, and mobile drapery suggest impending movement out of the niche.

Saint George. For the Or San Michele niche assigned to the guild of armorers and sword makers, Donatello created *Saint George* (FIG. 21-6). The saintly knight stands proudly with his shield in front of him. He once held a bronze sword in his right hand and wore a bronze helmet on his head, both fashioned by the sponsoring guild. The statue continues the Gothic tradition of depicting warrior saints on church facades, as seen in the statue of Saint Theodore (FIG. 13-19) on the westernmost jamb of the south entrance to Chartres Cathedral, but here it has a civic role to play. Saint George stands in a defiant manner—ready to spring from his niche to defend Florence against attack from another Visconti or Ladislaus, his sword jutting out threateningly at all passersby. The saint's body is taut, and Donatello gave him a face filled with nervous energy.

Directly below the statue's base is Donatello's marble relief (FIG. 21-7) representing Saint George slaying a dragon to rescue a princess (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). The relief marks a turning point in Renaissance sculpture. Even the landscapes in the baptistery competition reliefs (FIGS. 21-2 and 21-3) are modeled forms seen against a blank background. In *Saint George and the Dragon,* Donatello created an atmospheric effect by using incised lines. It is impossible to talk about a background plane in this work. The landscape recedes into distant space, and the depth of that space cannot be measured. The sculptor conceived the relief as a window onto an infinite vista. To create that effect, Donatello used a pictorial device already known to the ancients—*atmospheric perspective* (FIG. 7-20). Artists (painters more frequently than sculptors) using atmospheric perspective exploit the principle that the farther back an object is in space, the blurrier and less detailed it appears. In Donatello's *Saint George and the Dragon,* the foreground figures are much sharper than the landscape elements in the background.

21-7 Donatello, *Saint George and the Dragon,* relief below the niche with the statue of Saint George (FIG. 21-6), Or San Michele, Florence, Italy, ca. 1417–1420. Marble, 1′ $3\frac{1}{4}$″ × 3′ $11\frac{1}{4}$″. Modern copy; original relief in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

Donatello's relief marks a turning point in Renaissance sculpture. He took a painterly approach, creating an atmospheric effect by using incised lines. The depth of the background cannot be measured.

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Linear Perspective

In the 14th century, Italian artists, such as Giotto, Duccio, and the Lorenzetti brothers, had used several devices to indicate distance, but with the development of *linear perspective,* Quattrocento artists acquired a way to make the illusion of distance certain and consistent. To solve the problem of representing depth in a two-dimensional painting or relief, Renaissance artists conceived the picture plane as a transparent window through which the observer looks to see the constructed pictorial world. (The literal meaning of *perspective* is "to see through.") This discovery was enormously important, for it made possible what has been called the "rationalization of sight." It brought all random and infinitely various visual sensations under a simple rule that could be expressed mathematically. Indeed, Renaissance artists' interest in linear perspective reflects the emergence at this time of modern science itself. Of course, 15th-century artists were not primarily scientists. They simply found perspective an effective way to order and clarify their compositions. Nonetheless, there can be little doubt that linear perspective, with its new mathematical certitude, conferred a kind of aesthetic legitimacy on painting and relief sculpture by making the picture measurable and exact. The projection of measurable objects on flat surfaces not only influenced the character of Renaissance paintings and reliefs but also made possible scale drawings, maps, charts, graphs, and diagrams—means of exact representation that laid the foundation for modern science and technology.

Renaissance artists were not the first to focus on depicting illusionistic space. Both the Greeks and the Romans were well versed in perspective rendering. Many of the frescoes that adorn the walls of Roman houses represent buildings and colonnades (for example, FIG. 7-19, *right*) using a Renaissance-like system of converging lines. However, the Renaissance rediscovery of and interest in perspective contrasted sharply with the portrayal of space during the Middle Ages, when spiritual concerns superseded the desire to depict objects illusionistically (see "Picturing the Spiritual World," page 260).

Developed by Filippo Brunelleschi, linear perspective enables artists to determine mathematically the relative size of rendered objects to correlate them with the visual recession into space. The artist first must identify a horizontal line that marks, in the image, the horizon in the distance (hence the term *horizon line*). The artist then selects a *vanishing point* on that horizon line (often located at the exact center of the line). By drawing *orthogonals* (diagonal lines) from the edges of the picture to the vanishing point, the artist creates a structural grid that organizes the image and determines the size of objects within the image's illusionistic space.

Among the Quattrocento that provide clear examples of linear perspective are Donatello's *Feast of Herod* (FIG. 21-8), Ghiberti's *Isaac and His Sons* (FIG. 21-9), Masaccio's *Holy Trinity* (FIG. 21-20), and Perugino's *Christ Delivering the Keys of the Kingdom to Saint Peter* (FIG. 21-41).

21-8 DONATELLO, *Feast of Herod,* panel on the baptismal font of the baptistery, Siena Cathedral, Siena, Italy, 1423–1427. Gilded bronze, 1′ 11½″ × 1′ 11½″.

Donatello's *Feast of Herod* marked the introduction of rationalized perspective space in Renaissance relief sculpture. Two arched courtyards of diminishing size open the space of the action into the distance.

21-9 LORENZO GHIBERTI, *Isaac and His Sons* (detail of FIG. 21-10, with overlay of perspective orthogonals), east doors (*Gates of Paradise*) of the Baptistery of San Giovanni (FIG. 12-30), Florence, Italy, 1425–1452. Gilded bronze, 2′ 7½″ × 2′ 7½″. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence.

All the orthogonals of the floor tiles in this early example of linear perspective converge on a vanishing point on the central axis of the composition, but the orthogonals of the architecture do not.

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21-10 Lorenzo Ghiberti, east doors (*Gates of Paradise*) of the Baptistery of San Giovanni (fig. 12-30), Florence, Italy, 1425–1452. Gilded bronze, 17′ high. Modern replica, 1990. Original panels in Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence.

In Ghiberti's later doors for the Florentine baptistery, the sculptor abandoned Gothic quatrefoil frames for the biblical scenes (compare fig. 21-3) and employed painterly illusionistic devices.

Feast of Herod. Donatello's mastery of perspective in relief sculpture is also evident in *Feast of Herod* (fig. 21-8), a bronze relief on the baptismal font in Siena Cathedral's baptistery. Appropriately, the subject of the relief is an episode in the life of John the Baptist. Salome, a figure based on a popular classical motif, dances before King Herod. At the left, Salome's wish granted, the kneeling executioner delivers John's severed head to the king (compare fig. 28-26). The other figures recoil in horror in two groups. At the right, one man covers his face with his hand. At the left, Herod and two terrified children shrink back in dismay. The psychic explosion drives the human elements apart, leaving a gap across which the emotional electricity crackles.

Forming the backdrop for this dramatic staging of the biblical story are two successive arched courtyards in Herod's palace. Donatello's rendition of the architectural setting in the *Feast of Herod* marks the introduction of rationalized perspective in Renaissance art. As in *Saint George and the Dragon* (fig. 21-7), Donatello opened the space of the action well into the distance. But, instead of atmospheric perspective, he employed the new mathematically based science of *linear perspective,* in which the size of the piers and arches and even the bricks in the walls as well as the figures in the courtyards decreases systematically with increasing distance from the viewer (see "Linear Perspective," page 599).

The inventor (or rediscoverer) of linear perspective was Filippo Brunelleschi. In his biography of the Florentine artist, written around 1480, Antonio Manetti (1423–1497) described Brunelleschi's perspective system as a new "science":

> [Filippo Brunelleschi] propounded and realized what painters today call perspective, since it forms part of that science which, in effect, consists of setting down properly and rationally the reductions and enlargements of near and distant objects as perceived by the eye of man: buildings, plains, mountains, places of every sort and location, with figures and objects in correct proportion to the distance in which they are shown. He originated the rule that is essential to whatever has been accomplished since his time in that area. We do not know whether centuries ago the ancient painters . . . knew about perspective or employed it rationally. If indeed they employed it by rule (I did not previously call it a science without reason) as he did later, . . . [no] records about it have been discovered. . . . Through industry and intelligence [Brunelleschi] either rediscovered or invented it.[1]

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Gates of Paradise. Lorenzo Ghiberti, Brunelleschi's chief rival in the baptistery competition, was, with Donatello, among the first artists to embrace Brunelleschi's scientific system for representing space. Ghiberti's enthusiasm for perspective illusion is on display in the new east doors (FIGS. 21-9 and 21-10) for Florence's baptistery (FIG. 12-30), which the cathedral officials commissioned him to make in 1425. Ghiberti's patrons moved his first pair of doors to the north entrance to make room for the new ones facing the Duomo. Michelangelo later declared Ghiberti's second doors as "so beautiful that they would do well for the gates of Paradise."[2] In the *Gates of Paradise,* as the doors have been called since then, Ghiberti abandoned the quatrefoil frames of Andrea Pisano's south doors (FIG. 14-20) and his own earlier doors and reduced the number of panels from 28 to 10. Each panel contains a relief set in plain molding and depicts an episode from the Old Testament. The complete gilding of the reliefs creates an effect of great splendor and elegance.

The individual panels, such as *Isaac and His Sons* (FIG. 21-9), clearly recall painting techniques in their depiction of space as well as in their treatment of the narrative. Some exemplify more fully than painting many of the principles that the architect and theorist Leon Battista Alberti formulated in his 1435 treatise, *On Painting.* In his relief, Ghiberti created the illusion of space partly through the use of linear perspective and partly by sculptural means. He represented the pavement on which the figures stand according to a painter's vanishing-point perspective construction (note the overlay of orthogonal lines in FIG. 21-9), but the figures themselves appear almost fully in the round. In fact, some of their heads stand completely free. As the eye progresses upward, the relief increasingly flattens, concluding with the architecture in the background, which Ghiberti depicted using barely raised lines. As Donatello did in *Feast of Herod* (FIG. 21-8), Ghiberti here employed atmospheric perspective, making the forms appear less distinct the deeper they are in space. Regardless of the height of the reliefs, however, the size of each figure decreases in exact correspondence to its distance from the foreground, just as do the dimensions of the floor tiles, as specified in Alberti's treatise.

Ghiberti described his employment of perspective in the baptistery's east doors as follows:

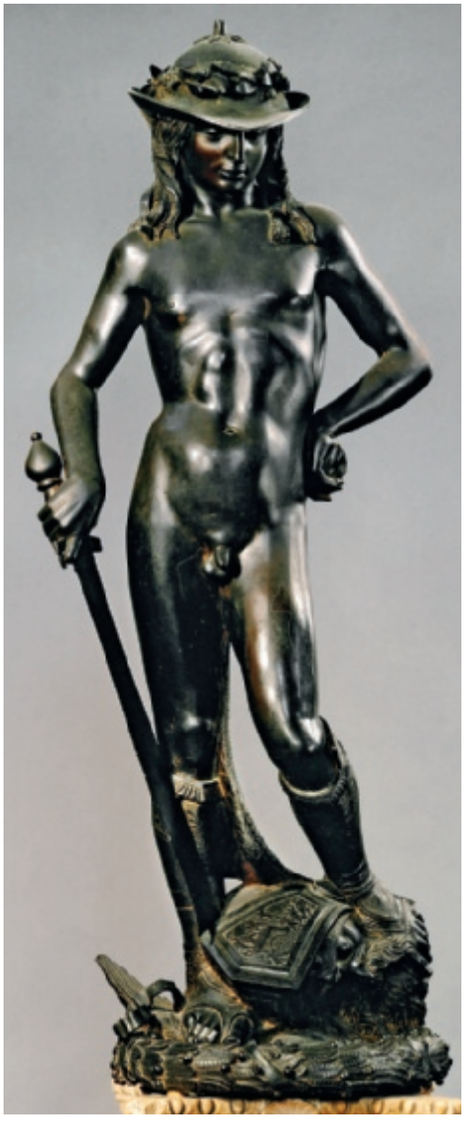
> I strove to imitate nature as closely as I could, and with all the perspective I could produce [to have] excellent compositions rich with many figures. In some scenes I placed about a hundred figures, in some less, and in some more. . . . There were ten stories, all in frames because the eye from a distance measures and interprets the scenes in such a way that they appear round. The scenes are in the lowest relief and the figures are seen in the planes; those that are near appear large, those in the distance small, as they do in reality. I executed this entire work with these principles.[3]

In the reliefs of the *Gates of Paradise,* Ghiberti achieved a greater sense of depth than had previously seemed possible in sculpture. His principal figures do not occupy the architectural space he created for them. Rather, the artist arranged them along a parallel plane in front of the grandiose architecture. (According to Alberti, the grandeur of the architecture reflects the dignity of the events shown in the foreground.)

Ghiberti's figure style mixes a Gothic patterning of rhythmic line, classical poses and motifs, and a new realism in characterization, movement, and surface detail. But the Florentine sculptor retained the medieval narrative method of presenting several episodes within a single frame. In *Isaac and His Sons,* the women in the left foreground attend the birth of Esau and Jacob in the left background. In the central foreground, Isaac sends Esau and his dogs to hunt game. In the right foreground, Isaac blesses the kneeling Jacob as Rebecca looks on. Yet viewers experience little confusion because of Ghiberti's careful and subtle placement of each scene. The figures, in varying degrees of projection, gracefully twist and turn, appearing to occupy and move through a convincing stage space, which Ghiberti deepened by showing some figures from behind.

Ghiberti's classicism derived from his close study of ancient art. The artist admired and collected classical sculpture and coins. Their influence appears throughout the *Isaac and His Sons* panel, particularly in the figure of Rebecca, which Ghiberti based on a popular Greco-Roman statuary type. The emerging practice of collecting classical art in the 15th century had much to do with the incorporation of classical motifs and the emulation of classical style in Renaissance art (compare Botticelli's Venus [FIG. 21-1], based on an ancient statue).

Donatello, *David*. The use of perspective systems in relief sculpture and painting represents only one aspect of the Renaissance revival of classical principles and values in the arts. Another was the revival of the freestanding nude statue. The first Renaissance sculptor to portray the nude male figure in statuary was Donatello. He probably cast his bronze *David* (FIG. 21-11) sometime between 1440 and 1460 for display in the courtyard (FIG. 21-36) of the Medici palace in Florence. In the Middle Ages, the clergy regarded



21-11 DONATELLO, *David,* from the Palazzo Medici (FIGS. 21-35 and 21-36), Florence, Italy, ca. 1440–1460. Bronze, 5′ 2¼″ high. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

Donatello's *David* possesses both the relaxed contrapposto and the sensuous beauty of nude Greek gods (FIG. 5-63). The revival of classical statuary style appealed to the sculptor's patrons, the Medici.

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nude statues as both indecent and idolatrous, and, as noted in the opening discussion of *Birth of Venus* (FIG. 21-1), nudity in general appeared only rarely in medieval art—and then only in biblical or moralizing contexts, such as the story of Adam and Eve or depictions of sinners in Hell. With *David,* Donatello reinvented the classical nude. His subject, however, was not a Greco-Roman god, hero, or athlete but the youthful biblical slayer of Goliath who had become the symbol of the Florentine Republic—and therefore an ideal choice of subject for the residence of the most powerful family in Florence. The Medici were aware of Donatello's earlier *David* in Florence's town hall (FIG. 14-19B), which the artist had produced during the threat of invasion by King Ladislaus. Their selection of the same subject suggests that the Medici identified themselves with Florence or, at the very least, shared Florence's ideals and the Florentine desire for freedom and independence. To underscore that association, the Medici added an inscription to the base of the *David* statue:

> The victor is whoever defends the fatherland. God crushes the wrath of an enormous foe. Behold! A boy overcame a great tyrant. Conquer, O citizens![4]

The invoking of classical poses and formats also appealed to the Medici as humanists. Donatello's *David* possesses both the relaxed classical stance and the proportions and sensuous beauty of the gods that Praxiteles portrayed in his statues (FIG. 5-63). These qualities were, not surprisingly, absent from medieval figures—and they are also lacking, for different reasons, in Donatello's depiction of the aged Mary Magdalene. The contrast between the sculptor's *David* and his *Penitent Mary Magdalene* (FIG. 21-11A) demonstrates the extraordinary versatility of this Florentine master.

21-11A DONATELLO, *Penitent Mary Magdalene,* ca. 1455.

Verrocchio. Another *David* (FIG. 21-12), by ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO (1435–1488), one of the most important sculptors during the second half of the 15th century, reaffirms the Medici family's identification with the heroic biblical king and with Florence. A painter as well as a sculptor, Verrocchio directed a flourishing *bottega* (workshop) in Florence that attracted many students, among them Leonardo da Vinci. Verrocchio's *David* contrasts strongly in its narrative realism with the quiet classicism of Donatello's *David.* Verrocchio's hero is a sturdy, wiry youth clad in a leather doublet, who stands with a jaunty pride. As in Donatello's version, Goliath's head lies at David's feet. He poses like a hunter with his kill. The easy balance of the weight and the lithe, still thinly adolescent musculature, with prominent veins, show how closely Verrocchio read the biblical text and how clearly he knew the psychology of brash young men. The Medici eventually sold Verrocchio's bronze *David* to the Florentine Republic for placement in the Palazzo della Signoria. After the expulsion of the Medici from Florence, civic officials appropriated Donatello's *David* for civic use and moved it to the city hall as well.

Pollaiuolo. The Renaissance interest in classical culture naturally also led to the revival of Greco-Roman mythological themes in art. The Medici were Florence's leading patrons in this sphere as well, and Botticelli (FIGS. 21-1 and 21-28) was only one of the artists they hired to produce artworks with classical myths for subjects. Around 1470, ANTONIO DEL POLLAIUOLO (ca. 1431–1498), who was also an important painter and engraver (FIG. 21-29), received a Medici commission to produce a small-scale sculpture, *Hercules and Antaeus* (FIG. 21-13). The mythological subject matter and the emphasis on human anatomy reflect the Medici preference for humanist imagery. Even more specifically, the Florentine seal had featured Hercules since the end of the 13th century. As commissions such as the two *David* sculptures demonstrate, the Medici clearly embraced every opportunity to associate themselves with the glory of the Florentine Republic and claimed much of the credit for its preeminence.

In contrast to the quiet stance of Donatello's *David* (FIG. 21-11), Pollaiuolo's bronze statuette exhibits the stress and strain of the human figure in violent action. The 18-inch-tall *Hercules and Antaeus* departs dramatically from the convention of frontality that had dominated statuary during the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance. Indeed, by placing the two wrestling figures on an unusual triangular pedestal, Pollaiuolo established three possible "fronts" for the statuette, encouraging the viewer to look at it from

21-12 ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO, *David,* from the Palazzo della Signoria (FIG. 14-19B), Florence, Italy, ca. 1465–1470. Bronze, 4′ 1½″ high. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

Verrocchio's *David,* also made for the Medici, displays a brash confidence. The statue's narrative realism contrasts strongly with the quiet classicism of Donatello's earlier *David* (FIG. 21-11).

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21-13 Antonio del Pollaiuolo, *Hercules and Antaeus,* from the Palazzo Medici (figs. 21-35 and 21-36), Florence, Italy, ca. 1470–1475. Bronze, 1′ 6″ high with base. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

The Renaissance interest in classical culture led to the revival of Greco-Roman mythological themes in art. *Hercules and Antaeus* exhibits the stress and strain of the human figure in violent action.

different angles. The group illustrates the wrestling match between Antaeus (Antaios), a giant and son of the goddess Earth, and Hercules (Herakles), a theme the Greek painter Euphronios had represented on an ancient Greek vase (fig. 5-23) 2,000 years before. The subject embodies the ferocity and vitality of elemental physical conflict. According to the Greek myth, each time Hercules threw him down, Antaeus sprang up again, his strength renewed by contact with the earth. Finally, Hercules held him aloft—so that Antaeus could not touch the ground—and strangled him around the waist. Pollaiuolo strove to convey the final excruciating moments of the struggle—the strained sinews of the combatants, the clenched teeth of Hercules, and the kicking and screaming of Antaeus. The figures intertwine and interlock as they fight, and the flickering reflections of light on the dark gouged bronze surface contribute to a fluid play of planes and the effect of agitated movement.

Tomb of Leonardo Bruni. Given the increased emphasis on individual achievement and recognition that humanism fostered, it is not surprising that portraiture enjoyed a revival in the 15th century. In addition to likenesses of elite individuals made during their lifetime, commemorative portraits of the deceased were common in Quattrocento Italy, as in ancient Rome. Leonardo Bruni (1369–1444) of Arezzo was one of the leading Early Renaissance humanist scholars. Around 1403, he wrote a *laudatio* (essay

21-14 Bernardo Rossellino, tomb of Leonardo Bruni, inside Santa Croce (fig. I-4), Florence, Italy, ca. 1444–1450. Marble, 23′ 3½″ high.

Rossellino's tomb in honor of the humanist scholar and chancellor Leonardo Bruni combines ancient Roman and Christian motifs. It established the pattern for Renaissance wall tombs (fig. 21-39).

of praise) in honor of Florence, celebrating the city as the heir of the ancient Roman Republic. His most ambitious work, published in 1429 when he served as Florence's chancellor (1427–1444), was a history of the Florentine Republic. When Bruni died on March 9, 1444, the Signoria ordered a state funeral "according to ancient custom," during which the eminent humanist Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459) delivered the eulogy and placed a laurel wreath on the head of Bruni's toga-clad corpse. The Florentine government also commissioned Bernardo Rossellino (1409–1464) to carve a monumental tomb (fig. 21-14) for the right wall of the nave of

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Santa Croce (FIG. I-4) honoring the late chancellor. Rossellino was the most prominent member of a family of stonecutters from Settignano, a town near Florence noted for its quarries.

Rossellino's monument in honor of Leonardo Bruni established the wall tomb as a major genre of Italian Renaissance sculpture. Later examples include Pietro Lombardo's tomb of Pietro Mocenigo (FIG. 21-39) in Venice and Michelangelo's tombs of the Medici (FIG. 22-16) in Florence and of Pope Julius II (FIGS. 22-14 and 22-15) in Rome. Bruni's tomb is rich in color—white, black, and red marbles with selective gilding. Rossellino based his effigy of Bruni on ancient Roman sarcophagi (FIG. 7-60), which in turn followed an Etruscan tradition (FIGS. 6-16 and 6-16A) with which Florentine artists would also have been familiar. The chancellor lies on a funerary bier supported by Roman eagles atop a sarcophagus resting on the foreparts of lions. Bruni, dressed in a toga and crowned with a laurel wreath, as during his state funeral, holds one of his books, probably his history of Florence. The realism of Bruni's head has led many scholars to postulate that Rossellino based his portrait on a wax death mask following ancient Roman practice (see "Roman Ancestor Portraits," page 187). Two winged Victories hold aloft a plaque with a Latin inscription stating that History mourns the death of Leonardus, Eloquence is now silenced, and the Greek and Latin muses cannot hold back their tears. Enclosing the effigy is a round-arched niche framed by *pilasters* with *Corinthian capitals*. The base of the tomb is a frieze of *putti* (cupids) carrying garlands, a standard motif on Roman sarcophagi, which also often have lions as supports. The classically inspired tomb stands in sharp contrast to the Gothic tomb (FIG. 13-44A) of King Edward II in Gloucester Cathedral. But the Renaissance tomb is a creative variation of classical models, not a copy, and the motifs are a mix of classical and Christian themes. In the lunette beneath the arch is a *tondo* of the Madonna and Child between praying angels. Above the arch, two putti hold up a wreath circling the lion of the Florentine Republic. A lion's head is also the central motif in the putto-and-garland frieze below the deceased's coffin.

Gattamelata. The grandest and most costly Quattrocento portraits in the Roman tradition were over-life-size bronze equestrian statues. The supremely versatile Donatello also excelled in this genre. In 1443, he left Florence for northern Italy to accept a lucrative commission from the Republic of Venice to create a commemorative monument (FIG. 21-15) in honor of the recently deceased Venetian condottiere Erasmo da Narni (1370–1443), nicknamed Gattamelata ("honeyed cat," a wordplay on his mother's name, Melania Gattelli). Condottieri played a major role in the power politics of Quattrocento Italy. Because Florence, Venice, and other republics barred their citizens from bearing arms, those states hired mercenary armies to fight on their behalf. They often owed the condottieri who commanded

21-15 DONATELLO, *Gattamelata* (equestrian statue of Erasmo da Narni), Piazza del Santo, Padua, Italy, ca. 1445–1453. Bronze, 12′ 2″ high.

Donatello based his gigantic portrait of a Venetian general on equestrian statues of ancient Roman emperors (FIG. 7-58). Together, man and horse convey an overwhelming image of irresistible strength.

21-16 ANDREA DEL VERROCCHIO, *Bartolommeo Colleoni* (equestrian statue), Campo dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, Italy, ca. 1481–1495. Bronze, 13′ high.

Eager to compete with Donatello's *Gattamelata* (FIG. 21-15), Bartolommeo Colleoni provided funds in his will for his own equestrian statue, which stands on a pedestal even taller than *Gattamelata*'s.

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those armies a debt of gratitude as well as payment for their services. Although Gattamelata's family bore the cost of the general's equestrian portrait, the Venetian senate had to authorize its placement in the square in front of the church of Sant'Antonio in Padua, the condottiere's birthplace. Equestrian statues occasionally had been set up in Italy in the late Middle Ages, but Donatello's *Gattamelata* was the first since antiquity to rival the grandeur of Roman imperial mounted portraits, such as that of Marcus Aurelius (FIG. 7-58), which the artist must have seen in Rome. Donatello's contemporaries, one of whom described Gattamelata as sitting on his horse "with great magnificence like a triumphant Caesar,"[5] recognized this reference to antiquity. The statue stands on a lofty elliptical base, set apart from its surroundings, celebrating the Renaissance liberation of sculpture from architecture. Massive and majestic, the great horse bears the armored general easily, for, unlike the sculptor of the Marcus Aurelius statue, Donatello did not represent the Venetian commander as superhuman and disproportionately larger than his horse. Gattamelata dominates his mighty steed by force of character rather than sheer size. The Italian rider, his face set in a mask of dauntless resolution and unshakable will, is the very portrait of the Renaissance individualist. Such a man—intelligent, courageous, ambitious, and frequently of humble origin—could, by his own resourcefulness and on his own merits, rise to a commanding position in the world, even become a head of state (see "The Princely Courts," page 625). Together, man and horse convey an overwhelming image of irresistible strength and unlimited power—an impression Donatello reinforced visually by placing the left forefoot of the horse on an orb, reviving a venerable ancient symbol for domination of the world (compare FIGS. 11-12 and 11-31). The imperial imagery is all the more remarkable because Erasmo da Narni was not an emperor, king, or duke.

Bartolommeo Colleoni. Verrocchio also received a commission to fashion an equestrian statue of a Venetian condottiere, Bartolommeo Colleoni (1400–1475). His portrait (FIG. 21-16) provides a counterpoint to Donatello's statue. Eager to garner the same fame that the *Gattamelata* portrait achieved, Colleoni provided funds in his will for his own statue. Because both Donatello and Verrocchio executed their statues after the deaths of their subjects, neither artist knew personally the individual portrayed. The result is a fascinating difference of interpretation (like that between their two *David* statues) as to the demeanor of a professional captain of armies. Verrocchio placed the statue of the bold equestrian general on a pedestal even taller than the one Donatello used for *Gattamelata,* elevating it so that viewers could see the dominating, aggressive figure from all approaches to the piazza (Venice's Campo dei Santi Giovanni e Paolo). In contrast to the near repose of *Gattamelata,* the *Colleoni* horse moves in a prancing stride, arching and curving its powerful neck, while the commander seems suddenly to shift his whole weight to the stirrups and rise from the saddle with a violent twist of his body. The artist depicted both horse and rider with an exaggerated tautness—the animal's bulging muscles and the man's fiercely erect and rigid body together convey brute strength. In *Gattamelata,* Donatello created a portrait of a grim commander. Verrocchio's *Bartolommeo Colleoni* is a portrait of merciless might.

1 ft.

Painting

In Quattrocento Italy, humanism and the celebration of classical artistic values also largely determined the character of panel and mural painting. The new Renaissance style did not, however, immediately displace all vestiges of the Late Gothic style. In particular, the *International Gothic* style (FIG. 14-14), popular in Italy in the 14th century, persisted well into the 15th century.

Gentile da Fabriano. The leading Quattrocento master of the International Gothic style was GENTILE DA FABRIANO (ca. 1370–1427), who in 1420 moved his workshop from Brescia in northern Italy to Florence, where he hoped to share in the opportunities to work for the city's many wealthy patrons. Three years later, Gentile painted *Adoration of the Magi* (FIG. 21-17) as the

21-17 GENTILE DA FABRIANO, *Adoration of the Magi,* altarpiece from the Strozzi chapel, Santa Trinità, Florence, Italy, 1423. Tempera on wood, 9′ 11″ × 9′ 3″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Gentile was the leading Florentine painter working in the International Gothic style. He successfully blended naturalistic details with late medieval splendor in color, costume, and framing ornamentation.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Imitation and Emulation in Renaissance Art

Although many of the values championed by Renaissance humanists endure to the present day, the premium that modern Western society places on artistic originality is a fairly recent phenomenon. By contrast, imitation and emulation were among the concepts that Renaissance artists most valued. Many 15th- and 16th-century artists, of course, developed unique, recognizable styles, but convention, in terms of both subject matter and representational practices, predominated. In Italian Renaissance art, certain themes, motifs, and compositions appear with great regularity, fostered by training practices that emphasized the importance of tradition for aspiring Renaissance artists.

- ***Imitation*** The starting point in a young artist's training (see "Artistic Training in Renaissance Italy," page 434) was imitation. Italian Renaissance artists believed that the best way to learn was to copy the works of masters. Accordingly, much of an apprentice's training consisted of copying exemplary artworks. For example, even a supreme master such as Leonardo da Vinci filled his sketchbooks with drawings of well-known sculptures and frescoes, and the boldly original Michelangelo spent days sketching artworks in churches around Florence and Rome.
- ***Emulation*** The next step was emulation, which involved modeling one's art after that of another artist. Although imitation provided the foundation for this practice, an artist used features of another's art only as a springboard for improvements or innovations. Thus, developing artists went beyond previous artists and attempted to prove their own competence and skill by improving on the work of established and recognized masters. Comparison and a degree of competition were integral to emulation. To evaluate the "improved" artwork, viewers had to be familiar with the original "model."

Renaissance artists believed that young artists would ultimately develop their own distinctive, if related, style through this process of imitation and emulation. But the boldest of them would quickly break away from their masters' influence, and some, like Masaccio (FIGS. 21-18, 21-19, and 21-20), would redirect the history of art through brilliant innovation.

21-18 MASACCIO, *Tribute Money,* mural in the Brancacci chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence, Italy, ca. 1424–1427. Fresco, 8′ 4 1/8″ × 19′ 7 1/8″.

Masaccio's figures recall Giotto's in their simple grandeur, but they convey a greater psychological and physical credibility. He modeled his figures with light coming from a source outside the picture.

altarpiece for the family chapel of Palla Strozzi (1372–1462) in the church of Santa Trinità (Holy Trinity) in Florence. At the beginning of the 15th century, the Strozzi family was the richest in the city. The altarpiece, with its elaborate gilded Gothic frame, is testimony to the patron's lavish tastes. So too is the painting itself, with its gorgeous surface and richly costumed kings, courtiers, captains, and retainers (among whom, according to some sources, are portraits of Palla Strozzi and his father). Accompanying the kings and their entourage is a menagerie of exotic animals. Gentile portrayed all these elements in a rainbow of color with extensive use of gold. The painting presents all the pomp and ceremony of chivalric etiquette in a religious scene centered on the Madonna and Child.

Although the style is fundamentally International Gothic, Gentile inserted striking naturalistic details. For example, the artist depicted animals from a variety of angles and foreshortened the forms convincingly, most notably the horse at the far right seen in a three-quarter rear view. Gentile did the same with human figures, such as the kneeling man removing the spurs from the standing

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magus in the center foreground. In the left panel of the predella, Gentile painted what may have been the first nighttime nativity scene with the central light source—the radiant Christ Child—introduced into the picture itself. Although predominantly conservative, Gentile demonstrated that he was not oblivious to Quattrocento experimental trends and could blend naturalistic and inventive elements skillfully and subtly into a traditional composition without sacrificing Late Gothic splendor in color, costume, and framing ornamentation.

Masaccio. In stark contrast to Gentile, the artist who personifies the innovative spirit of early-15th-century Florentine painting was Tommaso di ser Giovanni di Mone Cassai, known as Masaccio (1401–1428). Although his presumed teacher, Masolino da Panicale (see "Italian Artists' Names," page 421), had worked in the International Gothic mode, Masaccio broke sharply from the normal practice of imitating his master's style (see "Imitation and Emulation in Renaissance Art," page 606). He moved suddenly, within the short span of six years, into unexplored territory. Most art historians recognize no other painter in history to have contributed so much to the development of a new style as quickly as Masaccio, whose untimely death at age 27 cut short his brilliant career. Masaccio was the artistic descendant of Giotto (figs. 14-9A, 14-10, and 14-10A), whose calm, monumental style he carried further by introducing a whole new repertoire of representational devices that generations of Renaissance painters later studied and developed.

Brancacci Chapel. The frescoes Masaccio painted in the family chapel of Felice Brancacci (1382–1447) in Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence, the main church of the Carmelite order, provide excellent examples of his innovations. In *Tribute Money* (fig. 21-18), painted in 32 *giornate* (see "Fresco Painting," page 428) shortly before his death, Masaccio depicted an episode from the Gospel of Matthew (17:24–27). As the tax collector confronts Jesus at the entrance to the Roman town of Capernaum, Jesus directs Saint Peter to the shore of Lake Galilee. There, as Jesus foresaw, Peter finds the tribute coin in the mouth of a fish and returns to pay the tax. Masaccio divided the story into three parts within the fresco. In the center, Jesus, surrounded by his disciples, tells Peter to retrieve the coin from the fish, while the tax collector stands in the foreground, his back to spectators and hand extended, awaiting payment. At the left, in the middle distance, Peter extracts the coin from the fish's mouth, and, at the right, he thrusts the coin into the tax collector's hand.

Masaccio's figures recall Giotto's in their simple grandeur, but they convey a greater psychological and physical credibility. Masaccio created the figures' bulk through modeling not with a flat, neutral light lacking an identifiable source but with a light coming from a specific source outside the picture. The light comes from the right, as if through a real window in the chapel wall, and strikes the figures at an angle, illuminating the parts of the solids obstructing its path and leaving the rest in shadow, producing the illusion of deep sculptural relief. Between the extremes of light and dark, the light appears as a constantly active but fluctuating force highlighting the scene in varying degrees. In his frescoes, Giotto used light only to model the masses. In Masaccio's works, light has its own nature, and the masses are visible only because of its direction and intensity. The viewer can imagine the light as playing over forms—revealing some and concealing others, as the artist directs it. The individual figures in *Tribute Money* are solemn and weighty, but they also move freely and reveal body structure, as do Donatello's statues. Masaccio's representations adeptly suggest bones, muscles, and the pressures and tensions of joints, a measure of the artist's careful observation of people, objects, and nature that was a hallmark of this new artistic humanism. Each figure conveys a maximum of contained energy. *Tribute Money* confirms Giorgio Vasari's assessment of Masaccio's place in the history of art: "[T]he works made before his [Masaccio's] day can be said to be painted, while his are living, real, and natural."[6]

Masaccio's arrangement of the figures is equally inventive. They do not stand in a line in the foreground. Instead, the artist, probably inspired by Nanni di Banco's *Four Crowned Saints* (fig. 21-4), grouped them in circular depth around Jesus, and he placed the whole group in a spacious landscape, rather than in the confined stage space of earlier frescoes. The group itself generates the foreground space, and the architecture on the right amplifies it. Masaccio depicted the building in perspective, locating the vanishing point, where all the orthogonals converge, at Jesus's head. And, as revealed by the expert cleaning of the frescoes in the 1980s, he also diminished the brightness of the colors as the distance increases, an aspect of atmospheric perspective understood and applied only by the most skilled painters. Although ancient Roman painters used atmospheric perspective (fig. 7-20), medieval artists had abandoned it. Thus it virtually disappeared from art until Masaccio and his contemporaries rediscovered it. They came to realize that the light and air interposed between viewers and what they see are two parts of the visual experience called "distance."

In an awkwardly narrow space at the entrance to the Brancacci chapel, to the left of *Tribute Money,* Masaccio painted *Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden* (fig. 21-19), a fresco that also

21-19 Masaccio, *Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden,* mural in the Brancacci chapel, Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence, Italy, ca. 1424–1427. Fresco, 7′ × 2′ 11″.

Adam and Eve, expelled from Eden, stumble on blindly, driven by the angel's will and their own despair. The hazy background specifies no locale but suggests a space around and beyond the figures.

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displays the representational innovations seen in *Tribute Money.* For example, the sharply slanted light from an outside source creates deep relief, with lights placed alongside darks, and acts as a strong unifying agent. Masaccio also presented the figures with convincing structural accuracy, thereby suggesting substantial body weight. Further, the hazy background specifies no locale but suggests a space around and beyond the figures. The cry issuing from Eve's mouth voices her anguish, but the angel does not force her or Adam physically from Eden. Rather, the first man and woman stumble on blindly, the angel's will and their own despair driving them. The composition is starkly simple, its message incomparably eloquent.

Holy Trinity. Masaccio's *Holy Trinity* (FIG. 21-20) in Santa Maria Novella, another of the young artist's masterworks, is the premier early-15th-century example of the application of mathematical linear perspective. In this fresco, Masaccio painted the composition on two levels of unequal height. Above, in a barrel-vaulted chapel reminiscent of a Roman *triumphal arch* (FIGS. 7-40 and 7-44A; compare FIG. 21-49A), the Virgin Mary and Saint John appear on either side of the crucified Christ. In contrast to almost all other representations of the Crucifixion, Mary here appears as an older woman, her true age at the time of her adult son's death. It is yet another measure of Masaccio's insistence on naturalism in his art. God the Father emerges from behind Christ, supporting the arms of the cross and presenting his son to the worshiper as a devotional object. Christ's blood runs down the cross onto the painted ledge below—a reference to the symbolic blood of the wine of the Eucharist on the church's altar. The dove of the Holy Spirit hovers between God's head and Christ's head. Masaccio also included portraits of the donors of the painting, Lorenzo Lenzi (dressed in the official robe of a member of the Florentine council) and his wife, who kneel just in front of the pilasters framing the chapel's entrance. Below, the artist painted a tomb containing a skeleton. An inscription in Italian above the skeleton reminds the spectator, "I was once what you are, and what I am you will become."

The illusionism of *Holy Trinity* is breathtaking, a brilliant demonstration of the principles and potential of Brunelleschi's new science of perspective. Indeed, some art historians have suggested that Brunelleschi may have collaborated with Masaccio on this commission. The vanishing point of the composition is at the foot of the cross. With this point at eye level, spectators look up at the Trinity and down at the tomb. About 5 feet above the floor level, the vanishing point pulls the two views together, creating the illusion of a real structure transecting the wall's vertical plane. Whereas the tomb seems to project forward into the church, the chapel recedes visually behind the wall and appears as an extension of the spectator's space. This adjustment of the picture's space to the viewer's position was an important innovation in illusionistic painting that other artists of the Renaissance and the later Baroque period would develop further. Masaccio was so exact in his metrical proportions that it is possible to calculate the dimensions of the chapel (for example, the span of the painted vault is 7 feet, and the depth of the chapel is 9 feet). Thus he achieved not only a successful illusion but also a rational measured coherence that is responsible for the unity and harmony of the fresco.

Holy Trinity is, however, much more than a highly successful application of Brunelleschi's perspective system or a showpiece for the painter's ability to represent fully modeled figures bathed in light. In this painting, Masaccio also powerfully conveyed one of the central tenets of Christian faith. The ascending pyramid of figures leads viewers from the despair of death to the hope of resurrection and eternal life through Christ's crucifixion. Masaccio's *Holy Trinity* clearly reveals that humanism and religion were not mutually exclusive.

21-20 MASACCIO, *Holy Trinity,* mural inside Santa Maria Novella (FIG. 21-37A), Florence, Italy, ca. 1424–1427. Fresco, 21′ $10\frac{5}{8}''$ × 10′ $4\frac{3}{4}''$.

Masaccio's pioneering *Holy Trinity* is the premier early-15th-century example of the application of mathematics to the depiction of space according to Filippo Brunelleschi's system of perspective.

Fra Angelico. For many other Quattrocento Italian artists, humanist concerns were not a primary consideration, however. The art of FRA ANGELICO (ca. 1400–1455) focused on serving the Roman Catholic Church. In the late 1430s, the abbot of the Dominican monastery of San Marco (Saint Mark) in Florence asked Fra Angelico to produce a series of frescoes for the order's Florentine

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1 ft.

21-21 Fra Angelico, *Annunciation,* mural in the monks' quarters, San Marco, Florence, Italy, ca. 1438–1447. Fresco, 7′ 1″ × 10′ 6″.

Painted for the Dominican monks of San Marco, Fra Angelico's fresco is simple and direct. Its figures and architecture have a pristine clarity befitting the fresco's function as a devotional image.

compound. The Dominicans (see "Mendicant Orders," page 423) of San Marco had dedicated themselves to lives of prayer and work, and their monastery was mostly spare and austere to encourage the monks to immerse themselves in their devotional lives. Fra Angelico's *Annunciation* (fig. 21-21) appears at the top of the stairs leading to the friars' sleeping cells. Appropriately, Fra Angelico presented the scene of the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel with simplicity and serenity. The two figures appear in a plain *loggia* resembling the *portico* of San Marco's *cloister,* and the artist painted all the fresco elements with a pristine clarity. The figures do not cast shadows, however. Although Fra Angelico constructed the loggia according to the rules of Renaissance perspective (but with too few columns to support the vaults), the unnatural lighting removes the sacred event from the everyday world. Underscoring the devotional function of the image, Fra Angelico included a small inscription at the base of the fresco admonishing the friars: "As you venerate, while passing before it, this figure of the intact Virgin, beware lest you omit to say a Hail Mary." Like most of Fra Angelico's paintings, *Annunciation,* with its simplicity and directness, still has an almost universal appeal and fully reflects the artist's simple, humble character.

Andrea del Castagno. Fra Angelico's younger contemporary Andrea del Castagno (ca. 1421–1457) also accepted a commission to produce a series of frescoes for a religious establishment. Castagno's *Last Supper* (fig. 21-22), appropriately placed in the *refectory* (dining hall) of Sant'Apollonia in Florence, a convent for Benedictine nuns, faithfully follows the biblical narrative, although the lavishly appointed, marble-revetted room that Jesus and his 12 disciples occupy has no basis in the Gospels. The setting that Castagno chose reflected his interest in employing linear perspective to create the illusion of three-dimensional space, but close scrutiny reveals inconsistencies in his application of Brunelleschian principles. For example, in the Florentine perspective system, it is

1 ft.

21-22 Andrea del Castagno, *Last Supper,* mural in the refectory of the convent of Sant'Apollonia, Florence, Italy, 1447. Fresco, 15′ 5″ × 32′.

In Castagno's *Last Supper* on the wall of a nuns' dining room, Judas sits isolated. The depiction of the setting for the apostles' meal reflects the painter's preoccupation with the new science of perspective.

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21-23 **Paolo Uccello, *Battle of San Romano,* from the Palazzo Medici (figs. 21-35 and 21-36), Florence, Italy, ca. 1435–1440. Tempera on wood, 6′ × 10′ 5″. National Gallery, London.**

In this panel once in Lorenzo de' Medici's bedchamber, Niccolò da Tolentino leads the charge against the Sienese. The foreshortened spears and figures reveal Uccello's fascination with perspective.

impossible to see both the ceiling from inside and the roof from outside, as Castagno depicted. The two side walls also do not appear parallel.

In placing the figures inside the biblical dining room, Castagno chose a conventional compositional format, with Jesus and the apostles seated at a horizontally placed table. The painter derived the apparent self-absorption of most of the disciples and the menacing features of Judas (who sits alone on the outside of the table) from the Gospel of Saint John, rather than the more familiar version of the Last Supper recounted in the Gospel of Saint Luke. Castagno's dramatic and spatially convincing depiction of the event no doubt presented a powerful message to the nuns during their own daily meals.

Paolo Uccello. A much rarer genre of Quattrocento Florentine art was history painting. A masterpiece of this secular side of Renaissance art is *Battle of San Romano* (fig. 21-23) by Paolo Uccello (1397–1475), who trained in the International Gothic style. The large panel painting is one of three that Lorenzo de' Medici acquired for his bedchamber in the palatial Medici residence (figs. 21-35 and 21-36) in Florence. There is some controversy about the date of the painting because documents have been discovered suggesting that Lorenzo may have purchased (or taken) at least two of the paintings from their previous owner, Lionardo Bartolini Salimbeni, instead of commissioning the full series himself. The scenes commemorate the Florentine victory over the Sienese in 1432 and must have been painted no earlier than the mid-1430s. The traditional date assigned to Uccello's panel is 1455, on the assumption that Lorenzo commissioned the work, but a date around 1435 is more likely. The hero of *Battle of San Romano* is Niccolò da Tolentino (ca. 1350–1435), a friend and supporter of Cosimo de' Medici, whom Uccello represented leading the charge against the Sienese. Mounted on a white horse and wearing an elegant red hat in place of a more practical helmet, Niccolò cuts a dashing figure.

Uccello's *Battle of San Romano* recalls the processional splendor of Gentile da Fabriano's International Gothic–style *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 21-17) yet also reflects the Quattrocento artist's

21-24 **Fra Filippo Lippi, *Madonna and Child with Angels,* ca. 1460–1465. Tempera on wood, 2′ 11½″ × 2′ 1″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.**

Fra Filippo, a monk guilty of many misdemeanors, represented the Madonna and Christ Child in a distinctly worldly manner, carrying the humanization of the holy family further than any artist before him.

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21-25 Piero della Francesca, *Resurrection*, mural in the Palazzo Comunale, Borgo San Sepolcro, Italy, ca. 1463–1465. Fresco, 7′ $4\frac{5}{8}$″ × 6′ $6\frac{1}{4}$″.

Christ miraculously rises from his tomb while the Roman guards sleep. The viewer sees the framing portico and the soldiers from below, but has a head-on view of the semi-nude muscular figure of Christ.

obsession with perspective. In contrast to Gentile, who emphasized surface decoration, Uccello painted life-size, classically inspired figures arranged in the foreground and, in the background, a receding landscape resembling the low cultivated hillsides between Florence and Lucca. He foreshortened broken spears, lances, and a fallen soldier and carefully placed them along the converging orthogonals of the perspective system (compare FIG. 21-9) to create a base plane akin to a checkerboard, on which he then placed the larger volumes in measured intervals. The rendering of three-dimensional form, used by other painters for representational or expressive purposes, became for Uccello a preoccupation. For him, it had a magic of its own, which he exploited to satisfy his inventive and original imagination.

Fra Filippo Lippi. Another younger contemporary of Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo Lippi (ca. 1406–1469), was also a friar—but there all resemblance ends. Fra Filippo was unsuited for monastic life. He indulged in misdemeanors ranging from forgery and embezzlement to the abduction of a pretty nun, Lucretia, who became his mistress and the mother of his son, the painter Filippino Lippi (1457–1504). Only the intervention of the Medici on his behalf at the papal court preserved Fra Filippo from severe punishment and total disgrace. An orphan, Fra Filippo spent his youth in a monastery adjacent to the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, and when he was still in his teens, he must have met Masaccio there and observed him painting the murals in the Brancacci chapel. Fra Filippo's early work survives only in fragments, but these show that he tried to work with Masaccio's massive forms. Later, probably under the influence of Ghiberti's and Donatello's relief sculptures, he developed a linear style that emphasized the contours of his figures and enabled him to suggest movement through flying and swirling draperies.

In a painting from Fra Filippo's later years, *Madonna and Child with Angels* (FIG. 21-24), the Virgin sits in prayer at a slight angle to the viewer. Her body casts a shadow on the window frame behind her. However, the painter's primary interest was not in space but in line, which unifies the composition and contributes to the precise and smooth delineation of forms. The Carmelite brother interpreted his subject in a surprisingly worldly manner. The Madonna is a beautiful young mother, albeit with a transparent halo, in an elegantly furnished Florentine home, and neither she nor the Christ Child, whom two angels hold up, has a solemn expression. One of the angels, in fact, sports the mischievous, puckish grin of a boy refusing to behave for the pious occasion. Significantly, all of the figures reflect the use of live models (perhaps Lucretia for the Madonna). Fra Filippo plainly relished the charm of youth and beauty as he found it in this world. He preferred the real in landscape also. The background, seen through the window, incorporates recognizable features of the Arno valley. Compared with the earlier Madonnas by Duccio (FIG. 14-1) and Giotto (FIG. 14-8), this work shows how far artists had carried the humanization of this traditional religious theme. Whatever the ideals of spiritual perfection may have meant to artists in past centuries, Renaissance artists realized those ideals in terms of the sensuous beauty of this world.

Piero della Francesca. One of the most renowned painters in 15th-century Italy was Piero della Francesca (ca. 1420–1492), a native of Borgo San Sepolcro in southeastern Tuscany, who worked for diverse patrons, including the Medici in Florence and Federico da Montefeltro in Urbino (FIGS. 21-43, 21-44, and 21-44A). In Tuscany, his commissions included the frescoes *Resurrection* (FIG. 21-25) for the town hall of his birthplace and *Legend of the True Cross* (FIG. 21-25A) for the church of San Francesco at Arezzo. He painted *Resurrection* on the wall facing the entrance to Borgo San Sepolcro's newly remodeled Palazzo Comunale at the request of the civic council. Normally, the subjects chosen for city halls were scenes of battles, townscapes, or allegories of enlightened governance, as in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico (FIGS. 14-17, 14-17A, and 14-18). But the San Sepolcro council chose a religious subject instead. The town's name—Holy Sepulcher—derived from the

21-25A Piero della Francesca, *Legend of the True Cross*, ca. 1450–1455.

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21-26 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Birth of the Virgin,* mural in the Cappella Maggiore, Santa Maria Novella (fig. 21-37A), Florence, Italy, ca. 1485–1490. Fresco, 14′ 9″ × 24′ 4″.

Ludovica Tornabuoni holds as prominent a place in Ghirlandaio's rendition of this biblical theme as she did in Florentine society—evidence of the secularization of sacred themes in 15th-century Italian painting.

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legend that two 10th-century saints, Arcanus and Egidius, brought a fragment of Christ's tomb to the town from the Holy Land. (Christ's resurrection was also the subject of the central panel of the altarpiece painted between 1346 and 1348 by the Sienese painter Niccolò di Segna for the cathedral of San Sepolcro.)

In Piero's *Resurrection,* the viewer witnesses the miracle of the risen Christ through the Corinthian columns of a classical portico (preserved only in part because the painting was trimmed during its installation in a new location). Piero chose a viewpoint corresponding to the viewer's position and depicted the architectural frame at a sharp angle from below. The Roman soldiers who have fallen asleep when they should be guarding the tomb are also seen from below in a variety of foreshortened poses. (The bareheaded guard second from the left with his head resting on Christ's sarcophagus may be a self-portrait of the artist.) The soldiers form the base of a compositional triangle culminating at Christ's head. For Christ, Piero violated the perspective of the rest of the fresco and used a head-on view of the resurrected Savior, imbuing the figure with an iconic quality. Christ's muscular body has the proportions of Greco-Roman nude statues. His pastel cloak stands out prominently from the darker colors of the soldiers' costumes. Christ holds the banner of his victory over death and displays his wounds. His face has portraitlike features. The tired eyes and somber expression are the only indications of his suffering on the cross.

Domenico Ghirlandaio. Although projects undertaken with church, civic, and Medici patronage were significant sources of income for Florentine artists, other wealthy families also offered attractive commissions. Toward the end of the 15th century, Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449–1494) received the contract for an important project for Giovanni Tornabuoni, one of the wealthiest Florentines of his day. Tornabuoni asked Ghirlandaio to paint a cycle of frescoes depicting scenes from the lives of the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist for the choir of Santa Maria Novella (fig. 14-5B), the Dominican church where Masaccio had earlier painted his revolutionary *Holy Trinity* (fig. 21-20). In *Birth of the Virgin* (fig. 21-26), Mary's mother, Saint Anne (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247), reclines in a palatial Renaissance room embellished with fine wood inlay and sculpture, while midwives prepare the infant's bath. From the left comes a solemn procession of women led by a young Tornabuoni family member, probably Ludovica, Giovanni's only daughter. Ghirlandaio's composition effectively summarizes the goals of Quattrocento Florentine painting: clear spatial representation, statuesque figures, and rational order and logical relations among all figures and objects. If any remnant of earlier traits remains here, it is the arrangement of the figures, which still cling somewhat rigidly to layers parallel to the picture plane.

New, however, and in striking contrast to the dignity and austerity of Fra Angelico's frescoes (fig. 21-21) for the Dominican monastery of San Marco, is the dominating presence of the donor's family in the religious tableau. Ludovica holds as prominent a place in the composition (close to the central axis) as she held in Florentine society. Her appearance in the painting (a different female member of the house appears in each fresco) is conspicuous evidence of the secularization of sacred themes—and of the importance of women in Florence's elite families. Artists depicted living women and men of high rank not only as present at biblical dramas (as Masaccio did in *Holy Trinity*) but also even stealing the show from the saints—as here, where the Tornabuoni women upstage the Virgin and Child. (Women played a prominent role in the Renaissance art world as patrons as well as subjects; see "Women in the Renaissance Art World," page 666.) The display of patrician elegance tempers the biblical narrative and subordinates the fresco's devotional nature.

Ghirlandaio also painted individual portraits of wealthy Florentines. His 1488 panel painting (fig. 21-27) of an aristocratic young woman is probably a portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni, a member of the powerful Albizzi family and wife of Lorenzo Tornabuoni, one of Lorenzo de' Medici's cousins. Although artists at

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21-27 Domenico Ghirlandaio, *Giovanna Tornabuoni*(?), 1488. Oil and tempera on wood, 2′ 6″ × 1′ 8″. Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid.

Renaissance artists revived the ancient art of portraiture. This portrait reveals the wealth, courtly manners, and humanistic interest in classical literature that lie behind much 15th-century Florentine art.

this time were beginning to employ three-quarter and full-face views for portraits (fig. 21-28A) in place of the more traditional profile pose, Ghirlandaio used the older profile format. This did not prevent him from conveying a character reading of the sitter. His portrait reveals the proud bearing of a sensitive and beautiful young woman. It also tells viewers much about the advanced state of culture in Florence, the value and careful cultivation of beauty in life and art, the breeding of courtly manners, and the great wealth behind it all. In addition, the painting shows the powerful attraction that classical literature held for Italian humanists. In the background, an epitaph (Giovanna Tornabuoni died in childbirth in 1488 at age 20) quotes the ancient Roman poet Martial:

> If art could depict character and soul,
> No painting on earth would be more beautiful.[7]

Botticelli, *Primavera*. The appeal of Greek and Latin literature to the elite families of Quattrocento Florence is most evident, however, in the paintings produced by Sandro Botticelli for members of the Medici family in the 1480s (see "The Medici, Botticelli, and Classical Antiquity," page 593). Botticelli painted *Primavera* (*Spring*; fig. 21-28) for Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici (1463–1503), one of Lorenzo the Magnificent's cousins. The artist made reference to his patron by setting the scene in a grove of orange fruit—*mela medica* (Italian, "medicinal apples"). Because the name Medici means "doctors," this fruit was a fitting symbol of the family.

21-28 Sandro Botticelli, *Primavera* (*Spring*), ca. 1482. Tempera on wood, 6′ 8″ × 10′ 4″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

In Botticelli's lyrical painting celebrating love in springtime, the blue, ice-cold Zephyrus, the west wind, carries off and marries the nymph Chloris, whom he transforms into Flora, goddess of spring.

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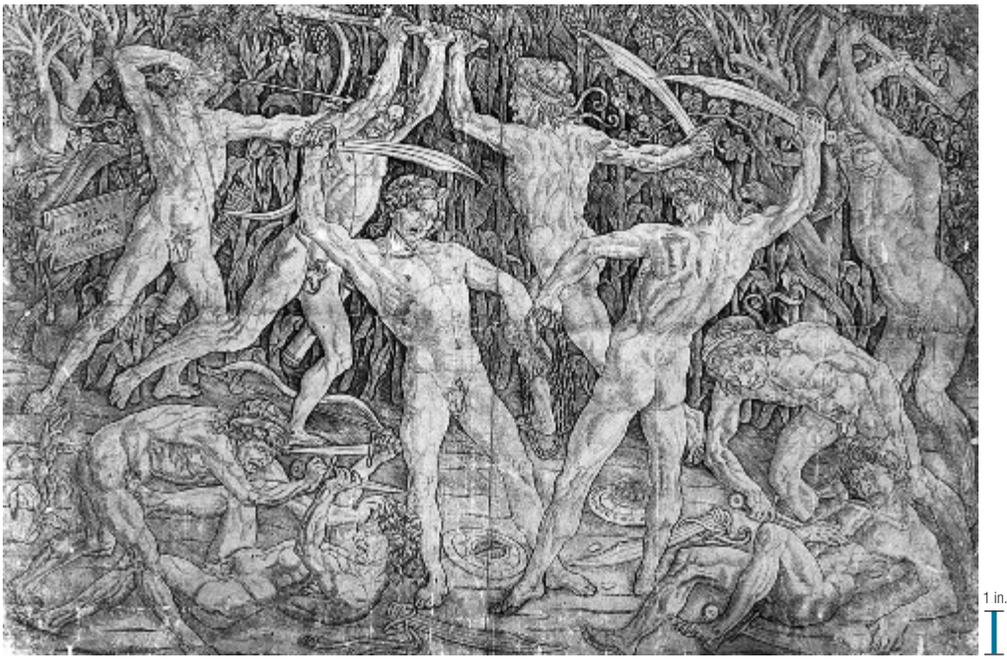
Botticelli painted *Primavera* a couple of years before *Birth of Venus* (FIG. 21-1). The central figure in both paintings is Venus, although only in the later work does she appear nude. In *Primavera,* Venus stands just to the right of center with her son Cupid hovering above her head. Botticelli drew attention to the goddess of love by opening the landscape behind her to reveal a portion of sky that forms a kind of halo around Venus's head. To her right (the viewer's left) are the dancing Three Graces, who seem to be the target of Cupid's arrow. Botticelli's Graces are based closely on ancient prototypes, but, like Venus, they are clothed, albeit in thin, transparent garments. At the right are two more figures that appear again in *Birth of Venus.* The blue ice-cold Zephyrus is about to carry off and marry Chloris, whom he transforms into Flora, goddess of spring, appropriately shown wearing a rich floral gown. At the far left, Mercury turns away from all the others and reaches up with his distinctive staff, the *caduceus,* perhaps to dispel storm clouds. The sensuality of the representation, the appearance of Venus in springtime, and the abduction and marriage of Chloris all suggest that the occasion for the painting was young Lorenzo's wedding to Semiramide d'Appiani in May 1482. But the painting also sums up the Florentine humanist view that earthly love is compatible with Christian theology. In this Renaissance reinterpretation of classical mythology, promoted by the Medici and their associates (FIG. 21-28A), Venus as the source of love provokes desire through Cupid. Desire can lead either to lust and violence (Zephyrus) or, through reason and faith (Mercury), to the love of God. *Primavera,* read from right to left, served to urge the newlyweds to seek God through love.

21-28A
BOTTICELLI, *Young Man Holding a Medal,* ca. 1474–1475.

Botticelli's paintings stand apart from those of the many other Quattrocento artists who sought to comprehend humanity and the natural world through a rational, empirical order. Indeed, Botticelli's elegant and beautiful linear style (he was a pupil of Fra Filippo Lippi, FIG. 21-24) seems removed from all the scientific knowledge that 15th-century artists had gained in the areas of perspective and anatomy. For example, the seascape in *Birth of Venus* (FIG. 21-1) is a flat backdrop devoid of atmospheric perspective. Botticelli's style paralleled the Florentine allegorical pageants that were chivalric tournaments structured around allusions to classical mythology. The same trend is evident in the poetry of the 1470s and 1480s. Artists and poets at this time did not directly imitate classical antiquity but used the myths, with delicate perception of their charm, in a way still tinged with medieval romance. Ultimately, Botticelli created a style of visual poetry parallel to the love poetry of Lorenzo de' Medici. His paintings possess a lyricism and courtliness that to cultured Florentine patrons had great appeal.

Engraving. Although the most prestigious commissions in 15th-century Florence were for large-scale panel paintings, frescoes, statues, and reliefs, some artists also produced important small-scale works, such as Pollaiuolo's *Hercules and Antaeus* (FIG. 21-13). Pollaiuolo also experimented with the new medium of engraving, which Northern European artists had pioneered around the middle of the century. But whereas German graphic artists, such as Martin Schongauer (FIG. 20-24), described their forms with hatching that followed the forms, Italian engravers, such as Pollaiuolo, preferred parallel hatching. The former method was in keeping with the general Northern Renaissance approach to art, which tended to describe surfaces of forms rather than their underlying structures, whereas the latter better suited the anatomical studies that preoccupied Pollaiuolo and his Italian contemporaries.

Battle of Ten Nudes (FIG. 21-29), like Pollaiuolo's *Hercules and Antaeus* (FIG. 21-13), reveals the artist's interest in the realistic presentation of human figures in action. Earlier artists, such as Donatello (FIG. 21-11) and Masaccio (FIG. 21-19), had dealt effectively with the problem of rendering human anatomy, but they usually depicted their figures at rest or in restrained motion. As is evident in his engraving as well as in his sculpture, Pollaiuolo took delight in showing violent action. He conceived the body as a powerful machine and liked to display its mechanisms, such as knotted muscles and taut sinews that activate the skeleton as ropes pull levers. To show this to best effect, Pollaiuolo developed a figure so lean and muscular that it appears as if it has no skin. Pollaiuolo's figures also have strongly accentuated delineations at the wrists, elbows, shoulders, and knees. *Battle of Ten Nudes*—which has no identifiable subject or protagonists—shows this figure type in a variety of poses and from numerous viewpoints, enabling Pollaiuolo to demonstrate his prowess in rendering the nude male figure. In this, he was a kindred spirit of late-sixth-century BCE Greek vase painters, such as Euthymides (FIG. 5-24), whose experiments with foreshortening also took precedence over narrative



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21-29 ANTONIO DEL POLLAIUOLO, *Battle of Ten Nudes,* ca. 1465. Engraving, $1' 3\frac{1}{8}'' \times 1' 11\frac{1}{4}''$. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (bequest of Joseph Pulitzer, 1917).

Pollaiuolo was fascinated by how muscles and sinews activate the human skeleton. He delighted in showing nude figures in violent action and from numerous foreshortened viewpoints.

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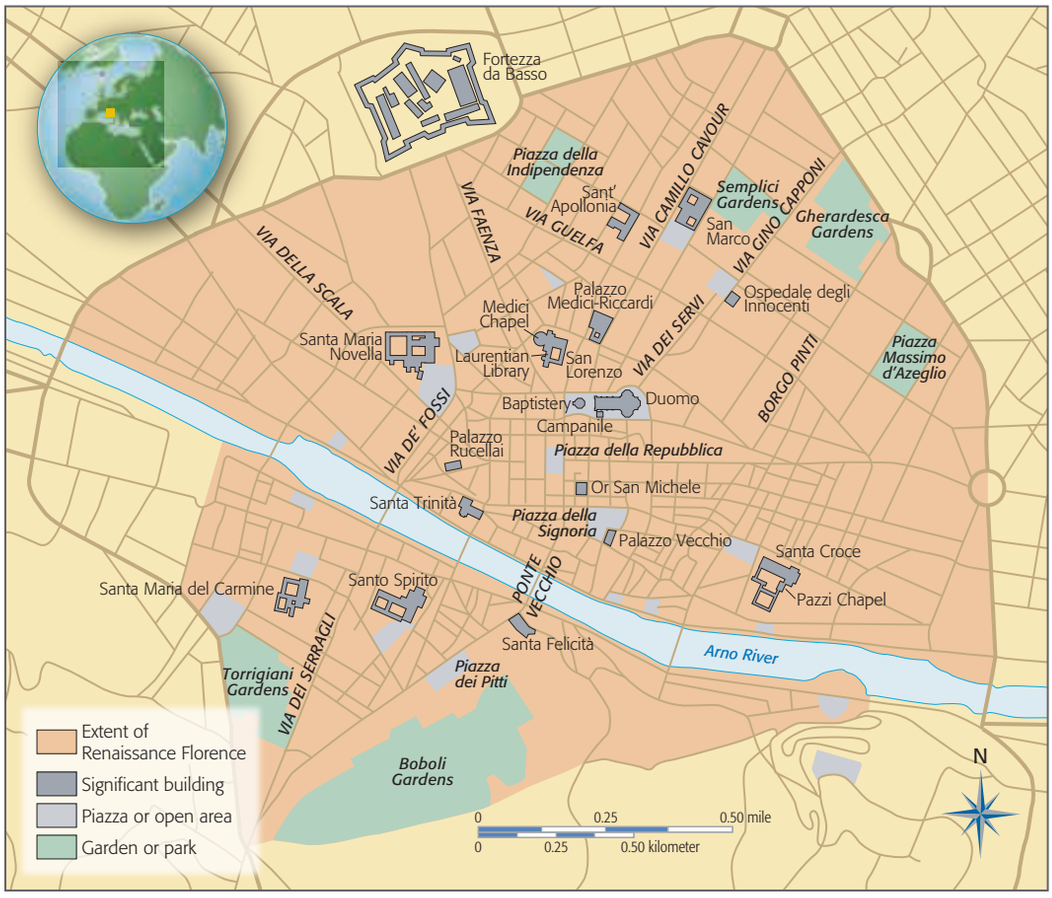
content. Even though the figures in *Ten Nudes* hack and slash at each other without mercy, they nevertheless seem somewhat stiff and frozen because Pollaiuolo depicted *all* the muscle groups at maximum tension. Not until several decades later did an even greater anatomist, Leonardo da Vinci (see "Renaissance Drawings," page 640), observe that only some of the body's muscle groups participate in any one action, while the others remain relaxed.

Architecture

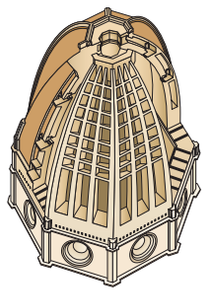
Filippo Brunelleschi's ability to codify a system of linear perspective derived in part from his skill as an architect. Although according to his biographer, Antonio Manetti, Brunelleschi turned to architecture out of disappointment over the loss to Lorenzo Ghiberti of the commission for the baptistery doors (FIGS. 21-2 and 21-3), he continued to work as a sculptor for several years and received commissions for sculpture as late as 1416. It is true, however, that as the 15th century progressed, Brunelleschi's interest turned increasingly toward architecture—a field that he would reorient. Several trips to Rome (the first in 1402, probably with his friend Donatello), where the ruins of ancient Rome captivated him, heightened his fascination with buildings. His close study of Roman monuments and his effort to make an accurate record of what he saw may have been the catalyst that led Brunelleschi to develop his revolutionary system of linear perspective.



MAP 21-1 **Renaissance Florence.**

Ospedale degli Innocenti. At the end of the second decade of the 15th century, Brunelleschi received two important architectural commissions in Florence (MAP 21-1): to construct a dome (FIGS. 21-29A and 21-29B) for the city's late medieval cathedral (FIG. 14-19) and to design the Ospedale degli Innocenti (Hospital of the Innocents, FIG. 21-30), a home for Florentine orphans and foundlings. The orphanage commission came from Florence's guild of silk manufacturers and goldsmiths, of which Brunelleschi, a goldsmith, was a member. The site chosen, adjacent to the

21-29A BRUNELLESCHI, Florence Cathedral dome, 1420–1436.



21-29B BRUNELLESCHI, Florence Cathedral dome, cutaway.

21-30 FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI, loggia of the Ospedale degli Innocenti (Foundling Hospital; looking northeast), Florence, Italy, begun 1419.

Often called the first example of Renaissance architecture, the loggia of the orphanage sponsored by Florence's silk and goldsmith guild features a classically austere design based on a module of 10 braccia.

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21-31 Filippo Brunelleschi, interior of San Lorenzo (looking east), Florence, Italy, ca. 1421–1469.

The mathematical clarity and austerity of the decor of San Lorenzo are key elements of Brunelleschi's classically inspired architectural style, which contrasts sharply with the soaring drama of Gothic churches.

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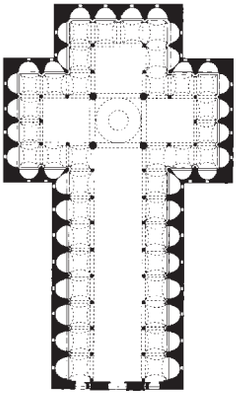
church of the Santissima Annunziata (Most Holy Annunciation), was appropriate. The church housed a miracle-working *Annunciation* that attracted large numbers of pilgrims. With the construction of the new foundling hospital, the Madonna would now watch over infants as well, assisted by the guild, which supported the orphanage with additional charitable donations.

Most scholars regard Brunelleschi's Ospedale degli Innocenti as the first building to embody the new Renaissance architectural style. As in earlier similar buildings, the facade of the Florentine orphanage is a loggia opening onto the street, a sheltered portico where, in this case, parents could anonymously deliver unwanted children to the care of the foundling hospital. Brunelleschi's arcade consists of a series of round arches on slender Corinthian columns. Each bay is a domed compartment with a *pediment*-capped window above. Both plan and elevation conform to a *module* that embodies the rationality of classical architecture. Each column is 10 *braccia* (approximately 20 feet; 1 braccia, or arm, equals 23 inches) tall. The distance between the columns of the facade and the distance between the columns and the wall are also 10 braccia. Thus each of the bays is a cubical unit 10 braccia wide, deep, and high. The height of the columns also equals the diameter of the arches (except in the two outermost bays, which are slightly wider and serve as framing elements in the overall design). The color scheme, which would become a Brunelleschi hallmark, is austere: white stucco walls with gray pietra serena ("serene stone") columns and moldings.

San Lorenzo. In 1418, the year before Brunelleschi began work on the Ospedale degli Innocenti, Giovanni de' Medici became the official banker of the Vatican, a position that enabled him and his heirs to amass both wealth and power (see "The Medici," page 593). Giovanni became the leader of a group of Florentine citizens that financed the rebuilding of the church of San Lorenzo (Saint Lawrence; FIG. 21-31). The church, one of the largest in the city, had a venerable history. The original church was dedicated in 393, but an 11th-century Romanesque church that replaced the Early Christian basilica still stood on the site in the early 15th century. In 1421, the commission for the new church went to Brunelleschi, who did not live to see his design executed in full. In fact, at the time of his death in 1446, not a single column of the nave was yet in place.

21-31A Brunelleschi, Santo Spirito interior, begun 1446.



21-31B Brunelleschi, Santo Spirito plan, begun 1446.

San Lorenzo is one of two basilican churches in Florence designed by Brunelleschi, and its plan and elevation closely resemble those of Santo Spirito (Church of the Holy Spirit; FIGS. 21-31A and 21-31B), begun about a decade later on the opposite side of the Arno River (MAP 21-1). Both churches embody the new Renaissance spirit of the Florentine orphanage loggia in their austerity and rationality. As in the earlier building, Brunelleschi adopted an all-encompassing modular design for the church that extended even to the diameter of the shafts of the nave columns and the dimensions of their Corinthian capitals. The nave has a simple two-story elevation (nave arcade and clerestory) with a flat, coffered timber roof. The columns support *impost blocks* from which round arches spring. Ample light enters through the arcuated clerestory windows and through *oculi* ("eyes") in the aisle walls, one over each chapel opening onto the

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ART AND SOCIETY

Italian Renaissance Family Chapel Endowments

During the 14th through 16th centuries in Italy, wealthy families regularly endowed chapels in or adjacent to major churches. These family chapels were usually situated on either side of the choir near the altar at the church's east end. Very wealthy families sponsored chapels in the form of separate buildings constructed next to churches. For example, the Medici Chapel (Old Sacristy) abuts San Lorenzo in Florence. The Pazzi family commissioned a chapel (FIGS. 21-32, 21-33, and 21-34) adjacent to Santa Croce (FIG. I-4). Other powerful banking families—the Baroncelli, Bardi, and Peruzzi—each sponsored chapels inside the church. The Brancacci family paid for the decorative program (FIGS. 21-18 and 21-19) of their chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine, and the Strozzi for their family chapel in Santa Trinità (FIG. 21-17).

These families and many others, not only in Florence but throughout Italy, endowed chapels to ensure the well-being of the souls of individual family members and ancestors. The chapels served as burial sites and as spaces for liturgical celebrations and commemorative services. Chapel owners sponsored Masses for the dead, praying to the Virgin Mary and the saints for intercession on behalf of their deceased loved ones.

Changes in Christian doctrine prompted these concerted efforts to enhance donors' chances for eternal salvation. Until the 13th century, most Christians believed that after death, souls went either to Heaven or to Hell. In the late 1100s and early 1200s, the concept of Purgatory—a way station between Heaven and Hell where souls could atone for sins before Judgment Day—increasingly won favor. Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) officially recognized the existence of such a place in 1215. Because Purgatory represented a chance for the faithful to improve the likelihood of eventually gaining admission to Heaven, Christians eagerly embraced this opportunity.

When the Church extended to the living the concept of earning salvation in Purgatory, charitable work, good deeds, and devotional practices proliferated. Family chapels provided the space necessary for the performance of devotional rituals. Most chapels included altars, as well as chalices, vestments, candlesticks, and other objects used in the Mass. In consultation with the relevant church officials, most patrons also commissioned decorations, such as painted altarpieces, frescoes on the walls, and sculptural objects. The chapels were therefore not only expressions of piety and devotion but also opportunities for donors to enhance their stature in the larger community.

21-32 FILIPPO BRUNELLESCHI, west facade of the Pazzi Chapel, adjacent to Santa Croce (FIG. I-4), Florence, Italy, begun 1433.

The Pazzi family erected this chapel as a gift to the Franciscan church of Santa Croce. It served as the monks' chapter house and is one of the first independent Renaissance central-plan buildings.

domed aisle bays. The restrained color scheme of white stucco wall surfaces and moldings in gray pietra serena became standard in Florentine churches for 500 years.

The calculated logic of the design echoes that of ancient Roman buildings, but contrasts sharply with the soaring drama and spirituality of the nave arcades and vaults of Gothic churches (for example, FIGS. 13-20 and 13-21). San Lorenzo's rational interior even deviates from Florence Cathedral's nave (FIG. 14-19A), whose verticality is restrained in comparison to its Northern European counterparts. San Lorenzo fully expresses the new Renaissance spirit that placed its faith in reason rather than in the emotions.

Pazzi Chapel. Shortly after Brunelleschi began work on San Lorenzo, the Pazzi family commissioned him to design the chapel they intended to donate to the Franciscan church of Santa Croce (Church of the Holy Cross; FIG. I-4) in Florence (see "Italian Renaissance Family Chapel Endowments," above). The project was not completed, however, until the 1460s, long after Brunelleschi's death, and the exterior (FIG. 21-32) probably does not reflect his original design. The loggia, admirable as it is, likely was added as an afterthought, perhaps by the sculptor-architect Giuliano da Maiano (1432–1490). The Pazzi Chapel served as the *chapter house* (meeting hall) of the local chapter of Franciscan monks. Historians have suggested that the monks needed the expansion to accommodate more of their brethren.

Behind the loggia stands one of the first independent Renaissance buildings conceived basically as a *central-plan* structure (compare FIGS. 8-11 and 8-12), so called because the various aspects

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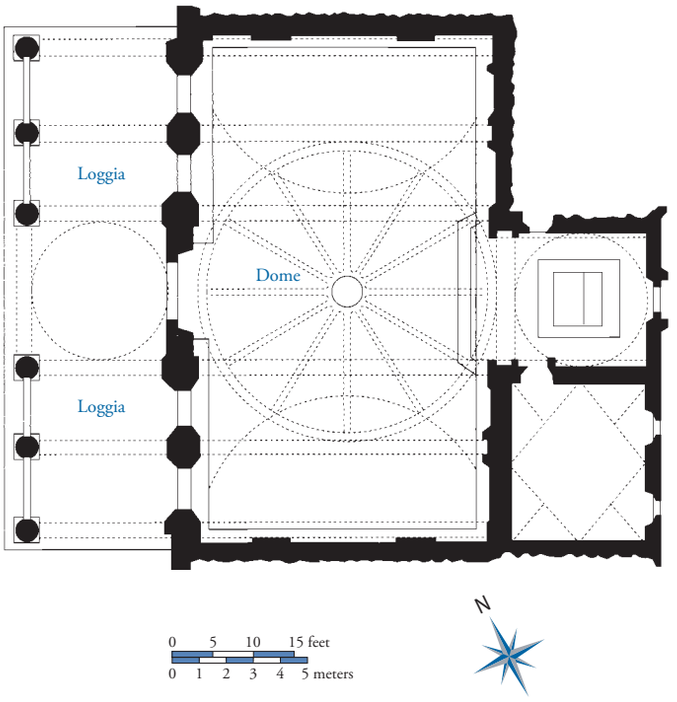

21-33 Filippo Brunelleschi, plan of the Pazzi Chapel, adjacent to Santa Croce (fig. I-4), Florence, Italy, begun 1433.

Although the Pazzi Chapel is rectangular, rather than square or round, Brunelleschi created a central plan by placing all emphasis on the dome-covered space at the heart of the building.

21-34 Filippo Brunelleschi, interior of the Pazzi Chapel (looking southeast), adjacent to Santa Croce (fig. I-4), Florence, Italy, begun 1433.

The interior trim of the Pazzi Chapel is gray pietra serena, which stands out against the white stuccoed walls and crisply defines the modular relationships of plan and elevation.

of the interior resemble one another, no matter where an observer stands, in contrast to the *longitudinal plan* of basilican churches. Although the Pazzi Chapel's plan (fig. 21-33) is rectangular, rather than square or round, Brunelleschi placed all emphasis on the central dome-covered space. The short *barrel-vaulted* sections bracing the dome on two sides appear to be incidental appendages. The interior trim (fig. 21-34) is Brunelleschi's favorite gray pietra serena, which stands out against the white stuccoed walls and crisply defines the modular relationships of plan and elevation. As he did in his design for the Ospedale degli Innocenti (fig. 21-30) and later for San Lorenzo (fig. 21-31), Brunelleschi used a basic unit that enabled him to construct a balanced, harmonious, and regularly proportioned space.

Circular medallions (tondi) in the dome's *pendentives* (see "Placing a Dome over a Square," page 270) consist of terracotta reliefs representing the four evangelists. The technique for manufacturing this kind of polychrome baked clay relief was of recent invention. Around 1430, Luca della Robbia (1400–1482) perfected the application of vitrified (heat-fused) colored potters' *glazes* to sculpture (fig. 21-34A). Inexpensive, durable, and decorative, these ceramic sculptures became extremely popular and provided the basis for a lucrative family business. Luca's nephew Andrea della Robbia (1435–1525) produced *roundels* of babies in swaddling clothes for Brunelleschi's loggia of the Ospedale degli Innocenti (fig. 21-30) in 1487 (the only indication on the building's facade of its charitable function), and Andrea's sons, Giovanni della Robbia (1469–1529) and Girolamo della Robbia (1488–1566), carried on this tradition well into the 16th century. Most of the tondi in the Pazzi Chapel are the work of Luca della Robbia himself. Together with the images of the 12 apostles on the pilaster-framed wall panels, they add striking color accents to the tranquil interior.

21-34A Luca della Robbia, *Madonna and Child,* ca. 1455–1460.

Palazzo Medici. It seems curious that Brunelleschi, the most renowned architect of his time, did not participate in the upsurge of *palazzo* ("palace"; pl. *palazzi*) building that Florence experienced in the 1430s and 1440s. This proliferation of palazzi testified to the stability of the Florentine economy and to the affluence and confidence of the city's leading citizens. Brunelleschi, however, confined his efforts in this field to work on the Palazzo di Parte Guelfa (headquarters of Florence's then-ruling "party") and to a rejected model for a new palace that Cosimo de' Medici intended to build. When the Medici returned to Florence in 1434 after a brief exile imposed on them by other elite families who resented the Medicis' consolidation of power, Cosimo, aware of the importance of public perception, attempted to maintain a lower profile and to wield his

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21-35 Michelozzo di Bartolommeo, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (looking northwest), Florence, Italy, begun 1445.

The Medici palace, with its combination of dressed and rusticated masonry and classical moldings, draws heavily on ancient Roman architecture, but Michelozzo creatively reinterpreted his models.

power from behind the scenes. In all probability, this attitude accounted for his rejection of Brunelleschi's design for the new Medici residence, which he evidently found too ostentatious to be politically wise. Cosimo eventually awarded the commission to Michelozzo di Bartolommeo (1396–1472), a young architect who had been Donatello's collaborator in several sculptural enterprises. Although Cosimo passed over Brunelleschi, the architect's style nevertheless deeply influenced Michelozzo. To a limited extent, the Palazzo Medici (fig. 21-35) reflects Brunelleschian principles.

Later bought by the Riccardi family (hence the name Palazzo Medici-Riccardi), who almost doubled the facade's length in the 18th century, the palace, in both its original and its extended form, is a simple, massive structure. Heavy *rustication* (rough, unfinished masonry) on the ground floor accentuates its strength. Michelozzo divided the building block into stories of decreasing height by using long, unbroken *stringcourses* (horizontal bands), which give it coherence. *Dressed masonry* (smooth, finished) *ashlar* blocks on the second level and an even smoother surface on the top story modify the severity of the ground floor and make the building appear progressively lighter as the eye moves upward. The extremely heavy *cornice,* which Michelozzo related not to the top story but to the building as a whole, dramatically reverses this effect. Like the ancient Roman cornices that served as Michelozzo's models (compare figs. 7-32, 7-40, and 7-44A), the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi cornice is a very effective lid for the structure, clearly and emphatically defining its proportions. Michelozzo perhaps also was inspired by the many extant examples of Roman rusticated masonry, and Roman precedents even exist for the juxtaposition of rusticated and dressed stone masonry on the same facade (fig. 7-34). However, nothing in the ancient world precisely compares with Michelozzo's design. The Palazzo Medici exemplifies the simultaneous respect for and independence from the antique that characterizes the Early Renaissance in Italy.

The heart of the Palazzo Medici is an open colonnaded court (fig. 21-36) that clearly shows Michelozzo's debt to Brunelleschi. The round-arched colonnade, although more massive in its proportions, closely resembles Brunelleschi's foundling-hospital loggia (fig. 21-30)

21-36 Michelozzo di Bartolommeo, interior court of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (looking west), Florence, Italy, begun 1445.

The Medici palace's interior court surrounded by a round-arched colonnade was the first of its kind, but the austere design clearly reveals Michelozzo's debt to Brunelleschi (figs. 21-30 and 21-31).

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Leon Battista Alberti's *On the Art of Building*

Although he wrote treatises on painting and sculpture, Leon Battista Alberti's most ambitious work, modeled on Vitruvius's late-first-century BCE architectural treatise (see "Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture,*" page 204), is *De re aedificatori libri X* (*On the Art of Building in Ten Books*), written about 1450 and published in 1486. Alberti was the first to study Vitruvius's treatise in detail, and his knowledge of it, combined with his own archaeological investigations, made him the first Renaissance architect to understand classical architecture in depth. His own buildings (FIGS. 21-37, 21-37A, 21-45, 21-46, and 21-47), however, are not ancient replicas but highly original designs.

Alberti's treatise, in addition to serving as a practical manual for architects, also celebrated and sought to ennoble architects and their profession. In his prologue, Alberti argued that

> The security, dignity, and honor of the republic depend greatly on the architect: it is he who is responsible for our delight, entertainment, and health while at leisure, and our profit and advantage while at work, and in short, that we live in a dignified manner, free from any danger. In view then of the delight and wonderful grace of his works, and of how indispensable they have proved, and in view of the benefit and convenience of his inventions, and their service to posterity, he should no doubt be accorded praise and respect, and be counted among those most deserving of mankind's honor and recognition.*

Alberti believed that architectural design should reflect the laws of nature and conform to mathematical formulas for beautiful proportions.

> The great experts of antiquity . . . have instructed us that a building is very like an animal, and that Nature must be imitated when we delineate it. . . . Beauty is a form of sympathy and consonance of the parts within a body, according to definite number, outline, and position, . . . the absolute and fundamental rule of Nature. This is the main object of the art of building, and the source of her dignity, charm, authority, and worth (IX.5).

Alberti shared this conviction with Brunelleschi, and this fundamental dependence on classically derived mathematics distinguished their architectural work from that of most of their medieval predecessors. They believed in the eternal and universal validity of numerical ratios as the source of beauty. In this respect, Alberti and Brunelleschi revived the true spirit of the High Classical age of ancient Greece, following the lead of the architect Iktinos and the sculptor Polykleitos, who produced canons of proportions for temples (see "The Perfect Temple," page 105) and statues (see "Polykleitos's Prescription for the Perfect Statue," page 131).

Two of Alberti's prescriptions for good architectural design are of particular interest. He rejected the centuries-long tradition of building basilican churches with nave arcades, arguing instead that the central plan was the ideal form for churches and that arches should not rest on columns.

> It is obvious from all that is fashioned, produced, or created under her influence that Nature delights primarily in the circle. Need I mention the earth, the stars, the animals, their nests, and so on, all of which she has made circular. . . . The round plan is defined by the circle (VII.4).
>
> For arched colonnades quadrangular columns are required. The work would be defective with round columns (VII.131).

Many later architects took both suggestions to heart.

*All passages translated by Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor, *Leon Battista Alberti: On the Art of Building in Ten Books* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988), 5, 196, 236, 301, 303.

21-37 Leon Battista Alberti and Bernardo Rossellino, Palazzo Rucellai (looking northwest), Florence, Italy, ca. 1452–1470.

Alberti was an ardent student of classical architecture. By adapting the Roman use of different orders for each story, he created the illusion that the Palazzo Rucellai becomes lighter toward its top.

and the nave colonnades of San Lorenzo (FIG. 21-31) and Santo Spirito (FIG. 21-31A). As in Brunelleschi's loggia and the Pazzi Chapel (FIG. 21-34), roundels (here framing Medici coats-of-arms) are prominent motifs in the arcades, although in the Palazzo Medici they appear in the frieze above the arcade, alternating with garlands, a popular motif in ancient Roman architecture (for example, FIG. 7-4). The Palazzo Medici's internal court surrounded by an arcade was the first of its kind in Renaissance architecture and influenced a long line of descendants in Italian domestic architecture (for example, FIG. 22-27).

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Leon Battista Alberti. Although he entered the profession of architecture rather late in life, Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) made a major contribution to architectural design (see "Leon Battista Alberti's *On the Art of Building*," page 620). Alberti's architectural style represents a scholarly application of antique motifs and principles to the design of 15th-century buildings. Most architectural historians believe that he designed the Palazzo Rucellai (fig. 21-37) in Florence, although his pupil and collaborator, Bernardo Rossellino (fig. 21-14), constructed the building using Alberti's plans and sketches. (Alberti is indisputably the architect of the west facade of Florence's Santa Maria Novella; fig. 21-37A.) The facade of the Palazzo Rucellai is much more severe than that of the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (fig. 21-35). Pilasters define each story, and a classical cornice crowns the whole. Between the smooth pilasters are subdued and uniform wall surfaces. Alberti created the sense that the structure becomes lighter in weight toward its top by adapting the ancient Roman manner of using different capitals for the pilasters of each story. He chose the severe capitals of ancient *Tuscan columns* (the Etruscan variant of the Greek *Doric order* [fig. 5-13, *left*], used also by the Romans) for the ground floor, capitals of his own invention with acanthus leaves and *palmettes* (palm leaves) for the second story, and Corinthian capitals for the third floor. The inspiration for Alberti's facade was undoubtedly the Colosseum (fig. 7-37), but he was no slavish copyist. On the ancient amphitheater's facade, the capitals employed are, from the bottom up, Tuscan, Ionic, and Corinthian. Moreover, Alberti adapted the Colosseum's varied surface to a flat facade, which does not allow the deep penetration of the building's mass that is so effective in the Roman structure. By converting his ancient model's *engaged columns* (half-round columns attached to a wall) into shallow *pilasters* that barely project from the wall, Alberti created a large-meshed linear net. Stretched tightly across the front of his building, it not only unifies the three levels but also emphasizes the wall's flat, two-dimensional qualities.

21-37A Alberti, Santa Maria Novella, Florence, 1456–1470.

Girolamo Savonarola. In the 1490s, Florence underwent a political, cultural, and religious upheaval. Florentine artists and their fellow citizens responded then not only to humanist ideas but also to the incursion of French armies and especially to the preaching of the Dominican monk Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498), the reformist priest-dictator who denounced the humanistic secularism of the Medici and their artists, philosophers, and poets. Savonarola appealed to the people of Florence to repent their sins, and when Lorenzo de' Medici died in 1492, the priest prophesied the downfall of the city and of Italy and assumed absolute control of the state. As did a large number of citizens, Savonarola believed that the Medici family's political, social, and religious power had corrupted Florence and invited the scourge of foreign invasion. In his sermons, Savonarola condemned the worldly and irreverent representation of holy figures—for example, Fra Filippo Lippi's *Madonna and Child with Angels* (fig. 21-24)—and those families who spent their fortunes on chapels dedicated to perpetuating their memory instead of aiding the poor (see "Family Chapel Endowments," page 617). He urged citizens to burn their classical texts, scientific treatises, and philosophical publications. The Medici fled in 1494.

Scholars still debate the significance of Savonarola's brief span of power. Apologists for the undoubtedly sincere monk deny that his actions played a role in the decline of Florentine culture at the end of the 15th century. But the puritanical spirit that moved Savonarola must have dampened Florentine enthusiasm for classical antiquity. Certainly, Savonarola's condemnation of humanism as heretical nonsense, and his banishing of the Medici, Tornabuoni, and other wealthy families from Florence, deprived local artists of some of their major patrons, at least in the short term. There were, however, commissions aplenty for artists elsewhere in Italy—beginning long before Savonarola launched his attacks on Florentine humanism.

VENICE

At the dawn of the Renaissance, Venice was one of the richest states in Italy and the major commercial and cultural link to the Byzantine Empire. In the realm of architecture, it boasted one of the greatest churches in Europe, the five-domed mosaic-filled Saint Mark's (fig. 9-26) dedicated to the city's patron saint, as well as one of the gems of late medieval secular architecture, the palace (fig. 14-23) of the city's ruling *doges* (dukes). The design of the seat of Venetian power contrasts vividly with Florence's fortresslike Palazzo della Signoria (fig. 14-19B) and reflects the fact that Venice, unlike Florence, was free of civil conflict.

Ca d'Oro. That happy state of affairs also dictated the design of private palaces. The most spectacular 15th-century Venetian palazzo (fig. 21-38) looks nothing like the Palazzo Medici (fig. 21-35). It belonged to Marino Contarini, the scion of one of the city's wealthiest merchant families. Built between 1421 and 1437, the Palazzo Contarini has an asymmetrical three-story facade facing Venice's primary waterway, the Grand Canal. The lowest floor—it cannot accurately be called the "ground" floor—has a simple loggia

21-38 Palazzo Contarini (Ca d'Oro; looking northeast), Venice, Italy, 1421–1437.

In vivid contrast to the fortresslike Florentine Palazzo Medici (fig. 21-35), Marino Contarini's "House of Gold" displays the Venetian's taste for flowery painted and gilded Gothic ornamentation.

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The Tomb of Doge Pietro Mocenigo

Upon entering the basilican church in Venice dedicated to Saints John and Paul, visitors today are greeted by so many tombs of the city's former rulers that the church has been dubbed the "pantheon of the doges." The tombs impressed earlier tourists as well, including Felix Faber (ca. 1441–1502), a Dominican theologian who stopped in Venice in 1480 during a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and in his diary recorded what he saw there. The doges' tombs in Santi Giovanni e Paolo made a profound impression on Faber, especially that of Pietro Mocenigo (FIG. 21-39), carved by Pietro Lombardo and his workshop. The focus of Mocenigo's tomb is his portrait in armor, framed by a triumphal arch. The statue rests on the doge's sarcophagus, held aloft by three warriors of different ages and decorated with reliefs commemorating major achievements of his short reign as duke. More statues of soldiers stand in superposed niches to the left and right. Below are reliefs depicting the Labors of Hercules. At the summit is the resurrected Christ above a relief representing the Three Marys at the Savior's empty tomb.

Faber took special interest in the combination of Christian iconography and classical mythology on Mocenigo's tomb—a distinctive feature of much Italian Renaissance art—and the ease with which those not schooled in Greco-Roman art and literature could confuse antique heroes with Old and New Testament figures.

> The Dominican church in Venice has the tombs of many doges. Never have I beheld tombs so full of beauty and pomp. Not even the tombs of the popes in Rome stand up by comparison. The tombs are embedded in the wall above the floor and are completely covered in various marbles and sculptures and decorated in gold and silver more than is proper. There are images of Christ, the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles, martyrs and other saints all according to the wish of the patrons. . . . To the right of the church entrance I saw the precious tomb of [Doge Pietro Mocenigo], upon which is carved the image of Hercules fighting. He is portrayed as usual but is wearing the skin of a lion he has killed rather than a cloak. Then there is another image of Hercules wrestling the hydra, a fearful monster which immediately grows seven new heads as soon as one of the old ones is chopped off. . . . Many of these pagan images alternate with those of our redemption, and thus it is that simple souls, believing they are saints, worship Hercules, mistaking him for Samson, and Venus, taking her for Mary Magdalene, and so on.*

*Quoted by Wolfgang Wolters in Giandomencio Romanelli, ed., *Venice: Art & Architecture* (Cologne: Könemann, 2005), 202–203.

21-39 PIETRO LOMBARDO, tomb of Doge Pietro Mocenigo, inside Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, 1476–1480.

This immense wall tomb by the leading Quattrocento Venetian sculptor and his sons presents Doge Pietro Mocenigo as a conquering warrior and incorporates both Christian and classical mythological themes.

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with wide bays for the unloading of goods from boats. Behind it is a corridor running the length of the house, flanked by storerooms and a small courtyard and garden. (The palace was Contarini's warehouse as well as residence.) On the main (second) floor—the *piano nobile* ("noble floor")—were the public reception rooms behind a loggia of ornate Late Gothic multilobed arches. The family's private chambers were on the third floor.

Detailed building accounts show that Contarini spared no expense in making his home a showcase of his wealth. He instructed painters to decorate the facade in white and blue enamel and stonemasons to oil the red Veronese marble blocks to make them shine brightly. Most of the intricately carved architectural ornamentation was gilded—hence the palace's longstanding nickname: Ca d'Oro (House of Gold). To achieve the look and quality he sought, Contarini hired artists from far and wide, including Matteo Raverti, one of the sculptors who worked at Milan Cathedral, and the French painter known in Italy as Zuan di Franza. The Ca d'Oro is a testimonial not only to Contarini's financial success but also to the survival of flowery Gothic taste in Venice at the same time that Filippo Brunelleschi was designing classically austere buildings in Florence.

Pietro Lombardo. The leading sculptural workshop of Renaissance Venice was established around 1467 by Pietro Lombardo (ca. 1435–1515), whose sons, Tullio and Antonio, continued to win major commissions in the 16th century. The specialty of the family workshop was funerary sculpture, particularly the grandiose wall tomb (compare fig. 21-14). The basilica of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice (next to which Colleoni's equestrian statue [fig. 21-16] stands on a towering pedestal) became a showcase for their work. The church housed the wall tombs of several doges, of which probably the most impressive is that of Pietro Mocenigo (r. 1474–1476), carved by Pietro, assisted by his sons and others, between 1476 and 1481 (see "The Tomb of Doge Pietro Mocenigo," page 622).

Giovanni Bellini. In the 16th century, Venice emerged as one of three great centers of Renaissance painting in Italy, along with Florence and Rome. The man credited with establishing the Venetian High Renaissance school of painting was Giovanni Bellini (ca. 1430–1516). Trained in the International Gothic style by his father, Jacopo, a student of Gentile da Fabriano (fig. 21-17), Giovanni worked in the family bottega and did not develop his own style until after his father's death in 1470 (see "Imitation and Emulation in Renaissance Art," page 606). His early independent works show the dominant influence of his brother-in-law Andrea Mantegna (figs. 21-48, 21-49, and 21-50). But in the late 1470s, he came into contact with the work of the Sicilian-born painter Antonello da Messina (ca. 1430–1479). Antonello received his early training in Naples, where he must have encountered Flemish painting and mastered using mixed oil (see "Tempera and Oil Painting," page 574). This more flexible medium is wider in coloristic range than either tempera or fresco. Antonello arrived in Venice in 1475 and during his two-year stay introduced his Venetian colleagues to the possibilities that the new oil technique offered.

In *Saint Francis in the Desert* (fig. 21-40), Bellini's most famous work of this period, the Venetian master depicted the founder of the Franciscan order as a hermit in the wilderness—although not too far removed from the medieval Italian town that

21-40 Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Francis in the Desert,* ca. 1477–1479. Oil and tempera on wood, 4′ 1″ × 4′ 7 7/8″. Frick Collection, New York (Henry Clay Frick Bequest).

Mixing tempera and oil, Bellini depicted Saint Francis communing with God in a landscape filled with references to the Crucifixion and to Moses, whom the Franciscans identified with their founder.

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Bellini placed in the background. Saint Francis has stepped out of his cave home, where he has set up beneath a grape bower a simple wooden desk with a skull on it (symbolic of the Crucifixion and the blood of Christ). He spreads his arms, displaying his *stigmata,* the marks of his identification with Christ (compare FIG. 14-5), and gazes skyward at a burst of golden light (at the upper left corner of the panel) that signals God's presence.

Emulating Netherlandish masters, Bellini filled his painting of Saint Francis's ecstatic communion with God with symbols and allusions. The Franciscans viewed their founding saint as a new Moses, who had communed with God in the desert before the burning bush, perhaps alluded to by the windblown tree before the burst of light. Certainly, the water trickling from a spout in the rocks at the lower left beneath the quivering tree is a reference to the water that miraculously appeared when Moses struck the rock at Mount Horeb with his staff. Francis also stands barefoot (his sandals are beside his desk), just as Moses did in the desert when God commanded him to remove his shoes because he stood on sacred ground. The donkey, a traditional symbol of patience appropriate for a hermit saint, likely also refers to Francis's description of his own body as Brother Ass.

Bellini painted *Saint Francis in the Desert* using a mixture of tempera and oil, following the lead of Antonello da Messina. He soon became a master of the new medium and developed a sensuous coloristic manner destined to characterize Venetian painting of the 16th century (see "Giovanni Bellini," page 660).

THE PRINCELY COURTS

The governments, churches, guilds, and merchants of the republics of Florence and Venice were not the only sponsors of the "rebirth" of art in Quattrocento Italy. The "princely courts" in Rome, Urbino, Mantua, and elsewhere were also instrumental in nurturing Renaissance art, whether the "prince" was a duke, marquis, count, condottiere, or pope. In the 15th century, princely courts proliferated throughout the Italian peninsula (MAP 14-1), notably in papal Rome (FIGS. 21-40A, 21-41, and 21-42), Milan, Naples, Ferrara, Savoy, Urbino (FIGS. 21-43, 21-44, and 21-44A), and Mantua (FIGS. 21-45, 21-47, 21-48, 21-49, and 21-50).

The efficient functioning of a princely court required a sophisticated administrative structure. Each prince employed an extensive household staff, ranging from counts, nobles, cooks, waiters, stewards, footmen, stable hands, and ladies-in-waiting to dog handlers, leopard keepers, pages, and runners. The duke of Milan had more than 40 chamberlains to attend to his personal needs alone. Each prince also needed an elaborate bureaucracy to oversee political, economic, and military operations and to ensure his continued control. These officials included secretaries, lawyers, captains, ambassadors, and condottieri. Burgeoning international diplomacy and trade made each prince the center of an active and privileged sphere. Their domains extended to the realm of culture, for they saw themselves as more than political, military, and economic leaders (see "Art in the Princely Courts of Renaissance Italy," page 625).

Rome and the Papal States

Although not a secular ruler, the pope in Rome was the head of a court with enormous wealth at his disposal. With the election of a French pope in 1305 (see "The Great Schism," page 423), however, papal commissions in Rome had ceased, and for more than a century, the once-glorious city became an artistic backwater. Even with the succession of Martin V (r. 1417–1431) and the return of papal power to Rome from Avignon, significant papal patronage did not resume immediately. Upon his election in 1471, however, Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–1484) initiated a major building campaign in Rome that included the restoration of churches, bridges, streets, and aqueducts; the construction in 1475 of a new papal library in the Vatican; and a new chapel bearing his name (the Sistine Chapel; FIG. 22-1).

Perugino. Between 1481 and 1483, Sixtus IV summoned a group of artists to Rome to decorate the walls of his new chapel. Among the artists the pope employed were Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, and Pietro Vannucci, known as PERUGINO (ca. 1450–1523) after his birthplace—Perugia, in Umbria (MAP 14-1). The project followed immediately the completion of the new Vatican library, which the pope also ordered decorated with frescoes by MELOZZO DA FORLÌ (1438–1494; FIG. 21-40A) and others. Perugino's contribution to the Sistine Chapel fresco cycle was *Christ Delivering the Keys of the Kingdom to Saint Peter* (FIG. 21-41). The papacy had, from the beginning, based its claim to infallible and total authority over the Roman Catholic Church on this biblical event, and therefore the subject was one of obvious appeal to Sixtus IV.

21-40A MELOZZO DA FORLÌ, *Sixtus IV Confirming Platina,* ca. 1477–1481.

In Perugino's fresco, Christ hands the keys to Saint Peter, who stands amid an imaginary gathering of the 12 apostles and Renaissance contemporaries. These figures occupy the apron of a great stage space that extends into the distance to a point of convergence in the doorway of a central-plan temple. (Perugino used parallel and converging lines in the pavement to mark off the intervening space; compare FIG. 21-9.) The smaller figures in the middle distance enhance the sense of depth and also act out important New Testament stories—for example (at the left), the episode of Jesus, Peter, and the tribute money (compare FIG. 21-18).

At the corners of the great piazza, duplicate triumphal arches serve as the base angles of a distant compositional triangle whose apex is in the central building. Perugino modeled the arches closely on the Arch of Constantine (FIG. 7-76) in Rome. Although they are anachronisms in a painting depicting a scene from Jesus's life, the arches served to underscore the close ties between Saint Peter and Constantine, the first Christian emperor of Rome and builder of the great basilica (FIG. 8-9) over Saint Peter's tomb. In fact, the inscriptions on the arches compare Sixtus IV to Constantine. Christ and Peter flank the triangle's central axis, which runs through the temple's doorway, the vanishing point of Perugino's perspective scheme. Brunelleschi's new spatial science enabled the Umbrian artist to organize the action systematically.

Luca Signorelli. Another Umbrian painter employed by Sixtus IV to decorate the walls of the Sistine Chapel was LUCA SIGNORELLI (ca. 1445–1523). However, Signorelli's most significant work was painted for Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503) in the San Brizio chapel in the cathedral (FIG. 14-13) of the papal city of Orvieto (MAP 14-1). There, in a cycle of scenes depicting the end of the world, Signorelli further developed Pollaiuolo's interest in the depiction of muscular bodies in violent action in a wide

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Art in the Princely Courts of Renaissance Italy

As the wealthiest individuals in their regions, Renaissance princes possessed the means to commission numerous artworks and buildings. In addition to being a source of visual pleasure, art functioned in several capacities in the princely courts: as evidence of princely sophistication and culture, as a form of prestige or commemoration, as a demonstration of wealth, and even as propaganda. For example, in the mural (FIG. 21-41) that Pope Sixtus IV commissioned Perugino to paint for the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, the subject chosen glorified the papacy itself.

Princes and their advisers carefully researched the reputations and styles of the artists and architects whom they employed because the quality of the work reflected not solely on the artist but on the patron as well. Sometimes, princes bestowed on selected individuals the title of "court artist." Serving as a court artist had its benefits, among them a guaranteed salary (not always paid), liberation from guild restrictions, and, often, living quarters in the palace. On occasion, a court artist achieved the status of a member of the prince's inner circle, sometimes even a knighthood. For artists struggling to elevate their profession from the ranks of craftspeople, working for a prince presented an unparalleled opportunity. Until the 16th century, artists had limited status, and most people considered them in the same class as small shopkeepers, petty merchants, and less talented artisans who were grouped with other manual laborers. Indeed, at court dinners, artists usually sat with the other members of the salaried household: tailors, cobblers, barbers, and upholsterers. Thus the possibility of social advancement was a powerful and constant incentive in addition to the income received from princely commissions.

In return for the salaries and lofty titles they offered to the most favored artists, princes demanded a great deal. Court artists not only created the frescoes, portraits, and sculptures that have become their legacies but also designed tapestries, seat covers, costumes, masks, and decorations for various court festivities. Because princes constantly received ambassadors and dignitaries and needed to maintain a high profile to reinforce their authority, lavish social functions were the norm. Artists often created gifts for visiting nobles and potentates. Recipients judged these gifts on the quality of both the work and the materials. By using expensive materials—gold leaf, silver leaf, lapis lazuli (a rich azure-blue stone imported from Afghanistan), silk, and velvet brocade—and employing the best artists, princes could impress others with their wealth and good taste.

21-41 PERUGINO, *Christ Delivering the Keys of the Kingdom to Saint Peter,* mural in the Sistine Chapel (FIG. 22-1), Vatican, Rome, Italy, 1481–1483. Fresco, 11′ 5½″ × 18′ 8½″.

Painted for the Vatican, this fresco depicts the event on which the papacy bases its authority. The converging lines of the pavement connect the action in the foreground with the background.

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21-42 **Luca Signorelli, *The Damned Cast into Hell,* mural in the San Brizio chapel, Orvieto Cathedral (fig. 14-13), Orvieto, Italy, 1499–1502. Fresco, 23′ wide.**

Few figure compositions of the 15th century match the psychic impact of Signorelli's fresco in Orvieto Cathedral showing writhing, foreshortened muscular bodies tortured by demons in Hell.

variety of poses and foreshortenings. In *The Damned Cast into Hell* (fig. 21-42), the fiery passion of Savonarola's sermons found its pictorial equal. Few Quattrocento figure compositions equal Signorelli's in psychic impact. Saint Michael and the hosts of Heaven hurl the damned into Hell, where, in a dense, writhing mass, they are vigorously tortured by demons, some winged. The horrible consequences of a sinful life had not been so graphically depicted since Gislebertus carved his vision of the Last Judgment (fig. 12-1) over the west portal of Saint-Lazare at Autun around 1130. The figures—nude, lean, and muscular—assume every conceivable posture of anguish. Signorelli was a master both of foreshortening the human figure and depicting bodies in violent movement. Although each figure is clearly a study from a model, Signorelli incorporated the individual studies into a convincing and coherent narrative composition. Terror and rage pass like storms through the wrenched and twisted bodies. The fiends, their hair flaming and their bodies the color of putrefying flesh, lunge at their victims in ferocious frenzy.

Urbino

Under the patronage of the condottiere Duke Federico da Montefeltro (1422–1482), Urbino, southeast of Florence across the Apennines (map 14-1), became an important center of Renaissance art and culture. In fact, the humanist writer Paolo Cortese (1465–1540) described Federico as one of the two greatest artistic patrons of the 15th century (the other was Cosimo de' Medici). Federico was so renowned for his military expertise that he was in demand by popes and kings, and soldiers came from across Europe to study under his direction.

One of the artists who received several commissions from Federico was Piero della Francesca, who had already established a major reputation in his native Tuscany (figs. 21-25 and 21-25A). Among the works that Piero may have produced for Federico is one of the finest but most puzzling Quattrocento paintings (see "Piero della Francesca's *Flagellation,*" page 627).

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A SECOND OPINION

Piero della Francesca's *Flagellation*

Universally acknowledged as one of his masterpieces, *Flagellation* (FIG. 21-43) is also Piero della Francesca's most difficult-to-interpret work. It is even uncertain whether the painting, now in Urbino, was commissioned by Duke Federico.

The setting for this episode of the passion drama is the portico of Pontius Pilate's palace in Jerusalem. Curiously, the focus of the composition is not Jesus but the group of three large figures in the foreground, whose identity scholars still debate. Some have described the bearded figure as a Turk and interpreted the painting as a commentary on the capture in 1453 of Christian Constantinople by the Ottomans. Other scholars, however, identify the three men as biblical figures, including King David, one of whose psalms Christian theologians believed predicted the conspiracy against Jesus. In any case, the three men appear to discuss the event in the background. As Pilate, the seated judge, watches, Jesus, bound to a column topped by a classical statue, is about to be whipped. Piero's perspective is so meticulous that the floor pattern can be reconstructed perfectly as a central porphyry (purple marble) circle with surrounding squares composed of various geometric shapes, a popular design for marble floors in ancient Rome (compare FIG. 7-51).

More than two dozen attempts have been made by modern scholars to unlock the meaning of Piero's *Flagellation.* Whatever the solution to the iconographical puzzle, the small wood panel reveals a mind cultivated by mathematics. The careful delineation of architecture suggests an architect's vision, certainly that of a man entirely familiar with building design. Piero planned his compositions almost entirely by his sense of the exact and lucid structures defined by mathematics. He believed that the highest beauty resides in forms that have the clarity and purity of geometric figures. Toward the end of his long career, Piero, a skilled geometrician, wrote the first theoretical treatise on systematic perspective, after having practiced the art with supreme mastery for almost a lifetime. His association with the architect Leon Battista Alberti at Ferrara and at Rimini (FIGS. 21-45, 21-46, and 21-47) around 1450–1451 probably turned his attention fully to perspective (a science in which Alberti was an influential pioneer) and helped determine his later, characteristically architectonic compositions. This approach appealed to Federico da Montefeltro, a patron fascinated by architectural space and its depiction.

21-43 PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA, *Flagellation,* ca. 1455–1465. Oil and tempera on wood, 1′ $11\frac{1}{8}$″ × 2′ $8\frac{1}{4}$″. Galleria Nazionale delle Marche, Urbino.

In this difficult-to-interpret painting, the three unidentified foreground figures appear to be discussing the biblical tragedy taking place in Pilate's palace, which Piero rendered in perfect perspective.

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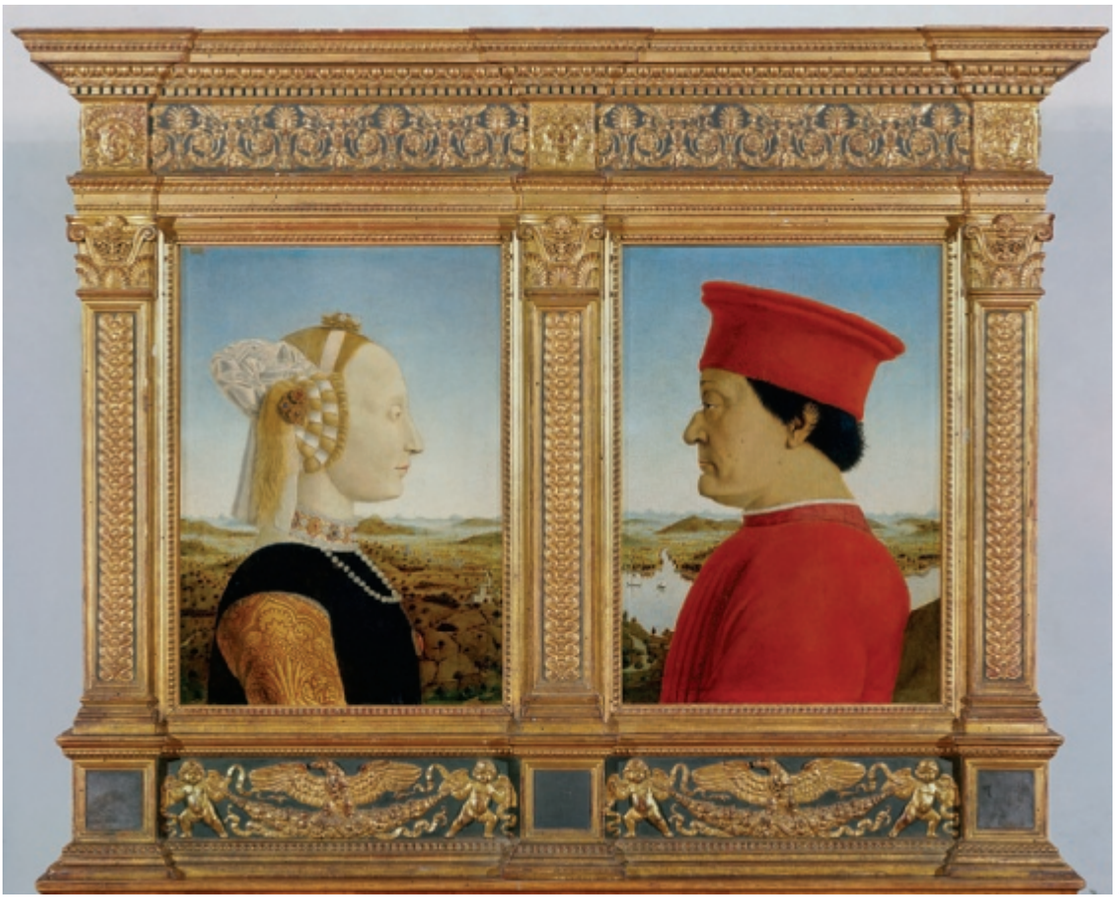

21-44 Piero della Francesca, *Battista Sforza and Federico da Montefeltro,* ca. 1472–1474. Oil and tempera on wood in modern frame, each panel 1′ 6½″ × 1′ 1″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Piero's portraits of Federico da Montefeltro and his recently deceased wife, Battista Sforza, combine the profile views on Roman coins with the landscape backgrounds of Flemish portraiture (FIG. 20-18).

Federico and Battista. Two of Piero's paintings that were certainly commissioned by Federico da Montefeltro are the double portrait (FIG. 21-44) of the duke and his second wife, Battista Sforza (1446–1472), whom he married in 1460 when she was 14 years old, and the *Brera Altarpiece* (FIG. 21-44A). The daughter of Alessandro Sforza (1409–1473), lord of Pesaro and brother of the duke of Milan, Battista was a well-educated humanist who proved to be an excellent administrator of Federico's territories during his frequent military campaigns. She gave birth to eight daughters in 11 years and finally, on January 25, 1472, to the male heir for which the couple had prayed. When the duchess died of pneumonia five months later at age 26, Federico went into mourning for virtually the rest of his life. He never remarried.

21-44A Piero della Francesca, *Brera Altarpiece,* ca. 1472–1474.

Federico asked Piero della Francesca to paint the double portrait shortly after Battista's death to pay tribute to her and to have a memento of their marriage. The present frame is a 19th-century addition. Originally, the two portraits formed a hinged diptych. The format—two bust-length portraits with a landscape background—followed Flemish models, such as the portraits by Hans Memling (FIGS. 20-18 and 20-18A), as did Piero's use of oil-based pigment (see "Tempera and Oil Painting," page 574). Piero would have been familiar with the latest artistic developments in Northern Europe because Federico employed Flemish painters at his court. But Piero depicted the Urbino condottiere and his wife in profile, in part to emulate the profile portraits on Roman coins (FIGS. 7-10 and 7-79, *left*), which Renaissance humanists avidly collected, and in part to conceal the disfigured right side of Federico's face. (He lost his right eye and part of the bridge of his nose in a tournament in 1450.) That injury also explains why Federico is on the right in left profile. He was similarly portrayed by Piero in the *Brera Altarpiece*. Roman coins normally show the emperor in right profile, and Renaissance marriage portraits almost always place the husband at the viewer's left.

Piero probably based Battista's portrait on her death mask, and the pallor of her skin may be a reference to her death. Latin inscriptions on the reverse of the two portraits refer to Federico in the present tense and to Battista in the past tense, confirming the posthumous date of her portrait. The backs of the panels (not illustrated) also bear paintings. They represent Federico and Battista in triumphal chariots accompanied by personifications of their respective virtues: Justice, Prudence, and Fortitude (Federico) and Faith, Charity, and Chastity (Battista). The placement of scenes of triumph on the reverse of profile portraits also emulates ancient Roman coinage.

Mantua

Marquis Ludovico Gonzaga (1412–1478) ruled the court of Mantua in northeastern Italy (MAP 14-1) during the mid-15th century. A famed condottiere like Federico da Montefeltro, Gonzaga established his reputation as a fierce military leader while general of the Milanese armies. The visit of Pope Pius II (r. 1458–1464) to Mantua in 1459 stimulated the marquis's determination to transform his city into one that all Italy would envy.

Sant'Andrea. One of the major projects that Gonzaga instituted was the redesign of the church of Sant'Andrea to replace an 11th-century church. Gonzaga turned to the renowned architect Leon

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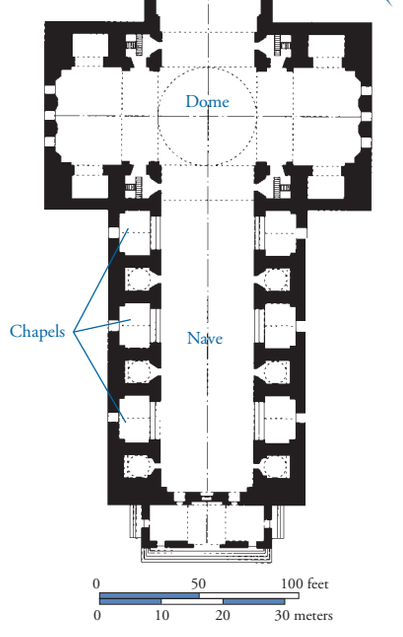
21-45 Leon Battista Alberti, west facade of Sant'Andrea, Mantua, Italy, designed 1470, begun 1472.

Alberti's design for Sant'Andrea reflects his study of ancient Roman architecture. Employing the colossal order, the architect combined a triumphal arch and a Roman temple front with pediment.



21-46 Leon Battista Alberti, plan of Sant'Andrea, Mantua, Italy, designed 1470, begun 1472.

In *On the Art of Building,* Alberti criticized the traditional basilican plan as impractical. He designed Sant'Andrea as a single huge hall with independent chapels branching off the nave at right angles.

Battista Alberti (figs. 21-37 and 21-37A) for this important commission. The facade (fig. 21-45) Alberti designed incorporated two major ancient Roman architectural motifs—the temple front and the triumphal arch. The combination was already a familiar feature of Roman buildings still standing in Italy. For example, many triumphal arches, including a late-first-century BCE arch at Rimini on Italy's northeast coast, feature a pediment over the arcuated passageway and engaged columns, but there is no close parallel in antiquity for Alberti's eclectic and ingenious design. The Renaissance architect's concern for proportion (see "Alberti's *On the Art of Building,*" page 620) led him to equalize the vertical and horizontal dimensions of the facade, which left it considerably shorter than the church behind it. Because of the primary importance of visual appeal, many Renaissance architects made this concession not only to the demands of a purely visual proportionality in the facade but also to the facade's relation to the small square in front of it, even at the expense of continuity with the body of the building. Yet structural correspondences to the building do exist in Sant'Andrea's facade. The pilasters are the same height as those on the nave's interior walls; and the large barrel vault over the central portal, with smaller barrel vaults branching off at right angles, introduces on a smaller scale the arrangement of the church's nave and chapels (figs. 21-46 and 21-47). The facade pilasters, as part of the wall, run uninterrupted through three stories in an early application of the *colossal* or *giant order* (pilasters that extend through more than one level) that became a favorite motif of Michelangelo (fig. 22-25).

21-47 Leon Battista Alberti, interior of Sant'Andrea (looking east), Mantua, Italy, designed 1470, begun 1472.

For the nave of Sant'Andrea, Alberti abandoned the traditional columnar arcade. The tremendous vaults suggest that Constantine's Basilica Nova (fig. 7-74) in Rome may have served as a prototype.

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21-48 **Andrea Mantegna, interior of the Camera Picta (Painted Chamber), Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, Italy, 1465–1474. Fresco.**

Working for Ludovico Gonzaga, who established Mantua as a great art city, Mantegna produced for the duke's palace the first completely consistent illusionistic decoration of an entire room.

The tremendous vaults in the interior of Sant'Andrea suggest that Alberti's model may have been Constantine's Basilica Nova (FIG. 7-74) in Rome—erroneously thought in the Middle Ages and Renaissance to be a Roman temple. Consistent with his belief that arches should not be used with freestanding columns (see "Alberti's *On the Art of Building,*" page 620), Alberti abandoned the medieval columnar arcade that Brunelleschi still used in San Lorenzo (FIG. 21-31) and Santo Spirito (FIG. 21-31A). Thick walls alternating with vaulted chapels, interrupted by a massive dome over the crossing, support the huge coffered barrel vault.

Because Filippo Juvara (1678–1736) added the present dome in the 18th century, the effect may be somewhat different from what Alberti planned. Regardless, the vault calls to mind the vast interior spaces and dense enclosing masses of Roman architecture. In *On the Art of Building,* Alberti criticized the traditional basilican plan (with continuous aisles flanking the central nave) as impractical because the colonnades conceal the ceremonies from the faithful in the aisles. For this reason, he designed a single huge hall (FIG. 21-47) with independent chapels branching off at right angles (FIG. 21-46). This break with a Christian building tradition that had endured for a thousand years was extremely influential in later Renaissance and Baroque church planning.

Andrea Mantegna. Like other princes, Ludovico Gonzaga believed that it was important to surround himself with humanist scholars and talented artists, and he made Mantua one of Europe's leading cultural centers. The marquis also knew that an impressive palace was an important visual expression of his authority. One of the most spectacular rooms in the Palazzo Ducale (Ducal Palace) is Ludovico's bedchamber and audience hall, the so-called Camera degli Sposi (Room of the Newlyweds), originally the Camera Picta (Painted Chamber; FIG. 21-48). Andrea Mantegna (ca. 1431–1506) of Padua took almost nine years to complete the extensive fresco program in which he sought to glorify Ludovico Gonzaga and his family. The particulars of each scene are still a matter of scholarly debate, but any viewer standing in the Camera Picta surrounded by the spectacle and majesty of courtly life cannot help but be thoroughly impressed by both the commanding presence and elevated status of the patron and the dazzling artistic skills of Mantegna.

In the Camera Picta, Mantegna performed a triumphant feat by producing the first completely consistent illusionistic decoration of an entire room. By integrating real and painted architectural elements, Mantegna illusionistically dissolved the room's walls in a manner foretelling 17th-century Baroque decoration.

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21-49 Andrea Mantegna, ceiling of the Camera Picta (Painted Chamber), Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, Italy, 1465–1474. Fresco, 8′ 9″ in diameter.

Inside the Camera Picta, the viewer becomes the viewed as figures gaze into the room from a painted oculus opening onto a blue sky. This is the first perspective view of a ceiling from below.

The Camera Picta recalls the efforts more than 15 centuries earlier by Italian painters on the Bay of Naples to merge mural painting and architecture in frescoes of the so-called Second Style of Roman painting (figs. 7-18 and 7-19). Mantegna's *trompe l'oeil* (French, "deceives the eye") design, however, went far beyond anything preserved from ancient Italy. The Renaissance painter's daring experimentalism led him to complete the room's decoration with the first perspective of a ceiling (fig. 21-49) seen from below (called, in Italian, *di sotto in sù,* "from below upward"). Baroque ceiling decorators (figs. 24-22, 24-23, and 24-24) later broadly developed this technique (see "How to Make a Ceiling Disappear," page 728). Inside the Camera Picta, the viewer becomes the viewed as figures look down into the room from the painted oculus. Seen against the convincing illusion of a cloud-filled blue sky, several putti, strongly foreshortened, set the amorous mood of the Room of the Newlyweds, as the painted spectators (who are not identified and include an exotic black man wearing a turban) smile down on the scene. The prominent peacock, perched precariously as if ready to swoop down into the room, is an attribute of Juno, Jupiter's bride, who oversees lawful marriages. This brilliant feat of illusionism is the climax of decades of experimentation with perspective representation by numerous Quattrocento artists as well as by Mantegna himself—for example, in his frescoes (figs. 21-49A and 21-49B) in the Church of the Eremitani (Church of the Hermits) in Padua.

21-49A Mantegna, *Saint James Led to Martyrdom,* 1454–1457.

21-49B Mantegna, *Saint James Led to Martyrdom* (2011 restoration).

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21-50 Andrea Mantegna, *Foreshortened Christ* (*Lamentation over the Dead Christ*), ca. 1500. Tempera on canvas, 2′ $2\frac{3}{4}$″ × 2′ $7\frac{7}{8}$″. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.

In this work of overwhelming emotional power, Mantegna presented both a harrowing study of a strongly foreshortened cadaver and an intensely poignant depiction of a biblical tragedy.

***Foreshortened Christ*.** One of Mantegna's later paintings (fig. 21-50) is another example of the artist's mastery of perspective. In fact, Mantegna seems to have set up for himself difficult problems in perspective simply for the joy he took in solving them. The painting often called *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* but recorded under the name *Foreshortened Christ* at the time of Mantegna's death is a work of overwhelming power. At first glance, as its 16th-century title implies, this painting seems to be a strikingly realistic study in foreshortening. Careful examination, however, reveals that Mantegna reduced the size of Christ's feet, which, as he surely knew, would cover much of the body if properly represented according to the rules of perspective, in which the closest objects, people, or body parts are the largest. Thus, tempering naturalism with artistic license, Mantegna presented both a harrowing study of a strongly foreshortened cadaver and an intensely poignant depiction of a biblical tragedy. Remarkably, in the supremely gifted hands of Mantegna, all of Quattrocento science here served the purpose of devotion.

MILAN

The leading city of northwestern Italy at this time was Milan (map 14-1), ruled by the powerful Sforza family, which, like the heads of Italy's other princely courts, also sought to lure the best artists to its court. In 1481, Ludovico Sforza (1451–1508) accepted a proposal from Leonardo da Vinci that the famed artist leave Florence for Milan to work for the Milanese court as military engineer, architect, sculptor, and painter. Several of Leonardo's early masterworks, including his world-famous *Last Supper* (fig. 22-4), date to the closing years of the 15th century when he was in Milan. A discussion of those works opens the examination of the High Renaissance in Italy in Chapter 22.

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THE BIG PICTURE

The Renaissance in Quattrocento Italy

Florence

- The fortunate coming together of artistic genius, the spread of humanism, and economic prosperity nourished the flowering of the new artistic culture that historians call the Renaissance—the rebirth of classical values in art and life. The greatest of several leading centers of Renaissance art in the 15th century was Florence, home of the Medici, who were among the most ambitious art patrons in history.
- Some of the earliest examples of the new Renaissance style in sculpture are the statues that Nanni di Banco and Donatello made for Or San Michele. Donatello's later *David,* which emulates classical contrapposto, was the first nude male statue since antiquity. Donatello was also a pioneer in relief sculpture, the first to incorporate the principles of linear and atmospheric perspective, devices also employed brilliantly by Lorenzo Ghiberti in his *Gates of Paradise.*
- The Renaissance interest in classical culture naturally also led to the revival of Greco-Roman mythological themes in art—for example, Antonio del Pollaiuolo's *Hercules and Antaeus*—and to the revival of equestrian portraits, such as Donatello's *Gattamelata* and Andrea del Verrocchio's *Bartolommeo Colleoni.*
- Although some painters continued to work in the late medieval International Gothic style, others broke fresh ground by exploring new modes of representation. Masaccio's figures recall Giotto's, but have a greater psychological and physical credibility, and the light shining on Masaccio's figures comes from a source outside the picture. His *Holy Trinity* owes its convincing illusionism to Filippo Brunelleschi's new science of linear perspective.
- The secular side of Quattrocento Italian painting is on display in historical works, such as Paolo Uccello's *Battle of San Romano,* and in portraiture—for example, Domenico Ghirlandaio's *Giovanna Tornabuoni.* The humanist love of classical themes comes to the fore in the works of Sandro Botticelli, whose lyrical *Primavera* and *Birth of Venus* were inspired by Quattrocento poetry and philosophy.
- Italian architects also revived the classical style. Brunelleschi's Ospedale degli Innocenti, the first Renaissance building, conforms to a strict modular scheme and showcases the Roman-inspired rationality of 15th-century Florentine architecture. The treatise of the ancient Roman architect Vitruvius was the model for Leon Battista Alberti's *On the Art of Building.*

Donatello, *David,* ca. 1440–1460

Botticelli, *Primavera,* ca. 1482

Brunelleschi, Ospedale degli Innocenti, begun 1419

Venice and the Princely Courts

- Quattrocento architecture in Venice was still essentially Late Gothic, but at the end of the century, Giovanni Bellini founded the Venetian High Renaissance school of painting, which rivaled the schools of Florence and Rome.
- Among the important papal commissions of the Quattrocento was the decoration of the walls of the Sistine Chapel with frescoes, including Perugino's *Christ Delivering the Keys of the Kingdom to Saint Peter,* a primary example of the application of Renaissance linear perspective.
- Under the patronage of Federico da Montefeltro, Urbino became a major center of Renaissance art and culture. The leading painter in Federico's employ was Piero della Francesca, a master of color and light and the author of the first theoretical treatise on perspective.
- Mantua became an important art center under Marquis Ludovico Gonzaga, who commissioned Alberti to rebuild the church of Sant'Andrea. Alberti applied the principles he had developed in his architectural treatise to the project and freely adapted forms from Roman religious and civic architecture. Gonzaga also hired Andrea Mantegna, who painted the Camera Picta of the ducal palace, producing the first completely consistent illusionistic decoration of an entire room.

Perugino, *Christ Delivering the Keys to Saint Peter,* Rome, 1481–1483

Mantegna, Camera Picta, Mantua, 1465–1474

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◀**22-1a** Michelangelo, the Renaissance genius who was primarily a sculptor, reluctantly spent almost four years painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel under commission from Pope Julius II.

▶**22-1b** The fresco cycle illustrates the creation and fall of humankind as related in Genesis. Michelangelo always painted with a sculptor's eye. His heroic figures resemble painted statues.

▲**22-1c** Michelangelo completed his fresco cycle in the Sistine Chapel for another pope—Paul III—with this terrifying vision of the fate awaiting sinners. The *Last Judgment* includes his self-portrait.

22-1 **Interior of the Sistine Chapel (looking west), Vatican City, Rome, Italy, built 1473; ceiling and altar wall frescoes by Michelangelo Buonarroti, 1508–1512 and 1536–1541, respectively.**

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RENAISSANCE AND MANNERISM IN CINQUECENTO ITALY

22

FRAMING THE ERA

Michelangelo, Pope Julius II, and the Sistine Chapel

The first artist in history whose exceptional talent and brooding personality matched today's image of the temperamental artistic genius was Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564). The Florentine artist's self-imposed isolation, creative furies, proud independence, and daring innovations led Italians of his era to speak of the charismatic personality of the man and the expressive character of his works in one word—*terribilità* ("awe-inspiring"). Yet, unlike most modern artists, who create works in their studios and offer them for sale later, Michelangelo and his contemporaries produced most of their paintings and sculptures under contract for wealthy patrons who dictated the content—and sometimes the form—of their artworks.

In Italy in the 1500s—the *Cinquecento*—the greatest art patron was the Catholic Church headed by the pope in Rome. Michelangelo's most famous work today—the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel (fig. 22-1) in the Vatican—was, in fact, a commission that he did not want. His patron was Julius II (r. 1503–1513), an immensely ambitious man who, like some other medieval and Renaissance popes, sought to extend his spiritual authority into the temporal realm. Indeed, Julius selected his name to associate himself with Julius Caesar and found inspiration in ancient Rome. His enthusiasm for engaging in battle earned Julius the epithet "the warrior-pope," but his 10-year papacy was most notable for his patronage of the arts. Julius fully appreciated the propagandistic value of visual imagery and, upon his election, immediately commissioned artworks that would present an authoritative image of his rule and reinforce the primacy of the Catholic Church.

When Julius asked Michelangelo to take on the challenge of providing frescoes for the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, the artist insisted that painting was not his profession—a protest that rings hollow after the fact, but Michelangelo's major works until then had been in sculpture. The artist had no choice, however, but to accept the pope's assignment.

In the Sistine Chapel frescoes, as in his sculptures, Michelangelo relentlessly concentrated his expressive purpose on the human figure. To him, the body was beautiful not only in its natural form but also in its spiritual and philosophical significance. The body was the manifestation of the character of the soul. In the *Creation of Adam, Fall of Man,* and *Last Judgment* frescoes, Michelangelo represented the body in its most elemental aspect—in the nude or simply draped, with almost no background and no ornamental embellishment. He always painted with a sculptor's eye for how light and shadow reveal volume and surface. It is no coincidence that many of the figures in the Sistine Chapel seem to be painted statues.

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HIGH RENAISSANCE

The art and architecture of 16th-century Italy built on the foundation of the Early Renaissance of the 15th century, but no single artistic style characterized Italian 16th-century art, and regional differences abounded, especially between central Italy (Florence and Rome) and Venice. The period opened with the brief era that art historians call the High Renaissance—the quarter century between 1495 and the deaths of Leonardo da Vinci in 1519 and Raphael in 1520. The classical style and the interest in Greco-Roman culture, perspective, proportion, and human anatomy dominated the remainder of the 16th century (the Late Renaissance), but a new style, called Mannerism, challenged Renaissance naturalism almost as soon as Raphael had been laid to rest (inside the ancient Roman Pantheon, FIG. 7-51). The one constant in Cinquecento Italy is the astounding quality, both technical and aesthetic, of the art and architecture produced.

Indeed, the modern notion of the "fine arts" and the celebration of artistic genius originated in Renaissance Italy. Humanist scholars and art patrons alike eagerly adopted the ancient Greek philosopher Plato's view of the nature of poetry and of artistic creation in general: "All good poets . . . compose their beautiful poems not by art, but because they are inspired and possessed. . . . For not by art does the poet sing, but by power divine."[1] In Cinquecento Italy, the pictorial arts achieved the high status formerly held only by poetry, and painters and sculptors became international celebrities for the first time. None achieved greater fame than Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Michelangelo—the greatest masters of the High Renaissance in Florence, Milan, and Rome—and Titian, Venice's leading painter. For all their artistic genius, even they were constrained by their patrons' wishes and could not create entirely freely (see "Michelangelo, Pope Julius II, and the Sistine Chapel," page 635).

Leonardo da Vinci

Born in the small town of Vinci, near Florence, LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519) trained in the studio of Andrea del Verrocchio (FIGS. 21-12 and 21-16). The quintessential "Renaissance man," Leonardo possessed unequaled talent and an unbridled imagination. Art was but one of his innumerable interests, the scope and depth of which were without precedent. His unquenchable curiosity is evident in the voluminous notes that he interspersed with sketches (FIGS. 22-6, 22-6A, and 22-6B) in his notebooks dealing with botany, geology, geography, mapmaking, zoology, military engineering, animal lore, anatomy, and aspects of physical science, including hydraulics and mechanics. Leonardo stated repeatedly that his scientific investigations made him a better painter. That is undoubtedly the case. For example, Leonardo's in-depth exploration of optics provided him with a thorough understanding of perspective, light, and color. Leonardo was a true artist-scientist. Indeed, his scientific drawings (for example, FIG. 22-6) are themselves artworks.

Leonardo's great ambition in his painting, as well as in his scientific endeavors, was to discover the laws underlying the processes and flux of nature. With this end in mind, he also studied the human body and contributed immeasurably to the fields of physiology and psychology. Leonardo believed that reality in an absolute sense is inaccessible and that humans can know it only through its changing images. He considered the eyes the most vital organs and sight the most essential function. Better to be deaf than blind, he argued, because through the eyes, individuals can grasp reality most directly and profoundly.

Leonardo in Milan. In 1482, Leonardo left Florence for Milan after offering his services to Ludovico Sforza (1451–1508). The political situation in Florence was uncertain, and Leonardo must have felt that his particular skills would be in greater demand in one of Italy's princely courts (see "Art in the Princely Courts of Renaissance Italy," page 625). He clearly believed that the Sforza court in Milan could provide him with increased financial security. The letter Leonardo wrote to Ludovico seeking employment in Milan is preserved and is, at first sight, surprising. The Florentine artist devoted most of the letter to advertising his qualifications as a military engineer, mentioning only at the end his abilities as a painter and sculptor. The letter illustrates the breadth of Leonardo's competence and also underscores the decisive role that individual patrons played in the history of Renaissance art.

> And in short, according to the variety of cases, I can contrive various and endless means of offense and defense. . . . In time of peace I believe I can give perfect satisfaction and to the equal of any other in architecture and the composition of buildings, public and private; and in guiding water from one place to another. . . . I can carry out sculpture in marble, bronze, or clay, and also I can do in painting whatever may be done, as well as any other, be he whom he may.[2]

That Leonardo selected expertise in military engineering as his primary attraction for the Sforzas is a measure of the period's instability. In any event, Ludovico accepted Leonardo's offer, although he did not give the Florentine artist a salaried position until several years later. Leonardo remained in Milan for the next 17 years, during which he created the masterpieces that are the basis for his lofty reputation then and now.

Madonna of the Rocks. Shortly after settling in Milan, Leonardo painted *Madonna of the Rocks* (FIG. 22-2) as the central panel of an altarpiece for the chapel of the Confraternity of the

RENAISSANCE AND MANNERISM IN CINQUECENTO ITALY

1495–1520

- Leonardo da Vinci paints *Last Supper* in Milan and *Mona Lisa* in Florence
- High Renaissance art emerges in Rome under Pope Julius II
- Raphael paints *School of Athens* for the papal apartments
- Michelangelo carves a colossal statue of David in Florence and paints the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in Rome

1520–1550

- Pope Paul III launches the Catholic Counter-Reformation
- Michelangelo paints *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel
- In Venice, Titian uses rich colors and establishes oil on canvas as the preferred medium of Western painting
- Mannerism emerges as an alternative to High Renaissance style in the work of Pontormo, Parmigianino, Bronzino, and Giulio Romano

1550–1575

- The Council of Trent defends religious art in churches
- Andrea Palladio becomes chief architect of the Venetian Republic
- Giorgio Vasari publishes his *Lives* of the leading Italian painters, sculptors, and architects, from Cimabue to Titian

1575–1600

- Giambologna uses spiral compositions for Mannerist statuary groups
- Tintoretto and Veronese are the leading painters in Late Renaissance Venice
- The Jesuits construct Il Gesù in Rome, which will have a profound influence on the design of church facades and interiors in the Baroque era

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Leonardo and Michelangelo on Painting versus Sculpture

Both Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo produced work in a variety of artistic media, earning enviable reputations not just as painters and sculptors but also as architects. The two disagreed, however, on the relative merits of the different media. In particular, Leonardo, with his intellectual and analytical mind, preferred painting (FIGS. 22-2, 22-4, and 22-5) to sculpture, which he regarded as lowly manual labor. By contrast, Michelangelo, who worked in a more intuitive manner, saw himself primarily as a sculptor. Two excerpts from their writings reveal their positions on the relationship between the two media.

Leonardo da Vinci wrote the following in his so-called *Treatise on Painting*:

> Painting is a matter of greater mental analysis, of greater skill, and more marvelous than sculpture, since necessity compels the mind of the painter to transform itself into the very mind of nature, to become an interpreter between nature and art. Painting justifies by reference to nature the reasons of the pictures which follow its laws: in what ways the images of objects before the eye come together in the pupil of the eye; which, among objects equal in size, looks larger to the eye; which, among equal colors will look more or less dark or more or less bright; which, among things at the same depth, looks more or less low; which, among those objects placed at equal height, will look more or less high, and why, among objects placed at various distances, one will appear less clear than the other.
>
> This art comprises and includes within itself all visible things such as colors and their diminution, which the poverty of sculpture cannot include. Painting represents transparent objects but the sculptor will show you the shapes of natural objects without artifice. The painter will show you things at different distances with variation of color due to the air lying between the objects and the eye [atmospheric perspective]; he shows you mists through which visual images penetrate with difficulty; he shows you rain which discloses within it clouds with mountains and valleys; he shows the dust which discloses within it and beyond it the combatants who stirred it up; he shows streams of greater or lesser density; he shows fish playing between the surface of the water and its bottom; he shows the polished pebbles of various colors lying on the washed sand at the bottom of rivers, surrounded by green plants; he shows the stars at various heights above us, and thus he achieves innumerable effects which sculpture cannot attain.*

As if in response, although decades later, in a letter to Benedetto Varchi (1502–1565), a Florentine poet best known for his 16-volume history of Florence, Michelangelo wrote:

> I believe that painting is considered excellent in proportion as it approaches the effect of relief, while relief is considered bad in proportion as it approaches the effect of painting.
>
> I used to consider that sculpture was the lantern of painting and that between the two things there was the same difference as that between the sun and the moon. But . . . I now consider that painting and sculpture are one and the same thing.
>
> Suffice that, since one and the other (that is to say, both painting and sculpture) proceed from the same faculty, it would be an easy matter to establish harmony between them and to let such disputes alone, for they occupy more time than the execution of the figures themselves. As to that man [Leonardo] who wrote saying that painting was more noble than sculpture, if he had known as much about the other subjects on which he has written, why, my serving-maid would have written better! †

22-2 LEONARDO DA VINCI, *Madonna of the Rocks,* from San Francesco Grande, Milan, Italy, 1483–1490. Oil on wood (transferred to canvas), 6′ 6½″ × 4′. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

In this groundbreaking work, Leonardo demonstrated the oil painter's ability to represent all the figures sharing the same light-infused environment, something impossible to achieve in sculpture.

*Leonardo da Vinci, *Treatise on Painting,* 51. Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, *Italian Art 1500–1600: Sources and Documents* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 7–8.

†Michelangelo to Benedetto Varchi, Rome, 1549. Klein and Zerner, 13–14.

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Immaculate Conception in San Francesco Grande. Leonardo presented the Madonna, Christ Child, infant John the Baptist, and angel in a pyramidal grouping. The four figures pray, point, and bless, and these acts and gestures, although their meanings are uncertain, visually unite the individuals portrayed. The angel points to the infant John and, while his outward glance draws the viewer into the scene, John prays to the Christ Child, who blesses him in return. The Virgin herself completes the series of interlocking gestures, her left hand reaching toward the Christ Child and her right hand resting protectively on John's shoulder. The tender mood, which the caressing light enhances, suffuses the entire composition. Indeed, Leonardo's most notable achievement in *Madonna of the Rocks* was to unite the figures not only by composition and gesture but by enveloping them as a group in a hazy, atmospheric, landscape. To accomplish this, Leonardo brilliantly employed both *chiaroscuro* (the play of light and dark) and *sfumato* (the smoky, misty quality of the atmosphere). The biblical figures emerge through nuances of light and shade from the half-light of the mysterious cavernous setting. Light simultaneously veils and reveals the forms, immersing them in a layer of atmosphere. Leonardo's groundbreaking achievement—the unified representation of figures in an atmospheric setting—was a manifestation of his scientific curiosity about the invisible substance surrounding things. It was also in large part due to his mastery of the relatively new medium of oil painting, which had previously been used mostly by Northern European painters (see "Tempera and Oil Painting," page 574). Oil-based pigments enabled Leonardo to realize the full potential of the painter's craft, which he considered superior to sculpture (see "Leonardo and Michelangelo on Painting versus Sculpture," page 637). By creating an emotionally compelling, visually unified, and spatially convincing image, Leonardo achieved what he believed to be the two chief goals of a good painter: "to paint man and the intention of his soul. The former is easy, the latter hard, for it must be expressed by gestures and the movement of the limbs."[3]

22-3 **Leonardo da Vinci, cartoon for *Madonna and Child with Saint Anne and the Infant Saint John,* ca. 1505–1507. Charcoal heightened with white on brown paper, 4′ 6″ × 3′ 3″. National Gallery, London.**

In this cartoon for a painting of the Madonna and Child and two saints, Leonardo drew a scene of tranquil grandeur filled with weighty figures reminiscent of statues of ancient Greek goddesses.

***Madonna and Child* Cartoon.** Leonardo's style fully emerges in *Madonna and Child with Saint Anne and the Infant Saint John* (fig. 22-3), a preliminary drawing (*cartoon*) for a painting (see "Renaissance Drawings," page 640) he produced in 1505 or shortly thereafter. Here, as in *Madonna of the Rocks,* Leonardo depicted the holy figures

22-4 **Leonardo da Vinci, *Last Supper,* ca. 1495–1498. Oil and tempera on plaster, 13′ 9″ × 29′ 10″. Refectory, Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan.**

Jesus has just announced that one of his disciples will betray him, and each one reacts. The Savior is both the psychological focus of Leonardo's fresco and the focal point of all the converging perspective lines.

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in tender interaction. Mary is an affectionate mother and Anne a proud grandmother. The two boys act precisely as children their age act. Here, despite the absence of color, the glowing light falls gently on the majestic forms, enveloping them in a hazy veil. The stately grace and movement of the weighty figures recall the Greek statues of goddesses (FIG. 5-49) in the pediments of the Parthenon. However, Leonardo's infusion of the principles of classical art into his designs cannot be attributed to specific knowledge of Greek monuments. He and his contemporaries never visited Greece, but their acquaintance with classical art through Etruscan and Roman monuments, Roman copies of Greek statues in Italy, and ancient texts describing Greek and Roman works of art and architecture provided inspiration for their works.

Last Supper. For Ludovico Sforza, Leonardo painted *Last Supper* (FIG. 22-4) in a fitting location—the refectory of the church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan, where monks took their daily meals. Both formally and emotionally, *Last Supper* is Leonardo's most impressive work. It is also his largest. On the wall opposite a *Crucifixion* with portraits of Ludovico and his family, Leonardo painted Jesus and his 12 disciples sitting at a long table placed parallel to the picture plane in a simple, spacious room. The austere setting amplifies the painting's highly dramatic action. Jesus, with outstretched hands, has just said, "One of you is about to betray me" (Matt. 26:21). A wave of intense excitement passes through the group as each disciple asks himself and, in some cases, his neighbor, "Is it I?" (Matt. 26:22). Leonardo visualized a sophisticated coupling of the dramatic "One of you is about to betray me" with the initiation of the ancient liturgical ceremony of the Eucharist, when Jesus, blessing bread and wine, said, "This is my body, which is given for you. Do this for a commemoration of me. . . . This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you" (Luke 22:19–20).

In the center, Jesus appears isolated from the disciples and in perfect repose, the calm eye of the swirling emotion around him. The central window at the back, whose curved pediment arches above his head, frames his figure. The pediment is the only curve in the architectural framework, and it serves here, along with the diffused light, as a halo. Jesus's head is the focal point of all converging perspective lines in the composition. Thus the still, psychological focus and cause of the action is also the perspective focus, as well as the center of the two-dimensional surface. In Leonardo's *Last Supper,* the two-dimensional, the three-dimensional, and the psychological focuses are the same.

Leonardo presented the agitated disciples in four groups of three, united among and within themselves by the figures' gestures and postures. The artist sacrificed traditional iconography to pictorial and dramatic consistency by placing Judas on the same side of the table as Jesus and the other disciples (compare FIG. 21-22). Judas's face is in shadow (the light source in the painting corresponds to the windows in the Milanese refectory). He clutches a money bag in his right hand as he reaches his left forward to fulfill Jesus's declaration: "But yet behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table" (Luke 22:21). The two disciples at the table ends are quieter than the others, as if to bracket the energy of the composition, which is more intense closer to Jesus, whose serenity both halts and intensifies it. The disciples register a broad range of emotional responses, including fear, doubt, protestation, rage, and love. Leonardo's numerous preparatory studies—using live models—suggest that he thought of each figure as carrying a particular charge and type of emotion. Like a stage director, he read the Gospel story carefully, and scrupulously cast his actors as the Bible described their roles. In this work, as in his other religious paintings, Leonardo revealed his extraordinary ability to apply his voluminous knowledge about the observable world to the pictorial representation of a religious scene, resulting in a psychologically complex and compelling painting.

Leonardo's *Last Supper* is unfortunately in poor condition today, even after the completion in 1999 of a cleaning and restoration project lasting more than two decades. The mural painting was boldly experimental. Instead of using traditional fresco, which has a matte surface, Leonardo mixed oil and tempera, and applied much of it *a secco* (to dried, rather than wet, plaster) in order to create a surface appearance that more closely approximated oil painting on canvas or wood. But because the wall did not absorb the pigment as in the *buon fresco* technique, the paint quickly began to flake (see "Fresco Painting," page 428). The humidity of Milan further accelerated the deterioration. The restoration involved extensive scholarly, chemical, and computer analysis. Like similar projects elsewhere, however—most notably in the Sistine Chapel (FIGS. 22-1, 22-18B, and 22-18C)—this one was not without controversy. One scholar has claimed that 80 percent of what is visible today is the work of the modern restorers, not Leonardo.

Mona Lisa. Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* (FIG. 22-5) is probably the world's most famous portrait. In his biography of Leonardo, Vasari (see "Giorgio Vasari's *Lives,*" page 648) identified the woman

22-5 **LEONARDO DA VINCI, *Mona Lisa,* ca. 1503–1505. Oil on wood, 2′ 6 $\frac{1}{4}$″ × 1′ 9″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.**

Leonardo's skill with chiaroscuro and atmospheric perspective is on display in this new kind of portrait depicting the sitter as an individual personality who engages the viewer psychologically.

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Renaissance Drawings

In Cinquecento Italy, drawing assumed a position of greater artistic prominence than ever before. Until the late 15th century, the expense of drawing surfaces and their lack of availability limited the production of preparatory sketches. Most artists drew on *parchment* (prepared usually from the skins of lambs) or on *vellum* (calfskin). Because of the high cost of these materials, drawings in the 14th and 15th centuries tended to be extremely detailed and meticulously executed. Artists often drew using a *silverpoint* stylus because of the fine line it produced and the sharp point it maintained. The introduction in the late 15th century of less expensive paper made of fibrous pulp for the developing printing industry (see "Printed Books," page 589) enabled artists to experiment more and to draw with greater freedom. As a result, sketches proliferated. Artists executed these drawings in pen and ink (FIGS. 22-6, 22-6A, and 22-6B), chalk, charcoal (FIG. 22-3), brush, and graphite or lead.

During the Renaissance, the importance of drawing transcended the mechanical or technical possibilities that it afforded artists. The Italian term for "drawing"—*disegno*—refers also to "design," an integral component of good art. Design was the foundation of art, and drawing was the fundamental element of design. In his 1607 treatise *L'idea de' pittori, scultori ed architetti,* Federico Zuccari (1542–1609), director of the Accademia di San Luca (Academy of Saint Luke), the Roman painting academy, summed up this philosophy when he stated that drawing is the external physical manifestation (*disegno esterno*) of an internal intellectual idea or design (*disegno interno*).

The design dimension of art production became increasingly important as artists cultivated their own styles. The early stages of artistic training largely focused on imitation and emulation (see "Imitation and Emulation," page 606), but to achieve widespread recognition, artists had to develop their own styles. Although the artistic community and public at large acknowledged technical skill, the conceptualization of the artwork—its theoretical and formal development—was paramount. Disegno, or design in this case, represented an artist's conceptualization and intention. In the Italian literature of the period, the terms often invoked to praise esteemed artists included *invenzione* ("invention"), *ingegno* ("innate talent"), *fantasia* ("imagination"), and *capriccio* ("originality").

22-6 LEONARDO DA VINCI, *The Fetus and Lining of the Uterus,* ca. 1511–1513. Pen and ink with wash over red chalk and traces of black chalk on paper, 1′ × 8 5/8″. Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

The introduction of less expensive paper in the late 15th century enabled artists to draw more frequently. Leonardo's analytical anatomical studies exemplify the scientific spirit of the Renaissance.

portrayed as Lisa di Antonio Maria Gherardini, the wife of Francesco del Giocondo, a wealthy Florentine—hence, Mona (an Italian contraction of *ma donna,* "my lady") Lisa. Unlike earlier portraits, Leonardo's representation of Gherardini, who was about 25 years old when she posed for Leonardo, does not serve solely as an icon of status. Indeed, Gherardini wears no jewelry and holds no attribute associated with wealth. Leonardo's concern was rather to paint a convincing representation of a specific individual, in terms of both appearance and personality. Like Giovanna Tornabuoni (FIG. 21-27), Mona Lisa sits quietly with her hands folded. However, Leonardo's canvas departs from earlier Renaissance portraits of women in significant ways. Gherardini's mouth forms a gentle smile, and her gaze is directed at the viewer. Renaissance etiquette dictated that a woman should not look directly into a man's eyes, and portraits of women before this one were generally profile views. Leonardo's portrayal of this self-assured young woman without the trappings of power but engaging the audience psychologically was unprecedented and accounts in large part for the painting's unparalleled reputation today.

The enduring appeal of *Mona Lisa* also derives from Leonardo's decision to set his subject against the backdrop of a mysterious uninhabited landscape with roads and bridges seemingly leading nowhere; compare FIG. 22-2. The composition also resembles *Madonna and Child with Angels* (FIG. 21-24) with figures seated in front of a window through which the viewer glimpses a distant landscape. Originally, the artist represented Gherardini in a loggia. A later owner trimmed the painting, eliminating the columns, but partial column bases remain to the left and right of Mona Lisa's shoulders.

The painting is darker today than 500 years ago, and the colors are less vivid, but *Mona Lisa* still reveals Leonardo's fascination and skill with chiaroscuro and atmospheric perspective. The portrait is a prime example of the artist's famous smoky sfumato—his subtle modeling of forms through the gradual transition from light to shadow and the blurring of the edges of forms. Leonardo valued this painting highly. Although created on commission, he never delivered the portrait to his client. *Mona Lisa* was still in the artist's possession when he died in France some 15 years later.

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Anatomical Studies. *Mona Lisa* is also exceptional because Leonardo completed very few paintings. His perfectionism, relentless experimentation, and far-ranging curiosity diffused his efforts. However, the drawings (see "Renaissance Drawings," page 640, and FIGS. 22-6, 22-6A, and 22-6B) in his notebooks preserve an extensive record of his ideas. His interests focused increasingly on science in his later years, and he embraced knowledge of all facets of the natural world. His investigations in anatomy, based in part on dissection, yielded drawings of great precision and beauty of execution. *The Fetus and Lining of the Uterus* (FIG. 22-6), although it does not meet 21st-century standards for accuracy (for example, Leonardo regularized the uterus's shape to a sphere, and his characterization of the lining is incorrect), was an astounding achievement in its day. Leonardo's analytical anatomical studies exemplify the scientific spirit of the Renaissance, establishing that era as a prelude to the modern world and setting it in sharp contrast to the preceding Middle Ages. Although Leonardo may not have been the first scientist of the modern world (at least not in today's sense of the term), he did originate the modern method of scientific illustration incorporating *cutaway* views. Scholars have long recognized the importance of his drawings for the development of anatomy as a science, especially in an age predating photographic methods such as X-rays.

Architecture and Sculpture. Leonardo also won renown in his time as both architect and sculptor, although no extant building or statue can be definitively attributed to him. Like many of his contemporaries, most notably Alberti (see "Leon Battista Alberti's *On the Art of Building*," page 620), he studied the ancient Roman architectural treatise by Vitruvius (see "Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*," page 204, and FIG. 22-6A). From his many drawings of central-plan structures (FIG. 22-6B), it is evident that he shared the interest of other Renaissance architects in this building type. As for Leonardo's sculptures, numerous drawings of monumental equestrian statues survive, and he made a full-scale model for a monument to Francesco Sforza (1401–1466), Ludovico's father. The French used the statue as a target and shot it to pieces when they occupied Milan in 1499. (The defacement of ruler portraits, documented at least as far back as the third millennium BCE [FIG. 2-12], is eloquent testimony to the power of images in public life.)

22-6A LEONARDO, *Vitruvian Man,* ca. 1485–1490.

22-6B LEONARDO, central-plan church, ca. 1487–1490.

Leonardo left Milan when the French captured the city. He served for a while as a military engineer for Cesare Borgia (1476–1507), who, with the support of his father, Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492–1503), tried to conquer the cities of the Romagna region in north-central Italy and create a Borgia duchy. Leonardo eventually returned to Milan in the service of the French. At the invitation of King Francis I (see "Francis I, Royal Art Patron and Collector," page 703), he then went to France, where he died at the château of Cloux in 1519.

Raphael

Alexander VI's successor was Julius II. Among the many projects the ambitious new pope sponsored were a design for a modern Saint Peter's (FIGS. 22-22 and 22-23) to replace the timber-roofed fourth-century basilica (FIG. 8-9), the decoration of the papal apartments (FIG. 22-9), and the construction of his tomb (FIGS. 22-14 and 22-15), in addition to commissioning Michelangelo to paint the Sistine Chapel ceiling (see "Michelangelo, Pope Julius II, and the Sistine Chapel," page 635, and FIG. 22-1).

In 1508, Julius II called Raffaello Santi (or Sanzio), known as RAPHAEL (1483–1520) in English, to the papal court in Rome, which would soon displace Florence, Urbino, Mantua, and Milan as the leading Italian patron of art and architecture (see "Art in the Princely Courts of Renaissance Italy," page 625). Born in a small town in Umbria near Urbino, Raphael probably learned the basics of his art from his father, Giovanni Santi (d. 1494), a painter connected with the ducal court of Federico da Montefeltro (FIG. 21-44). Raphael soon developed an individual style—one that came to embody the ideals of High Renaissance art. Although he died at an early age, Raphael completed a large body of work, and several of his assistants became leaders of the next generation of Italian artists, extending his influence well into the century.

Marriage of the Virgin. Among Raphael's early works is *Marriage of the Virgin* (FIG. 22-7), which he painted for the chapel of Saint Joseph in the church of San Francesco in Città di Castello, southeast of Florence. The subject was a fitting one for Joseph (see

1 ft.

22-7 **RAPHAEL, *Marriage of the Virgin,* from the Albizzini chapel, San Francesco, Città di Castello, Italy, 1504. Oil on wood, 5′ 7″ × 3′ 10½″. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.**

In this early work depicting the marriage of the Virgin to Saint Joseph, Raphael incorporated perspective devices used by Perugino (FIG. 21-41) and demonstrated his mastery of foreshortening.

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22-8 Raphael, *Madonna in the Meadow,* 1505–1506. Oil on wood, 3′ 8½″ × 2′ 10¼″. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Emulating Leonardo's pyramidal composition (fig. 22-2) but rejecting his dusky modeling and mystery, Raphael set his Madonna in a well-lit landscape and imbued her with grace, dignity, and beauty.

"Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). According to the *Golden Legend* (a 13th-century collection of stories about the lives of the saints), Joseph competed with other suitors for Mary's hand. The high priest was to give the Virgin to whichever suitor presented to him a rod that had miraculously bloomed. Raphael depicted Joseph with his flowering rod in his left hand. In his right hand, Joseph holds the wedding ring he is about to place on Mary's finger. Other virgins congregate at the left, and the unsuccessful suitors stand on the right. One of them breaks his rod in half over his knee in frustration, giving Raphael an opportunity to demonstrate his mastery of foreshortening. The perspective system he used is the one developed by Brunelleschi (see "Linear Perspective," page 599) and employed by most Quattrocento artists. (Raphael's *Marriage of the Virgin* reveals the young painter's debt especially to Perugino; compare fig. 21-41.) The temple in the background is Raphael's version of a centrally planned building, featuring Brunelleschian arcades (figs. 21-30 and 21-31).

Madonna in the Meadow. Raphael spent the four years from 1504 to 1508 in Florence. There, still in his early 20s, he discovered that Perugino's painting style was already outmoded (as was Brunelleschi's Early Renaissance architectural style). Florentine crowds flocked to the church of Santissima Annunziata (Holy Annunciation) to see Leonardo's recently unveiled cartoon of the Virgin, Christ Child, Saint Anne, and Saint John (probably an earlier version of fig. 22-3). Under Leonardo's influence, Raphael began to modify the Madonna compositions he had employed in Umbria. In *Madonna in the Meadow* (fig. 22-8) of 1505–1506, Raphael adopted Leonardo's pyramidal composition and modeling of faces and figures in subtle chiaroscuro. Yet Raphael placed the large, substantial figures in a Peruginesque landscape, with the Umbrian master's typical feathery trees in the middle ground. Although Raphael experimented with Leonardo's dusky modeling, he tended to return to Perugino's lighter tonalities and blue skies. Raphael preferred clarity to obscurity, not fascinated, as Leonardo was, with mystery. Raphael quickly achieved fame for his Madonnas, which, like Leonardo's (figs. 22-2 and 22-3), depict Mary as a beautiful young mother tenderly interacting with her young son. In *Madonna of the Meadow,* Mary almost wistfully watches Jesus play with John the Baptist's cross-shaped staff, as if she has a premonition of how her son will die. Works by Raphael and Leonardo would deeply influence the next generation of artists, in particular, the slightly younger Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530), whose most famous painting is *Madonna of the Harpies* (fig. 22-8A).

22-8A Andrea del Sarto, *Madonna of the Harpies,* 1517.

School of Athens. Three years after completing *Madonna in the Meadow,* Raphael received one of the most important painting commissions that Julius II awarded—the decoration of the papal apartments in the Apostolic Palace of the Vatican (maps 22-1 and 24-1). Of the suite's several rooms (*stanze*), Raphael painted the room that came to be called the Stanza della Segnatura (Room of the Signature—Julius's papal library, where later popes signed official documents) and the Stanza d'Eliodoro (Room of Heliodorus—the pope's private audience room, named for one of the paintings there). His pupils completed the others, following his sketches. On the four walls of the Stanza della Segnatura, Raphael presented images symbolizing the four branches of human knowledge and wisdom under the headings *Theology, Law* (*Justice*), *Poetry,* and *Philosophy*—the learning required of a Renaissance pope. Given Julius II's desire for recognition as both a spiritual and temporal leader, the *Theology* and *Philosophy* frescoes face each other. The two images present a balanced picture of the pope—as a cultured, knowledgeable individual and as a wise, divinely ordained religious authority.

In Raphael's *Philosophy* mural (commonly called *School of Athens,* fig. 22-9), the setting is not a "school" but a congregation of the great philosophers and scientists of the ancient world. Raphael depicted these famous wise men, revered by Renaissance humanists, conversing and explaining their various theories and ideas. The setting is a vast hall covered by massive vaults that recall ancient Roman architecture, especially the much-admired coffered barrel vaults of the Basilica Nova (fig. 7-74). Colossal statues of Apollo

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22-9 Raphael, *Philosophy* (*School of Athens*), Stanza della Segnatura, Apostolic Palace, Vatican City, Rome, Italy, 1509–1511. Fresco, 19′ × 27′.

Raphael included himself in this gathering of great philosophers and scientists whose self-assurance conveys calm reason. The setting recalls the massive vaults of the ancient Basilica Nova (FIG. 7-74).

and Athena, patron deities of the arts and of wisdom, oversee the interactions. Plato and Aristotle are the central figures around whom Raphael carefully arranged the others. Plato holds his book *Timaeus* and points to Heaven, the source of his philosophical inspiration, while Aristotle carries his book *Nichomachean Ethics* and gestures toward the earth, from which his observations of reality sprang. Appropriately, ancient philosophers, men concerned with the ultimate mysteries that transcend this world, stand on Plato's side. On Aristotle's side are the philosophers and scientists concerned with practical matters, such as mathematics. At the lower left, Pythagoras writes as a servant holds up the harmonic scale. In the foreground, Heraclitus (probably a portrait of Michelangelo) broods alone. Diogenes sprawls on the steps. At the right, students surround Euclid, who demonstrates a theorem. Euclid may be a portrait of the architect Bramante, whom Julius II had recently commissioned to design the new church (FIGS. 22-22 and 22-23) to replace Constantine's 1,200-year-old Saint Peter's (FIG. 8-9). (*School of Athens* probably reflects Bramante's 1505 design for the interior of Saint Peter's; compare FIG. 24-5. According to Vasari, Bramante advised Raphael about the architectural setting.) At the extreme right, just to the right of the astronomers Zoroaster and Ptolemy, both holding globes, is a young man wearing a black hat—Raphael's self-portrait.

The groups appear to move easily and clearly, with eloquent poses and gestures that symbolize their doctrines and present an engaging variety of figural positions. The self-assurance and natural dignity of the figures convey calm reason, balance, and measure—the qualities that Renaissance thinkers admired as the heart of philosophy. Significantly, Raphael placed himself among the mathematicians and scientists in *School of Athens.* Certainly the evolution of pictorial science approached perfection in this fresco in which Raphael convincingly depicted a vast space on a two-dimensional surface.

School of Athens also reveals Raphael's matured psychological insight. As in Leonardo's *Last Supper* (FIG. 22-4), all the characters communicate moods that reflect their beliefs, and the artist's placement of each figure tied these moods together. From the center, where Plato and Aristotle stand, Raphael arranged the groups of figures in an ellipse with a wide opening in the foreground. Moving along the floor's perspective pattern, the viewer's eye penetrates the assembly of philosophers and continues, by way of the reclining Diogenes, up to the here-reconciled leaders of the two

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22-10 **Raphael**, *Pope Leo X with Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi,* **ca. 1517. Oil on wood, 5′ $\frac{5}{8}$″ × 3′ 10$\frac{7}{8}$″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.**

In this dynastic portrait of the Medici pope and two Medici cardinals, Raphael depicted Leo X as an art collector and man of learning. The meticulous details reveal a debt to Netherlandish painting.

year after the return of the Medici to Florence following nearly two decades of exile, and Leo used his position to advance the family's interests. The portrait (FIG. 22-10) he commissioned Raphael to paint in 1517—a few years after the artist portrayed the famed courtier Baldassare Castiglione (FIG. 22-10A)—is, in essence, a dynastic portrait. Appropriately, the pope dominates the canvas, seated in his study before a table with an illuminated 14th-century manuscript, the magnifying glass that he required because of his impaired eyesight, and a bell engraved with classical decorative motifs. Raphael portrayed Leo as he doubtless wished to be represented—as a man of learning and a collector of beautiful objects rather than as a head of state. To the pope's right is his cousin Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who became Pope Clement VII (r. 1523–1534). Behind Leo's chair is Luigi de' Rossi (1474–1519), his cousin on his mother's side, whom the pope appointed cardinal. The three men look neither at one another nor at the painter or spectator, but are absorbed in their own thoughts.

22-10A **Raphael**, *Baldassare Castiglione,* ca. 1514.

Raphael's mastery of the oil technique is evident in every detail. His depiction of the rich satin, wool, velvet, and fur garments skillfully conveys their varied textures. His reproduction of the book on the pope's desk is so meticulous that scholars have been able to identify it as the *Hamilton Bible* in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, open to folio 400 verso, the beginning of the Gospel of Saint John with illustrations of Christ's passion. The light illuminating the scene comes from the right—from a window reflected in the spherical brass finial of the pope's chair, in which the viewer can also see the indistinct form of the painter. In details such as these, Raphael revealed his knowledge and admiration of Netherlandish painting, especially the works of Jan van Eyck (compare the mirror in FIG. 20-11).

great opposing camps of Renaissance philosophy. The vanishing point falls on Plato's left hand, drawing attention to *Timaeus.* In the Stanza della Segnatura, Raphael reconciled and harmonized not only the Platonists and Aristotelians but also classical humanism and Christianity, surely a major factor in the fresco's appeal to Julius II.

Leo X. Succeeding Julius II as Raphael's patron was Pope Leo X (r. 1513–1521). By this time, Raphael had achieved renown throughout Italy and moved in the highest circles of the papal court. The new pope entrusted the Umbrian artist with so many projects in Rome, including overseeing construction of Saint Peter's, that Raphael became a wealthy man at a young age. Leo himself (Giovanni de' Medici) was a member of Italy's most famous family. The second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he received a princely humanistic education. His election as pope came only a

Galatea. As a star at the papal court, Raphael also enjoyed the patronage of other prominent figures in Rome. Agostino Chigi (1465–1520), an immensely wealthy banker who managed the Vatican's financial affairs, commissioned Raphael, among others, to decorate his palace on the Tiber River with scenes from classical mythology. Outstanding among the frescoes that Raphael painted in the Villa Farnesina is *Galatea* (FIG. 22-11), which he based on *Stanzas for the Joust of Giuliano de' Medici* by Angelo Poliziano, whose poetry had earlier inspired Botticelli to paint *Birth of Venus* (FIG. 21-1).

In Raphael's fresco, Galatea flees on a shell drawn by leaping dolphins to escape her uncouth lover, the one-eyed *cyclops* Polyphemus (represented by Sebastiano del Piombo [1485–1547]

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22-11 Raphael, *Galatea,* Sala di Galatea, Villa Farnesina, Rome, Italy, ca. 1513. Fresco, 9′ 8″ × 7′ 5″.

Based on a poem by Angelo Poliziano, Raphael's fresco depicts Galatea fleeing Polyphemus. The painting, made for the palace of Vatican banker Agostino Chigi, celebrates female beauty.

22-11A Del Piombo, *Polyphemos,* ca. 1512.

immediately to the left of *Galatea*; see fig. 22-11A). Sea creatures and playful cupids surround the beautiful nymph, whose seashell "boat" was probably inspired by Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (fig. 21-1). The painting is an exultant song in praise of female beauty. Compositionally, Raphael enhanced the liveliness of the image by placing the sturdy figures around Galatea in bounding and dashing movements that always return to her as the energetic center. The cupids, skillfully foreshortened, repeat the circling motion. Raphael conceived his figures sculpturally, and Galatea's body—supple, strong, and vigorously in motion—contrasts with Botticelli's delicate, hovering, almost dematerialized Venus while suggesting the spiraling compositions of Hellenistic statuary (fig. 5-81). In *Galatea,* classical myth presented in grandiose form and vivacious movement resurrects the naturalistic art and poetry of the Greco-Roman world.

Michelangelo

Although Michelangelo is most famous today as the painter of the Sistine Chapel frescoes (fig. 22-1), he was also an architect, poet, engineer, and, first and foremost, sculptor. Michelangelo considered sculpture superior to painting because the sculptor shares in the divine power to "make man" (see "Leonardo and Michelangelo on Painting versus Sculpture," page 637). Drawing a conceptual parallel to Plato's ideas, Michelangelo believed that the image that the artist's hand produces must come from the idea in the artist's mind. The idea, then, is the reality that the artist's genius has to bring forth. But artists are not the creators of the ideas they conceive. Rather, they find their ideas in the natural world, reflecting the absolute idea, which, for the artist, is beauty. One of Michelangelo's best-known observations about sculpture is that the artist must proceed by finding the idea—the image—locked in the stone. By removing the excess stone, the sculptor releases the idea from the block (fig. I-16), bringing forth the living form. The artist, Michelangelo felt, works for many years to discover this unceasing process of revelation and "arrives late at novel and lofty things."[4]

Michelangelo did indeed arrive "at novel and lofty things," for he broke sharply from his predecessors and contemporaries in one important respect: he mistrusted the application of mathematical methods as guarantees of beauty in proportion. Measure and proportion, he believed, should be "kept in the eyes." Vasari quoted Michelangelo as declaring that "it was necessary to have the compasses in the eyes and not in the hand, because the hands work and the eye judges."[5] Thus Michelangelo set aside Vitruvius, Alberti, Leonardo, and others who tirelessly sought the perfect measure, and insisted that the artist's inspired judgment could identify other pleasing proportions. In addition, Michelangelo argued that the artist must not be bound, except by the demands made by realizing the idea. This assertion of the artist's authority was typical of Michelangelo and anticipated the modern concept of the right to a self-expression of talent limited only by the artist's own judgment. (Compare, for example, American sculptor Richard Serra's insistence in federal court that "the artist's work must be uncensored, respected, and tolerated, although deemed abhorrent, or perceived as challenging, or experienced as threatening." See "Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc,*" page 1033.) The artistic license Michelangelo claimed to aspire far beyond the "rules" was, in part, a manifestation of the pursuit of fame and success that Renaissance humanism fostered.

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Because Michelangelo outlived both Leonardo and Raphael by almost a half century, his career spanned the High and Late Renaissance. Especially in his later works (discussed in the High Renaissance section of this chapter to give a unified account of the artist), Michelangelo often departed from High Renaissance regularity. What characterizes all of his figural work, both early and late, is a vast, expressive strength conveyed through complex, eccentric, and often titanic forms that loom before the viewer in tragic grandeur.

As a youth, Michelangelo was an apprentice in the studio of the painter Domenico Ghirlandaio (FIGS. 21-26 and 21-27), but he left before completing his training. Although Michelangelo later claimed that he owed nothing artistically to anyone, he made detailed drawings based on the work of the great Florentines Giotto and Masaccio. Early on, he came to the attention of Lorenzo the Magnificent and studied sculpture under one of Lorenzo's favorite artists, Bertoldo di Giovanni (ca. 1420–1491), a former collaborator of Donatello's. When Lorenzo died in 1492 and the Medici fell two years later, Michelangelo left Florence for Venice and then Bologna, where the sculptures of the Sienese artist Jacopo della Quercia (1367–1438) impressed him.

Pietà. Michelangelo made his first trip to Rome in the summer of 1496, and there, two years later and still in his early 20s, he produced his first masterpiece: a *Pietà* (FIG. 22-12) for Jean de Bilhères Lagraulas (1439–1499), cardinal of Saint-Denis and the French king's envoy to the Vatican. The cardinal commissioned the statue to be placed in the rotunda attached to the south transept of Old Saint Peter's (not shown in FIG. 8-9), in which he was to be buried beside other French churchmen. The work is now on view in the new church (FIG. 24-4) that replaced the fourth-century basilica. It is, however, inaccessible because it was severely damaged by a vandal's hammer blows in 1972. Michelangelo's *Pietà* is now shielded by bulletproof glass. Viewers cannot get close to the statue and consequently cannot appreciate the sculptor's extraordinary skill in transforming marble into flesh, hair, and fabric with a sensitivity for texture almost without parallel. However, the best photographs can capture something of the luminosity of the marble surface.

The theme—Mary cradling the dead body of Christ in her lap—was a staple in the repertoire of French and German artists, and Michelangelo's French patron doubtless chose the subject. The Italian sculptor, however, rendered the Northern European theme in an unforgettable manner. Breathtaking is the tender sadness of the beautiful and youthful Mary as she mourns the death of her son. In fact, her age—seemingly less than that of Christ—was a subject of controversy from the moment the statue was unveiled. Michelangelo explained Mary's ageless beauty as an integral part of her purity and virginity. Beautiful, too, is the son whom she holds. (In fact, Michelangelo's figure of the adult Christ is too small in relation to the size of Mary. This may be an intentional allusion to the imagery of the Madonna holding the Christ Child in innumerable earlier artworks.) Christ seems less to have died a martyr's crucifixion than to have drifted off into peaceful sleep in Mary's maternal arms. His wounds are barely visible. It is hard to imagine a starker contrast in conception and style than that between the *Röttgen Pietà* (FIG. 13-52) and Michelangelo's.

22-12 **MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI, *Pietà*, ca. 1498–1500. Marble, 5′ 8½″ high. Saint Peter's, Vatican City, Rome.**

Michelangelo's representation of Mary cradling Christ's corpse captures the sadness and beauty of the young Virgin, but was controversial because the Madonna seems younger than her son.

David. Michelangelo returned to Florence in 1501. In 1495, during the Medici exile, the Florentine Republic had ordered the transfer of Donatello's *David* (FIG. 21-11) from the Medici residence to the Palazzo della Signoria to join Verrocchio's *David* (FIG. 21-12) there. The importance of David as a civic symbol led the Florence Cathedral building committee to invite Michelangelo to work a great block of marble left over from an earlier aborted commission into still another *David* for the Republic. The colossal statue (FIG. 22-13)—Florentines referred to it as "the Giant"—that Michelangelo created from that block was to stand on one of the cathedral's buttresses, but it was judged too magnificent to be displayed at such a distance. It was

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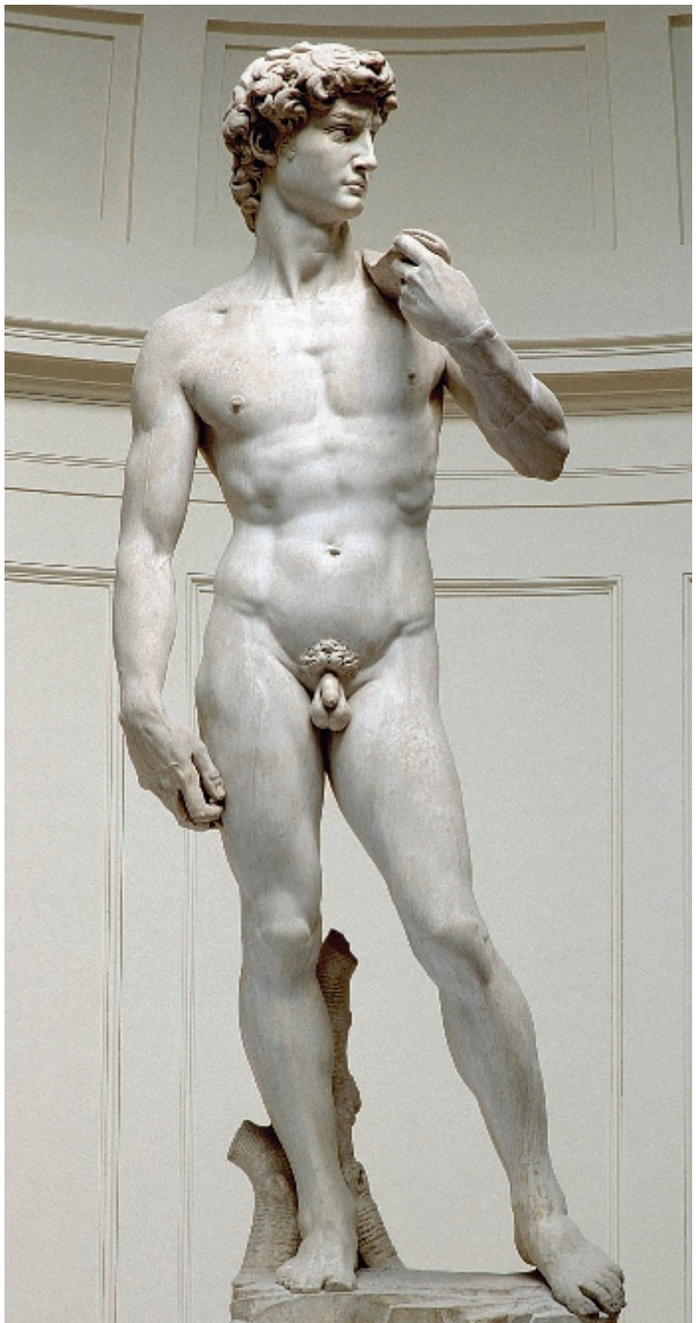

22-13 Michelangelo Buonarroti, *David,* from Piazza della Signoria, Florence, Italy, 1501–1504. Marble, 17′ high. Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence.

In this colossal statue, Michelangelo represented David turning his head toward the unseen Goliath, capturing the tension of Lysippos's athletes and the emotionalism of Hellenistic statuary.

ultimately placed in the Piazza della Signoria. Michelangelo's *David* assured forever his reputation as an extraordinary talent. Vasari, a great admirer of Michelangelo's (see "Giorgio Vasari's *Lives,*" page 648), extolled the work, claiming that

> without any doubt [Michelangelo's *David*] has put in the shade every other statue, ancient or modern, Greek or Roman . . . [The statue] was intended as a symbol of liberty [in front of Florence's city hall], signifying that just as David had protected his people and governed them justly, so whoever ruled Florence should vigorously defend the city and govern it with justice.[6]

Despite the traditional association of David with heroic triumph over a fearsome adversary, Michelangelo chose to represent the young biblical warrior not after his victory, with Goliath's head at his feet (as Donatello and Verrocchio had done), but before the encounter, with David sternly watching his approaching foe. *David* exhibits the characteristic representation of energy in reserve that imbues Michelangelo's later figures with the tension of a coiled spring. The anatomy of David's body plays an important part in this prelude to action. His rugged torso, sturdy limbs, and large hands and feet alert viewers to the triumph to come. Each swelling vein and tightening sinew amplifies the psychological energy of David's pose.

Michelangelo doubtless had the classical nude in mind when he conceived his *David.* Like many of his colleagues, he greatly admired Greco-Roman statues, in particular the skillful and precise rendering of heroic physique, but he departed somewhat from naturalistic and ideal body proportions to take into consideration the angle of view from below of his colossal statue. Without strictly imitating the antique style, which he studied firsthand in Rome, Michelangelo captured in his portrayal of the biblical hero the tension that is a key ingredient of the athletes (FIG. 5-65) of the Late Classical sculptor Lysippos, and the psychological insight and emotionalism of Hellenistic statuary (FIGS. 5-81 and 5-82) and of Roman works of Hellenistic style (FIGS. 5-89 and 5-90). His *David* differs from Donatello's and Verrocchio's creations in much the same way that later Hellenistic statues departed from their Classical predecessors. Michelangelo abandoned the self-contained compositions of the 15th-century *David* statues by abruptly turning the hero's head toward his gigantic adversary. His *David* is compositionally and emotionally connected to an unseen presence beyond the statue, a feature also of Hellenistic sculpture (FIG. 5-86). As early as 1501, then, Michelangelo invested his efforts in presenting towering, pent-up emotion rather than calm, ideal beauty. He transferred his own doubts, frustrations, and passions into the great figures he created or planned.

Tomb of Julius II. The formal references to classical antiquity in Michelangelo's *David* surely appealed to Julius II, who associated himself with the humanists and with Roman emperors. Thus the fame that accrued to Michelangelo on the completion of the *David* called the artist to the pope's attention, leading shortly thereafter to major papal commissions (see "Michelangelo, Pope Julius II, and the Sistine Chapel," page 635). The first project that Julius II commissioned from Michelangelo was the pontiff 's tomb, to be placed in Old Saint Peter's. The sculptor's original 1505 design called for a freestanding, two-story structure with more than 40 statues. The proposed monument, of unprecedented size and complexity, would have given Michelangelo the latitude to sculpt numerous human figures while providing Julius II with a grandiose memorial that would associate the Cinquecento pope with the first pope, Peter himself. Shortly after Michelangelo began work on this project, however, the pope interrupted the commission, possibly because funds had to be diverted to the rebuilding of Saint Peter's. After Julius II's death in 1513, Michelangelo reluctantly reduced the scale of the project step-by-step until, in 1542, a final contract specified a simple wall tomb (compare FIGS. 21-14 and 21-39) with fewer than one-third of the originally planned figures. Michelangelo completed

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Giorgio Vasari's *Lives*

Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) of Arezzo was an architect and painter who trained in Michelangelo's Florentine workshop. He enjoyed considerable success, especially as an architect, and received several major commissions, most notably to design the complex of offices next to the Palazzo della Signoria in Florence—the Uffizi—that now houses the world's greatest collection of Italian Renaissance art. Vasari's most significant achievement, however, was as a biographer. Sometimes called "the father of art history," Vasari published *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* in 1530. A second, definitive edition appeared in 1568. Vasari's *Lives* is far more than a compendium of facts and anecdotes about Italian artists. Vasari virtually created the discipline of art history, and the story of Renaissance art that art historians tell today remains rooted in Vasari's account.

Indeed, art historians, and the general public as well, owe the very concept of the "Renaissance" to Vasari. In his preface, Vasari placed all the biographies to follow in the context of his view that the history of art had three major periods: the glorious Greco-Roman age; the Middle Ages, when only inferior art was produced; and the Renaissance, when, beginning in the 14th century, classical art was reborn.

> What was the most infinitely harmful and damaging to those professions [painting, sculpture, and architecture] . . . was the fervent zeal of the new Christian religion . . . [which] cast to the ground all the marvelous statues, sculptures, paintings, mosaics, and ornaments of the false pagan gods, but it also . . . destroy[ed] the most honored temples of the pagan idols. . . . Once [today's artists] have seen how art reached the summit of perfection . . . and how it had fallen into complete ruin . . . [and how the arts], like human bodies, are born, grow up, become old, and die, they will now be able to recognize more easily the progress of art's rebirth and the state of perfection to which it has again ascended in our own times.*

Vasari also divided the Renaissance into three ages—the era of Cimabue and Giotto, when artists broke away from the *maniera greca* (that is, the Italo-Byzantine style); the Quattrocento, when artists began to employ linear perspective and produced works exhibiting greater naturalism (the ultimate goal of art, according to Vasari); and the Cinquecento, when Leonardo, Raphael, and especially Michelangelo achieved perfection.

Consistent with his view that the excellence of Renaissance art was due to the inspired genius and limitless talent of individual artists—a celebratory biographical approach to the history of art that persists even today—Vasari's *Lives* is often unrestrained in its flattery of the artists he most admired (Florentine artists above all others).

Some brief excerpts:

> **Leonardo da Vinci:** Truly wondrous and divine was Leonardo. . . . [W]ith his birth, Florence truly received the greatest of all gifts, and at his death, the loss was incalculable. To the art of painting, he added a kind of shadowing to the method of coloring with oils which has enabled the moderns to endow their figures with great energy and relief.†

> **Raphael:** [A]lthough other paintings may be called paintings, those of Raphael are living things: for the flesh in his figures seems palpable, they breathe, their pulses beat. . . . [B]ecause of Raphael, the arts of painting, coloring, and invention were harmoniously brought to a stage of completion and perfection that could hardly be hoped for.‡

22-14 Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Moses,* from the tomb of Pope Julius II, Rome, Italy, ca. 1513–1515. Marble, 7′ 8½″ high. San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome.

Not since Hellenistic times had a sculptor captured as much emotional and physical energy in a seated statue as Michelangelo did in *Moses*. Vasari believed that God bequeathed Michelangelo to Florence.

> **Michelangelo:** [T]he most benevolent Ruler of Heaven . . . decided . . . to send to earth a spirit who, working alone, was able to demonstrate in every art and every profession the meaning of perfection in the art of design . . . and because He saw that in the practice of . . . painting, sculpture, and architecture, Tuscan minds were always among the greatest, . . . He wanted to bequeath [Michelangelo] to . . . Florence, the most worthy among all the other cities, so that the perfection Florence justly achieved with all her talents might finally reach its culmination in one of her own citizens.§

*Translated by Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella, *Giorgio Vasari: The Lives of the Artists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 5–6.
†Ibid., 284, 298.
‡Ibid., 325, 332.
§Ibid., 415–416.

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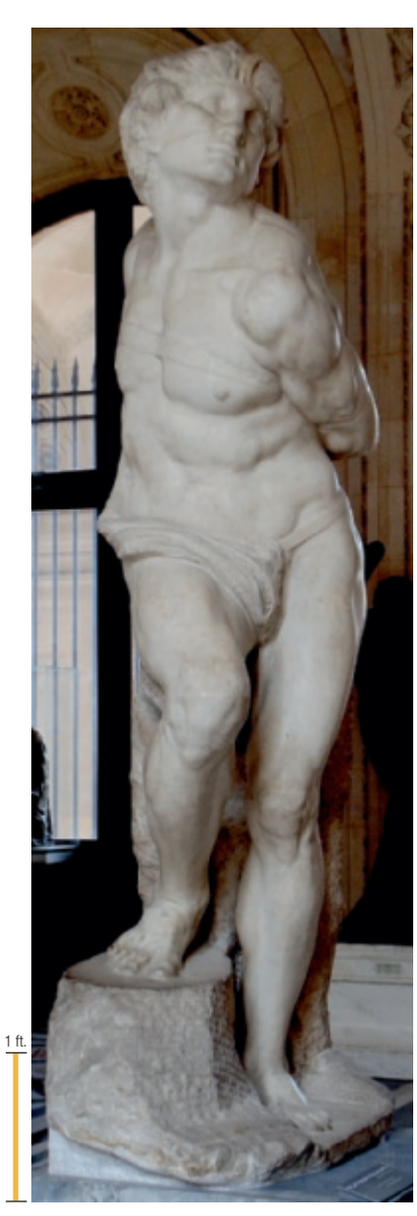
the tomb in 1545 and saw it placed in San Pietro in Vincoli (MAP 22-1), where Julius II had served as cardinal before his accession to the papacy. Given Julius's ambitions, it is safe to say that had he seen the final design of his tomb or known where it would eventually be located, he would have been bitterly disappointed.

The spirit of the tomb may be summed up in *Moses* (FIG. 22-14), which Michelangelo carved between 1513 and 1515 during one of his sporadic resumptions of work on the project. Meant to be seen from below and to be balanced with seven other massive forms related to it in spirit, *Moses* in its final comparatively paltry setting does not convey the impact Michelangelo originally intended. The sculptor depicted the Old Testament prophet seated, the Tablets of the Law under one arm and his hands gathering his voluminous beard. The horns on Moses's head were a convention in Christian art (based on a mistranslation of the Hebrew word for "rays") and helped Renaissance viewers identify the prophet (compare FIGS. 12-38 and 20-2). Here, as in his *David,* Michelangelo used the device of the turned head, in this case to concentrate the expression of awful wrath stirring in the prophet's mighty frame and eyes. Moses's muscles bulge, his veins swell, and his great legs seem to begin slowly to move. Not since Hellenistic times (FIGS. 5-85 and 5-86) had a sculptor imbued a seated figure with so much torsion and emotionalism. The impact on Michelangelo of the discovery of the *Laocoön* (FIG. 5-89), unearthed in Rome in 1506 in the artist's presence, is evident.

Michelangelo also intended to incorporate in the pope's tomb some 20 statues of captives, popularly known as slaves, in various attitudes of revolt and exhaustion. Art historians have traditionally assumed that *Bound Slave,* or *Rebellious Prisoner* (FIG. 22-15), and the unfinished statue shown in FIG. I-16 are two of those that were destined for Julius's tomb. Some scholars now doubt this attribution, and some even reject the identification of the statues as "slaves" or "captives." Whatever their identity, these statues, like Michelangelo's *David* and *Moses,* testify to the sculptor's ability to create figures embodying powerful emotional states. In *Bound Slave,* the defiant figure's violently twisting posture evokes frantic but impotent struggle. Michelangelo based his whole art on his conviction that whatever can be said greatly through sculpture and painting must be said through the human figure.



22-15 **MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI, *Bound Slave* (*Rebellious Prisoner*), probably from the tomb of Pope Julius II, Rome, Italy, ca. 1513–1516. Marble, 7′ $\frac{5}{8}$″ high. Musée du Louvre, Paris.**

For Pope Julius II's tomb, Michelangelo planned a series of statues of captives or slaves in various attitudes. This defiant figure may be one of them. Its violently twisting posture evokes frantic struggle.

Tomb of Giuliano de' Medici. Following the death of Julius II, Michelangelo, like Raphael, went into the service of Leo X and his successor, Clement VII. These Medici popes chose not to spend their resources on their predecessor's unfinished tomb. Instead, immediately following the death in May 1519 of Lorenzo de' Medici (1492–1519), duke of Urbino, they (Pope Leo X and the then-cardinal Giulio de' Medici; FIG. 22-10) commissioned Michelangelo to design a funerary chapel, the New Sacristy, attached to Brunelleschi's San Lorenzo (FIG. 21-31) in Florence, to house twin tombs of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici (1478–1516; FIG. 22-16), duke of Nemours (south of Paris), who had died three years before.

22-16 **MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI, tomb of Giuliano de' Medici, New Sacristy (Medici Chapel), San Lorenzo, Florence, Italy, 1519–1534. Marble, central figure 5′ 11″ high.**

Michelangelo depicted the deceased Giuliano de' Medici in Roman armor, the model of the active and decisive man. Below him are the anguished, twisting nude figures of Night and Day.

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The chapel was also to contain the tombs of the dukes' namesakes, Lorenzo the Magnificent and his murdered brother, Giuliano, and was intended as a dynastic mausoleum for Florence's wealthiest and most powerful family. Michelangelo finished neither tomb. Today, the tombs of Lorenzo and Giuliano, as completed by the master's pupils, face each other on opposite walls of the New Sacristy. Scholars believe that Michelangelo intended to place pairs of recumbent river gods at the bottom of the sarcophagi, balancing the pairs of figures resting on the sloping sides, but his grand design for the tombs remains a puzzle.

According to the traditional interpretation, the arrangement that Michelangelo planned mirrors the soul's ascent through the levels of the Neo-Platonic universe. *Neo-Platonism,* the school of thought based on Plato's idealistic, spiritualistic philosophy, embraced in the 15th century by some of the humanists in the Medici circle, experienced a renewed popularity in the 16th century. The lowest level of the tomb, which the river gods represent, would have signified the Underworld of brute matter, the source of evil. The two statues on the sarcophagi would symbolize the realm of time—the specifically human world of the cycles of dawn, day, evening, and night. Humanity's state in this world of time was one of pain and anxiety, of frustration and exhaustion. At left is the muscular female Night. (Michelangelo used male models even for his female figures because at the time, it was unthinkable for women to pose nude for male artists.) At right is the male Day. Both appear to be chained into never-relaxing tensions and exhibit the anguished twisting of the body's masses in contrary directions seen also in Michelangelo's *Bound Slave* (FIG. 22-15; compare FIG. I-16) and in his Sistine Chapel paintings (FIGS. 22-18 and 22-18A). This contortion is a staple of Michelangelo's figural art. Day, with a body the thickness of a great tree and the anatomy of Hercules (or of a reclining Greco-Roman river god that may have inspired Michelangelo's statue), strains his huge limbs against each other, his unfinished visage rising menacingly above his shoulder. Night, the symbol of rest, twists as if in troubled sleep, her posture wrenched and feverish. The artist surrounded her with an owl, poppies, and a hideous mask symbolic of nightmares. Some scholars argue, however, that the Night and Day personifications allude not to humanity's pain but to the life cycle and the passage of time leading ultimately to death.

On their respective tombs, seated statues of Lorenzo and Giuliano appear in niches at the apex of the structures. Transcending worldly existence, they represent the two ideal human types—the contemplative man (Lorenzo) and the active man (Giuliano; FIG. 22-16). The latter wears the armor of a Roman general and holds a commander's baton, his head turned alertly as if in council (he looks toward the statue of the Virgin at one end of the chapel). Across the room, Lorenzo appears deep in thought, his face in shadow. Together, they symbolize the two ways that human beings might achieve union with God—through meditation or through the active life fashioned after that of Christ. In this sense, they are not individual portraits. Indeed, Michelangelo declined to sculpt likenesses of Lorenzo and Giuliano. Who, he asked, would care what they looked like in a thousand years? The rather generic visages of the two Medici captains of the Church are consistent with Michelangelo's lifelong approach to figural art, in painting as well as sculpture. Throughout his career, he demonstrated less concern for facial features and expressions than for the overall human form. Michelangelo's "portraits" are thus fundamentally different from those of Leonardo (FIG. 22-5) and Raphael (FIGS. 22-10 and 22-10A).

Sistine Chapel Ceiling. When Julius II suspended work on his tomb, the pope offered the bitter Michelangelo the commission to paint the ceiling (FIG. 22-17) of the Sistine Chapel (FIG. 22-1) in 1508 (see "Michelangelo, Pope Julius II, and the Sistine Chapel," page 635). The chapel, built by Sixtus IV in 1479 to 1481 between the Vatican's apostolic palace and Saint Peter's (MAPS 22-1 and 24-1), served as the private chapel of the pope and the papal court. It was also the place where the College of Cardinals gathered after the death of a pope to select his successor—as the cardinals still do today. Some of the leading Quattrocento painters had provided frescoes (FIG. 21-41) for its walls, but the commission for the ceiling dwarfed the earlier mural projects in both size and complexity. Michelangelo faced enormous difficulties: the ceiling's dimensions (some 5,800 square feet), its height above the pavement (almost 70 feet), and the complicated perspective problems that the vault's height and curve presented—in addition to his inexperience in the fresco technique. (Michelangelo had to redo the first section he completed because of faulty preparation of the intonaco; see "Fresco Painting," page 428.) Yet, in less than four years, the Florentine sculptor produced an extraordinary series of frescoes incorporating his patron's agenda, Church doctrine, and his own interests. In depicting the most august and solemn themes of all, the creation, fall, and redemption of humankind—subjects most likely selected by Julius II with input from Michelangelo and Cardinal Marco Vigerio della Rovere (1446–1516)—Michelangelo spread a colossal compositional scheme across the vast surface. He succeeded in weaving together more than 300 figures in an ultimate grand drama of the human race.

Nine narrative panels describing the creation, as recorded in Genesis, run along the crown of the vault, from *God's Separation of Light and Darkness* (above the altar) to *Drunkenness of Noah* (nearest the entrance to the chapel). Thus as viewers enter the chapel, look up, and walk toward the altar, they review, in reverse order, the history of the fall of humankind. (When facing those assembled in the chapel, the presiding priest, the pope, sees the narrative scenes in the correct order, but upside down.) The Hebrew prophets and ancient *sibyls* (FIG. 22-18C) who foretold the coming of Christ appear seated in large thrones on both sides of the central row of scenes from Genesis, where the vault curves down. In the four corner *pendentives,* Michelangelo placed four Old Testament scenes with David, Judith, Haman, and Moses and the Brazen Serpent. Scores of lesser figures also appear. The ancestors of Christ fill the triangular compartments above the windows, nude youths punctuate the corners of the central panels, and small pairs of putti painted in grisaille (to imitate sculpture) support the painted trompe l'oeil cornice surrounding the entire central corridor. The overall conceptualization of the ceiling's design and narrative structure not only presents a sweeping chronology of Christianity but also is in keeping with Renaissance ideas about Christian history. These ideas included interest in the conflict between good and evil and between the energy of youth and the wisdom of age. The conception of the entire ceiling was astounding in itself, and the articulation of it in its thousands of details was a superhuman achievement.

Unlike Andrea Mantegna's decoration of the Camera Picta (FIGS. 21-48 and 21-49) in Mantua, the strongly marked unifying architectural framework in the Sistine Chapel does not construct "picture windows" framing illusions within them. Rather, the viewer focuses on figure after figure, each sharply outlined against the neutral tone of the architectural setting or the plain background of the panels.

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22-17 Michelangelo Buonarroti, ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, Vatican City, Rome, Italy, 1508–1512. Fresco, 128′ × 45′.

Michelangelo labored almost four years for Pope Julius II on the frescoes for the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel (FIG. 22-1). He painted more than 300 figures illustrating the creation and fall of humankind.

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22-18 Michelangelo Buonarroti, *Creation of Adam,* detail of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel (fig. 22-17), Vatican City, Rome, Italy, 1511–1512. Fresco, 9′ 2″ × 18′ 8″.

Life leaps to Adam like a spark from the extended hand of God in this fresco, which recalls the communication between gods and heroes in the classical myths that Renaissance humanists admired.

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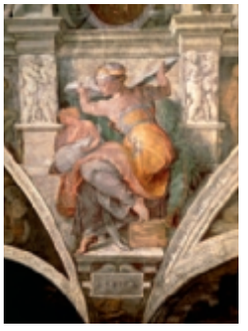
Creation of Adam. The two central panels of Michelangelo's ceiling are *Creation of Adam* (fig. 22-18) and *Fall of Man* (fig. 22-18A). In both cases, Michelangelo rejected traditional iconographical convention in favor of bold new interpretations of these momentous events. In *Creation of Adam,* God and the first man confront each other in a primordial unformed landscape of which Adam is still a material part, heavy as earth. The Lord transcends the earth, wrapped in a billowing cloud of drapery and borne up by his powers. Life leaps to Adam like a spark from the extended and mighty hand of God. The communication between gods and heroes, so familiar in classical myth, is here concrete. This blunt depiction of the Lord as ruler of Heaven in the Olympian sense indicates how easily High Renaissance thought joined classical and Christian traditions. Yet the classical trappings do not obscure the essential Christian message.

22-18A Michelangelo, *Fall of Man,* ca. 1510.

Beneath the Lord's sheltering left arm is a woman, apprehensively curious but as yet uncreated. Scholars traditionally believed that she is Eve, but many now think she is the Virgin Mary (with the Christ Child at her knee). If the second identification is correct, it suggests that Michelangelo incorporated into his fresco one of the essential tenets of Christian faith—the belief that Adam's Original Sin eventually led to the sacrifice of Christ, which in turn made possible the redemption of all humankind (see "Old Testament Subjects in Christian Art," page 242).

As God reaches out to Adam, the viewer's eye follows the motion from right to left, but Adam's extended left arm leads the eye back to the right, along the Lord's right arm, shoulders, and left arm to his left forefinger, which points to the Christ Child's face. The focal point of this right-to-left-to-right movement—the fingertips of Adam and the Lord—is dramatically off-center. Michelangelo replaced the straight architectural axes found in Leonardo's compositions with curves and diagonals. For example, the bodies of the two great figures are complementary—the concave body of Adam fitting the convex body and billowing "cloak" of God. Thus motion directs not only the figures but also the whole composition. The reclining positions of the figures, the heavy musculature, and the twisting poses are all intrinsic parts of Michelangelo's style.

The photographs of the Sistine Chapel reproduced here record the appearance of Michelangelo's frescoes after the completion of a 12-year cleaning project (1977–1989). The painstaking restoration (figs. 22-18B and 22-18C) elicited considerable controversy because it revealed vivid colors that initially shocked art historians, producing accusations that the restorers were destroying Michelangelo's masterpieces. That reaction, however, was largely attributable to the fact that for centuries everyone had seen Michelangelo's frescoes only in their soot-and-grime-covered state. Today, all can see that Michelangelo's true palette—so different from Leonardo's (figs. 22-2, 22-4, and 22-5)—resembles, not surprisingly, the colors favored by Quattrocento Florentine fresco painters such as Masaccio (fig. 21-19) and Piero della Francesca (fig. 21-25).



22-18B Sistine Chapel restoration (before).

22-18C Sistine Chapel restoration (after).

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The Counter-Reformation. Paul III (r. 1534–1549) succeeded Clement VII as pope in 1534 at a time of widespread dissatisfaction with the leadership and policies of the Roman Catholic Church. Led by clerics such as Martin Luther and John Calvin in the Holy Roman Empire (see "Luther and the Reformation," page 692), early-16th-century reformers directly challenged papal authority, especially regarding secular issues. Disgruntled Catholics voiced concerns about the sale of *indulgences* (pardons for sins, reducing the time a soul spent in Purgatory), nepotism (the appointment of relatives to important positions; compare FIG. 22-10), and high Church officials pursuing personal wealth. This Reformation movement resulted in the establishment of Protestantism, with sects such as Lutheranism and Calvinism. Central to the Northerners' protest against the Roman Catholic Church was a belief in personal faith rather than adherence to decreed Church practices and doctrines. Because the Protestants believed that the only true religious relationship was the personal relationship between an individual and God, they were, in essence, eliminating the need for Church intercession, which is central to Catholicism.

The Catholic Church, in response, mounted a full-fledged campaign to counteract the defection of its members to Protestantism. Led by Paul III, this response, called the Counter-Reformation, consisted of numerous initiatives. The Council of Trent, which met intermittently from 1545 through 1563, was a major component of this effort (see "The Council of Trent," page 654). Composed of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and theologians, the Council of Trent dealt with issues of Church doctrine, including many that the Protestants contested. The papal art commissions established during this period should be viewed as an integral part of the Counter-Reformation effort. Popes long had been aware of the power of visual imagery to construct and reinforce ideological claims, and 16th-century popes exploited this capability.

Last Judgment. Among Paul III's first papal commissions was an enormous (48-foot-tall) fresco for the Sistine Chapel. Michelangelo agreed to paint *Last Judgment* (FIG. 22-19) on the chapel's altar (west) wall. Here, the artist depicted Christ as the stern Judge of the world, but—in vivid contrast to both the Byzantine (FIG. 9-23) and European medieval (FIG. 12-1) traditions—as a twisting, almost nude giant (FIG. 22-1c) who raises his mighty right arm in a gesture of damnation so broad and universal as to suggest that he will destroy all creation. The choirs of Heaven surround the youthful Judge and pulse with anxiety and awe. Crowded into the space below are trumpeting angels, the ascending figures of the saved, and the downward-hurtling figures of the damned. The Virgin is already in Heaven, on Christ's right side, the side of the blessed. On the opposite side, demons, whose gargoyle masks and burning eyes revive the demons of Romanesque tympana, torment the damned.

Michelangelo's terrifying vision of the fate awaiting sinners goes far beyond even Signorelli's gruesome images (FIG. 21-42). Martyrs who suffered especially agonizing deaths crouch below the Judge. One of them, Saint Bartholomew, who was skinned alive, holds the flaying knife and the skin, its face a grotesque self-portrait of Michelangelo. The figures are huge and violently twisted, with small heads and contorted features. Yet while this frightening fresco impresses on viewers Christ's wrath on Judgment Day, it also holds out hope. A group of saved souls—the elect—crowd around Christ, and on the far right appears a figure with a cross, most likely the Good Thief (crucified with Christ) or a saint martyred by crucifixion, such as Saint Andrew.

22-19 MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI, *Last Judgment,* altar wall of the Sistine Chapel, Vatican City, Rome, Italy, 1536–1541. Fresco, 48′ × 44′.

Michelangelo completed his fresco cycle in the Sistine Chapel with this terrifying vision of the fate that awaits sinners. Near the center, he placed his own portrait on the flayed skin that Saint Bartholomew holds.

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THE PATRON'S VOICE

The Council of Trent

Both Catholics and Protestants took seriously the role of devotional imagery in religious life. However, their views differed dramatically. Catholics deemed art valuable for cultivating piety. Protestants believed that religious imagery encouraged idolatry and distracted the faithful from the goal of developing a personal relationship with God (see "Catholic versus Protestant Views of Salvation," page 691). As part of the Counter-Reformation effort, Pope Paul III convened the Council of Trent in 1545 to review controversial Church doctrines. At its conclusion in 1563, the Council issued the following edict regarding the Church's role as patron of paintings and sculptures:

> The holy council commands all bishops and others who hold the office of teaching and have charge of the *cura animarum* ["care of souls"—the responsibility of laboring for the salvation of souls], that in accordance with the usage of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, received from the primitive times of the Christian religion, and with the unanimous teaching of the holy Fathers and the decrees of sacred councils, they above all instruct the faithful diligently in matters relating to intercession and invocation of the saints, the veneration of relics, and the legitimate use of images. . . . Moreover, that the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints are to be placed and retained especially in the churches, and that due honor and veneration is to be given them; . . . because the honor which is shown them is referred to the prototypes which they represent, so that by means of the images which we kiss and before which we uncover the head and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ and venerate the saints whose likeness they bear. That is what was defined by the decrees of the councils, especially of the Second Council of Nicaea [in 787], against the opponents of images [see "Icons and Iconoclasm," page 278].
>
> Moreover, let the bishops diligently teach that by means of the stories of the mysteries of our redemption portrayed in paintings and other representations the people are instructed and confirmed in the articles of faith, which ought to be borne in mind and constantly reflected upon; also that great profit is derived from all holy images, not only because the people are thereby reminded of the benefits and gifts bestowed on them by Christ, but also because through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they may give God thanks for those things, may fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints and be moved to adore and love God and cultivate piety. . . . That these things may be the more faithfully observed, the holy council decrees that no one is permitted to erect or cause to be erected in any place or church, howsoever exempt, any unusual image unless it has been approved by the bishop.*

In taking this position, the Catholic Church reaffirmed its role as the greatest art patron of the Cinquecento and assured that it would retain that status throughout the succeeding Baroque era, both in Europe and in Spain's vast territories in the New World.

**Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent,* December 3–4, 1563. Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, *Italian Art 1500–1600: Sources and Documents* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 120–121.

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Unfinished *Pietà*. Six years after completing the *Last Judgment* fresco and nearly 50 years after carving the *Pietà* (FIG. 22-12) for the burial chapel of Cardinal Bilhères Lagraulas, Michelangelo, already in his 70s, began work on another *Pietà* (FIG. 22-20), this one destined for his own tomb in Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome. For this *Pietà,* the aged master set for himself an unprecedented technical challenge—to surpass the sculptors of the ancient *Laocoön* (FIG. 5-89) and carve four life-size figures from a single marble block. He did not succeed. (The *Laocoön* was not, however, cut from only one marble block.) Christ's now-missing left leg became detached, perhaps because of a flaw in the marble, and in 1555 Michelangelo abandoned the project and began to smash the statue. His assistants intervened, and he eventually permitted one of them, Tiberio Calcagni (1532–1565), to repair some of the damage and finish the work in part.

In composition and tone, the Santa Maria Maggiore *Pietà*—really a Deposition (see "The Life of Jesus in Art," pages 244–245)—stands in stark contrast to the work of Michelangelo's youth. The composition is vertical, with three figures—the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, and Nicodemus—supporting the lifeless body of Christ. The Virgin is now a subsidiary figure, half hidden by her son, whose left

22-20 MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI, *Pietà,* ca. 1547–1555. Marble, 7′ 8″ high. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence.

Left unfinished, this *Pietà,* begun when Michelangelo was in his 70s and intended for his own tomb, includes a self-portrait of the sculptor as Nicodemus supporting the lifeless body of the Savior.

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leg originally rested on her left thigh. The undersized Mary Magdalene is in a kneeling position. Forming the apex of the composition is the hooded Nicodemus, a self-portrait of Michelangelo. This late work is therefore very personal in nature, not surprising when the artist was also the patron.

Architecture

Michelangelo was an accomplished architect as well as a sculptor and painter, and his Vatican commissions included work on a new church to replace the basilica that Constantine had erected over the site of Saint Peter's burial place (Old Saint Peter's, FIG. 8-9 and MAP 22-1). By the 15th century, it was obvious that the Late Antique timber-roofed church was insufficient for the needs and aspirations of the Renaissance papacy. But it was still a bold and risky decision to tear down one of the most hallowed shrines in Christendom. Even the most optimistic estimates for the rebuilding campaign foresaw decades without a new Saint Peter's in which the pope and the cardinals and hordes of pilgrims could celebrate the liturgy of the Catholic Church. As it turned out, replacing the fourth-century basilica occupied several popes and some of the leading architects of Italy for more than a century—during which the altar marking the sacred grave of Peter remained covered only by a temporary roof instead of by the magnificent dome intended for the new church.

Bramante. Michelangelo was but one of a number of artists and architects who worked on the project. The first in this distinguished line of architects of the new Saint Peter's was DONATO D'ANGELO BRAMANTE (1444–1514). Born in Urbino and trained as a painter (perhaps by Piero della Francesca), Bramante went to Milan in 1481 and, as Leonardo did, stayed there until the French captured the city in 1499. In Milan, Bramante abandoned painting to become his generation's most renowned architect. Under the influence of Filippo Brunelleschi, Leon Battista Alberti, and perhaps Leonardo, all of whom strongly favored the art and architecture of classical antiquity, Bramante developed the High Renaissance form of the central-plan church.

The architectural style that Bramante championed was, consistent with the humanistic values of the day, based on ancient Roman models. Bramante's first major work in the classical mode was the small architectural gem known as the Tempietto (FIG. 22-21) on the Janiculum hill overlooking the Vatican. The building received its name because, to contemporaries, it had the look of a small ancient temple. "Little Temple" is, in fact, a perfect nickname for the structure, because the round temples of Roman Italy, including two in Rome—one in the Roman Forum and another on the east bank of the Tiber—and a third at nearby Tivoli (FIG. 7-4), directly inspired Bramante's design. King Ferdinand (r. 1479–1516) and Queen Isabella of Spain invited Bramante to build the Tempietto to mark what they believed was the spot of Saint Peter's crucifixion. (The Vatican cemetery in which Peter was buried lies at the northern foot of the Janiculum.) Bramante undertook the project in 1502 when he was nearly 60 years old, but construction may not have begun until the end of the decade. Today, the Tempietto stands inside the rectangular cloister of the monastery of San Pietro in Montorio, but Bramante planned, although never executed, a circular colonnaded courtyard to frame the "temple." His intent was to coordinate the Tempietto and its surrounding portico by aligning the columns of the two structures.

The Tempietto's domed central-plan design, which recalls circular Early Christian *martyria,* such as the Rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (FIG. 8-8C), is severely rational and features a stately circular *stylobate* (stepped temple platform) and austere Tuscan columns. Bramante achieved a wonderful balance and harmony in the relationship of the parts (dome, drum, and base) to one another and to the whole. Conceived as a tall domed cylinder projecting from the lower, wider cylinder of its colonnade, the "temple" is in some respects more a monument than a building. Bramante's sculptural eye is most evident in the rhythmic play of light and shadow around the columns and balustrade and across the deep-set rectangular windows alternating with shallow shell-capped niches in the *cella* (central room of a temple), walls, and drum. Although the Tempietto, superficially at least, may resemble a Greco-Roman *tholos* (circular shrine; FIG. 5-72), and although antique models (for example, FIG. 7-4) provided the inspiration for all its details, the combination of parts and details was new and original. (Classical tholoi, for instance, were never two-story structures and had neither a drum nor a balustrade.)

One of the main differences between the Early and High Renaissance styles of architecture is the former's emphasis on adorning flat wall surfaces versus the latter's sculptural handling of architectural masses. Bramante's Tempietto initiated the High Renaissance era in architecture. Andrea Palladio, a brilliant theorist as well as a major later 16th-century architect (FIGS. 22-54, 22-55, 22-56, and 22-57), included the Tempietto in his survey of ancient temples because Bramante was "the first to bring back to light the good and beautiful architecture that from antiquity to that time had been hidden."[7] (Note the kinship with Ghiberti's and Vasari's views of the history of painting; see "The *Commentarii* of Lorenzo

22-21 DONATO D'ANGELO BRAMANTE, Tempietto, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, Italy, begun 1502.

Contemporaries celebrated Bramante as the first architect to revive the classical style. Roman temples (FIG. 7-4) inspired his "little temple," but Bramante combined the classical parts in new ways.

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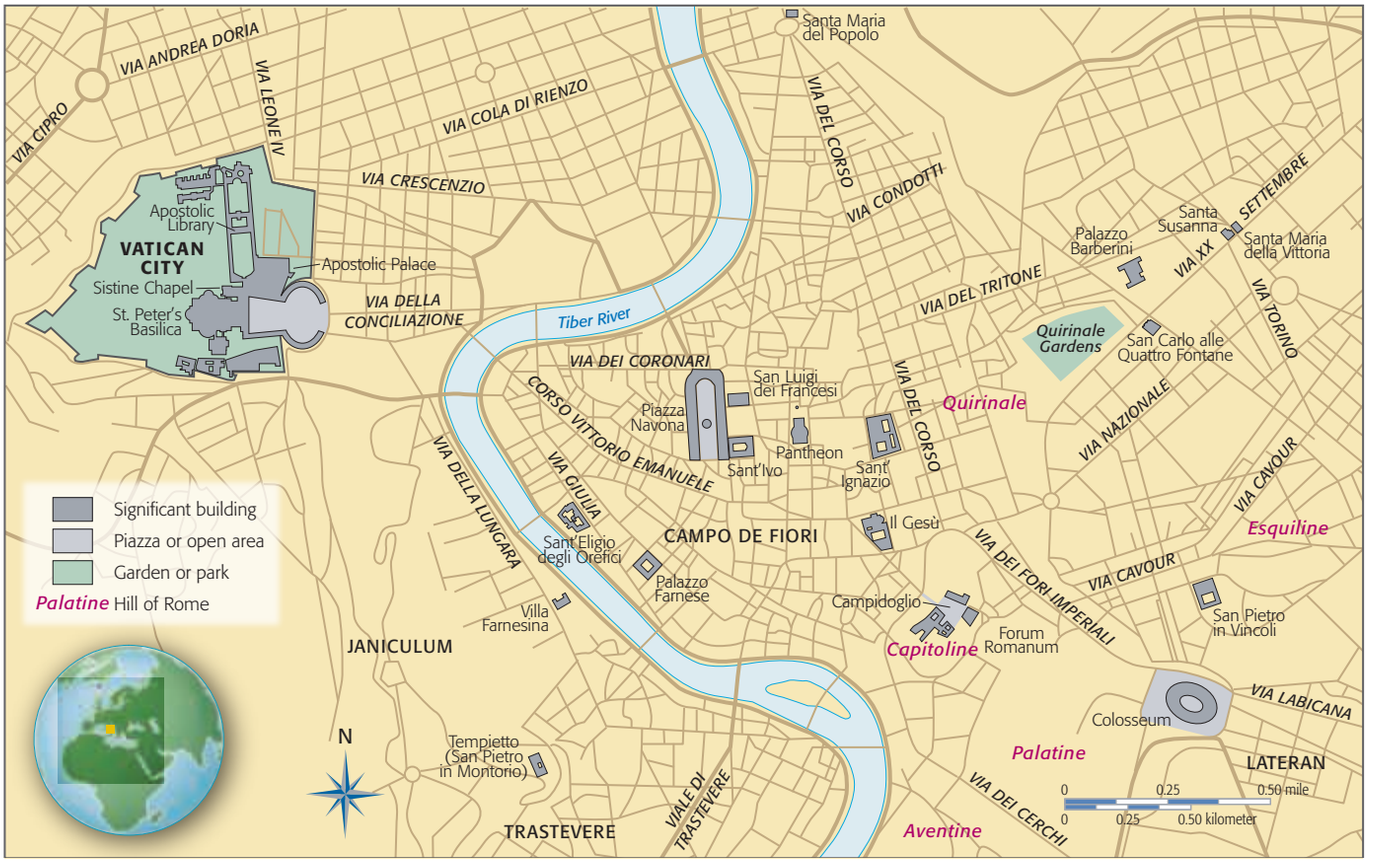
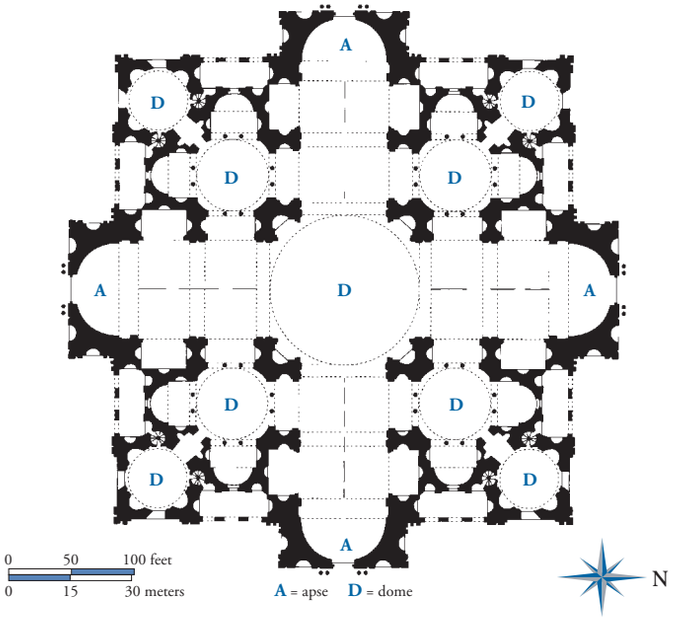


MAP 22-1 **Rome with Renaissance and Baroque monuments.**

Ghiberti," page 596, and "Giorgio Vasari's *Lives*," page 648.) Round in plan and elevated on a base that isolates it from its surroundings, the Tempietto conforms to Alberti's and Palladio's strictest demands for an ideal church, yet it is far too small to house a congregation.

Saint Peter's. As noted, Bramante was the architect whom Julius II selected to design a replacement for the basilica of Old Saint Peter's (FIG. 8-9). The fourth-century building had fallen into considerable disrepair and, in any event, did not suit the ambitious



22-22 **DONATO D'ANGELO BRAMANTE, plan for Saint Peter's, Vatican City, Rome, Italy, 1505.**

Bramante proposed to replace the longitudinal Constantinian basilica of Saint Peter's (FIG. 8-10) with a central-plan church featuring a cross with arms of equal length, each of which terminated in an apse.

22-23 **CRISTOFORO FOPPA CARADOSSO, reverse side of a medal showing Bramante's design for Saint Peter's, 1506. Bronze, $2\frac{1}{4}$″ diameter. British Museum, London.**

Bramante's unexecuted 1506 design for Saint Peter's called for a large dome over the crossing, smaller domes over the subsidiary chapels, and a boldly sculptural treatment of the walls and piers.

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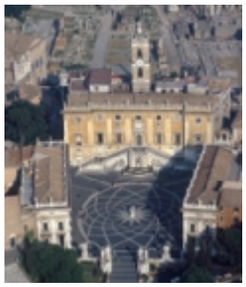
pope's taste for the colossal. Many members of the papal *Curia* ("court") opposed tearing down the venerable shrine, but Julius could not be dissuaded. He dreamed of gaining control over all Italy and making the Rome of the popes the equal of (if not more splendid than) the Rome of the caesars (see "Michelangelo and Pope Julius II," page 635). A crumbling basilica did not serve his purposes. A magnificent new church did, especially one that revived the classical architectural vocabulary of imperial Rome. Like its predecessor, the new Saint Peter's was to serve as a martyrium to mark the apostle's grave, but Julius also intended to install his own tomb (FIGS. 22-14 and 22-15) in the church. Constantine's basilica was not large enough to house the mammoth tomb the pope envisioned.

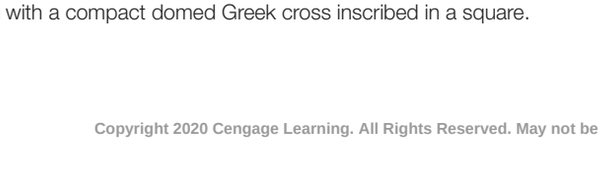
Bramante's ambitious design (FIG. 22-22) for the new Saint Peter's consisted of a cross with arms of equal length, each terminating in an apse. A large dome would have covered the crossing, and smaller domes over subsidiary chapels would have capped the diagonal axes of the roughly square plan. Bramante's design also called for a boldly sculptural treatment of the walls and piers under the dome. The organization of the interior space was complex in the extreme: nine interlocking crosses, five of them supporting domes. The scale of Bramante's Saint Peter's was gigantic. The architect boasted that he would place the dome of the Pantheon (FIG. 7-51) over the Basilica Nova (FIG. 7-74).

A commemorative medal (FIG. 22-23) by CRISTOFORO FOPPA CARADOSSO (ca. 1452–1526) shows how Bramante planned to accomplish that feat. As in the Pantheon, Saint Peter's dome would be hemispherical, but Bramante broke up the massive unity of the ancient temple by adding two towers and a medley of domes and porticos. In light of Julius II's interest in the Roman Empire, it is not surprising that the pope approved using the Pantheon as a model for the new church. That Bramante's design appeared on a commemorative medal is in itself noteworthy. Such medals proliferated in the 15th century (FIG. 21-28A), reviving the ancient Roman practice of placing images of important imperial building projects on the reverse side of coins. The fronts of those coins bore portraits of the emperors who commissioned the buildings. Predictably, a portrait of Julius II, not Bramante, appears on the front of the Caradosso medal.

Michelangelo, Saint Peter's. During Bramante's lifetime, construction of Saint Peter's did not advance beyond the erection of the crossing piers and the lower choir walls. After his death, the work passed from one architect to another and, in 1546, to Michelangelo, whom Pope Paul III had already put in charge of the reorganization of the Capitoline Hill (FIG. 22-23A) in Rome. With the Church facing challenges to its supremacy, the pope surely felt a sense of urgency about the completion of this project. Michelangelo's work on Saint Peter's became a long-term show of dedication, thankless and without pay. Among Michelangelo's difficulties was his struggle to preserve and carry through Bramante's original plan (FIG. 22-22), which he praised and chose to retain as the basis for his own design (FIGS. 22-24 and 22-25). Michelangelo shared Bramante's conviction that a central plan was the ideal form for a church. Always a sculptor at heart, Michelangelo carried his obsession with human form over to architecture and reasoned that buildings should follow the form of the human body. This meant

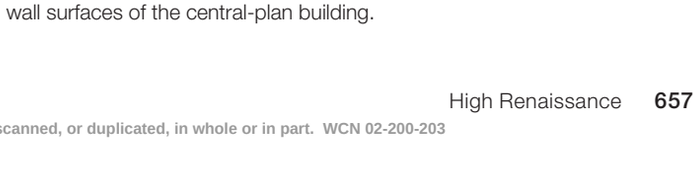


22-23A MICHELANGELO, Campidoglio, Rome, 1538–1564.



22-24 MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI, plan for Saint Peter's, Vatican City, Rome, Italy, 1546.

Michelangelo admired Bramante's plan (FIG. 22-22) for Saint Peter's, but modified it. He replaced the core of interlocking crosses in Bramante's design with a compact domed Greek cross inscribed in a square.



22-25 MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI, aerial view of Saint Peter's (looking northeast), Vatican City, Rome, Italy, 1546–1564. Dome completed by GIACOMO DELLA PORTA, 1590.

The west end of Saint Peter's offers the best view of Michelangelo's intentions. The giant pilasters of his colossal order march around the undulating wall surfaces of the central-plan building.

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organizing their units symmetrically around a central axis, as the arms relate to the body or the eyes to the nose. "For it is an established fact," he wrote, "that the members of architecture resemble the members of man. Whoever neither has been nor is a master at figures, and especially at anatomy, cannot really understand architecture."[8]

In his modification of Bramante's plan, Michelangelo replaced the core of interlocking crosses in Bramante's design with a compact domed *Greek cross* inscribed in a square and fronted with a double-columned portico. Without destroying the centralizing features of Bramante's plan, Michelangelo, with a few strokes of the pen, converted its crystalline complexity into massive, cohesive unity. His treatment of the building's exterior further reveals his interest in creating a unified design. Because of later changes to the front of the church, the west (apse) end (FIG. 22-25) offers the best view of Michelangelo's style and intention. His design incorporated the colossal order, the two-story pilasters first seen in more reserved fashion in Alberti's Mantuan church of Sant'Andrea (FIG. 21-45). The giant pilasters seem to march around the undulating wall surfaces, confining the movement without interrupting it. The architectural sculpturing here extends up from the ground through the attic stories and into the drum and dome, unifying the whole building from base to summit.

The domed west end—as majestic as it is today and as influential as it has been on architecture throughout the centuries—is not quite as Michelangelo intended it. Originally, he had planned a dome with an ogival section, like the one that Brunelleschi designed for Florence Cathedral (FIGS. 14-19, 21-29A, and 21-29B). But in his final version, he decided on a hemispherical dome to temper the verticality of the design of the lower stories and to establish a balance between dynamic and static elements. However, when Giacomo della Porta (FIG. 22-58) executed the dome (FIGS. 22-25 and 24-4) after Michelangelo's death, he restored the earlier high design, ignoring Michelangelo's later version. Giacomo's reasons were probably the same ones that had impelled Brunelleschi to use an ogival section for the Florentine dome—greater stability and ease of construction. The result is that the dome seems to rise from its base, rather than rest firmly on it—an effect Michelangelo might not have approved.

Palazzo Farnese. Another architectural project that Michelangelo took over at the request of Paul III was to complete the construction of the lavish palace (FIG. 22-26) the pope had commissioned when he was Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. The future pope had selected ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE YOUNGER (1483–1546) as the architect. Antonio, the youngest of a family of architects, arrived in Rome around 1503 and became Bramante's draftsman and assistant. He is the perfect example of the professional architect. Indeed, his family constituted an architectural firm, often planning and drafting for other architects.

The broad, majestic front of the Palazzo Farnese asserts to the public the exalted station of a great family. It is significant that Paul chose to enlarge the original rather modest palace to its present grandiose form after his election as head of the Catholic Church in 1534—a reflection of his ambitions both for his family and for the papacy. Facing a spacious paved square, the facade is the very essence of princely dignity in architecture. The *quoins* (*rusticated* building corners) and cornice firmly anchor the rectangle of the smooth front, and lines of windows (the central row with alternating triangular and curved [*segmental*] pediments, in Bramante's fashion) mark a majestic march across it. The window frames project sculpturally from the plane of the facade, a departure from the flush windows in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi (FIG. 21-35). Instead of being a flat, thin plane, the facade is a spatially active three-dimensional mass. In contrast to the comparable features of the palaces of Michelozzo (FIG. 21-35) and Alberti (FIG. 21-37),

22-26 **ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE YOUNGER, Palazzo Farnese (looking southwest), Rome, Italy, 1517–1546; completed by MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI, 1546–1550.**

Pope Paul III commissioned this lavish palace when he was Cardinal Farnese. The facade features a rusticated central doorway and quoins and alternating triangular and segmental pediments.

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22-27 **Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese (looking south), Rome, Italy, ca. 1517–1546. Third story and attic by Michelangelo Buonarroti, 1546–1550.**

The interior courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese set the standard for later Italian palaces. It fully expresses the order, regularity, simplicity, and dignity of the High Renaissance style in architecture.

the Farnese palace's rusticated doorway and second-story balcony, surmounted by the family's coat of arms, emphasize the central axis and bring the design's horizontal and vertical forces into harmony. In the Palazzo Farnese, the portal is the external end of a central corridor axis running through the entire building and continuing in the garden beyond. Around this axis, Sangallo arranged all of the rooms.

The interior courtyard (FIG. 22-27) displays stately column-framed arches on the first two levels, as in the Colosseum (FIG. 7-37). On the third level, Michelangelo, after Sangallo's death in 1546, incorporated his sophisticated variation on that theme (based in part on the Colosseum's fourth-story Corinthian pilasters), with overlapping pilasters replacing the weighty columns of Sangallo's design. The Palazzo Farnese set the standard for Italian Renaissance palaces and fully expresses the classical order, regularity, simplicity, and dignity of the High Renaissance architectural style.

Laurentian Library. Although for most people, Michelangelo personifies the High Renaissance artist, he, like his younger contemporary, the Mannerist architect Giulio Romano (FIGS. 22-47 and 22-48), also experimented with architectural designs that flouted most of the classical rules of order and stability. The restless nature of Michelangelo's genius is evident in the vestibule (FIG. 22-28) he designed for the Medici library adjoining the Florentine church of San Lorenzo. The Laurentian Library had two contrasting spaces that Michelangelo had to unite: the long horizontal of the library proper and the vertical of the vestibule. The need to place the vestibule windows up high (at the level of the reading room) determined the narrow verticality of the vestibule's elevation and proportions. Much taller than it is wide, the vestibule gives the impression of a vertically compressed, shaftlike space. Michelangelo

22-28 **Michelangelo Buonarroti, vestibule of the Laurentian Library, Florence, Italy, 1524–1534; staircase, 1558–1559.**

With his customary independence of spirit, Michelangelo, working in a Mannerist mode in the Laurentian Library vestibule, disposed willfully of almost all the rules of classical architecture.

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used gray pietra serena stone for some of the architectural elements, yet anyone schooled exclusively in the classical architecture of Bramante and the High Renaissance would have been appalled by Michelangelo's indifference here to classical norms in proportion and in the application of the rules of the classical orders. For example, paired columns sink into the walls, where they perform no supporting function. Michelangelo also split columns in halves around corners. Elsewhere, he placed scroll *corbels* on the walls beneath columns. They seem to hang from the moldings, holding up nothing. He arbitrarily broke through pediments as well as through cornices and stringcourses. He sculpted pilasters that taper downward instead of upward. In short, the High Renaissance master, working in a Mannerist mode (discussed in detail in the second section of this chapter), disposed willfully and abruptly of classical architecture. Moreover, in the vast, flowing stairway (the latest element of the vestibule) that protrudes tonguelike into the room from the "mouth" of the doorway to the library, Michelangelo foreshadowed the dramatic movement of Baroque architecture (see "Rethinking the Church Facade," page 717). With his customary trailblazing independence of spirit, Michelangelo created an interior space that conveyed all the strains and tensions found in his statuary and in his painted figures.

Michelangelo's art began in the style of the Quattrocento, became emblematic of High Renaissance art, and, at the end, moved toward Mannerism. He was 89 when he died in 1564, still hard at work on Saint Peter's and other projects. Few artists, then or since, could escape his influence.

Venice

For centuries a major Mediterranean port, Venice served as the gateway to the Orient. After reaching the height of its commercial and political power during the 15th century, the city saw its fortunes decline in the 16th century. Even so, Venice and the Papal States were the only Italian sovereignties to retain their independence during the century of strife. Either France or Spain dominated all others. Although the discoveries in the New World and the economic shift from Italy to areas such as the Netherlands were largely responsible for the decline of Venice, even more immediate and pressing events drained its wealth and power. After their conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Turks began to vie with the Venetians for control of the eastern Mediterranean. The Ottoman Empire evolved into a constant threat to Venice. Early in the century, the European powers of the League of Cambrai also attacked the Italian port city. Formed and led by Pope Julius II, who coveted Venetian holdings on Italy's mainland, the league included Spain, France, and the Holy Roman Empire, in addition to the Papal States.

Despite these challenges, Venice became a flourishing, independent, and influential school of artists and architects. It also was the first Italian city to develop a major retail market for pigments, often mixed with ground glass to enable light to penetrate oil paint. Indeed, Venetian painting soon became known for its vibrant colors, setting it apart from the High Renaissance style of Florence and Rome.

Giovanni Bellini. The leading Venetian painter at the turn of the century, and the one primarily responsible for developing the coloristic High Renaissance painting style of the maritime republic, was Giovanni Bellini (FIG. 21-40). Bellini was widely acclaimed for his many Madonnas, which he painted both in half-length (with or without accompanying saints) on small devotional panels and in full-length on grandiose altarpieces representing a *sacra conversazione* ("holy conversation"). In the sacra conversazione, which became a popular theme for religious paintings from the middle of the 15th century on, saints from different epochs occupy the same space and seem to converse either with each other or with the audience. (Raphael employed much the same concept in his *School of Athens* [FIG. 22-9], where he gathered Greek philosophers of different eras.)

San Zaccaria Altarpiece. Bellini carried on the tradition in the *San Zaccaria Altarpiece* (FIG. 22-29), which he painted in 1505, already in his 70s. (He died in his mid-80s in 1516. Bellini's long career explains in part his profound influence on the next

1 ft.

22-29 **GIOVANNI BELLINI, *Madonna and Child with Saints* (*San Zaccaria Altarpiece*), 1505. Oil on wood transferred to canvas, 16′ 5½″ × 7′ 9″. San Zaccaria, Venice.**

In this sacra conversazione uniting saints from different eras, Bellini created a feeling of serenity and spiritual calm through the harmonious and balanced presentation of color and light.

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generation of Venetian painters.) In an architectural setting that Bellini carefully coordinated with the church's real columns, pilasters, and arches, the Virgin Mary sits enthroned, holding the Christ Child, with saints flanking her. Attributes aid the identification of all the saints: Saint Lucy holds an oil lamp (her name in Latin means "light"; Peter, his key and book; Catherine, the palm of martyrdom and a broken wheel; and Jerome, a book (representing his translation of the Bible into Latin). At the foot of the throne sits an angel playing a viol. The painting radiates a feeling of serenity and spiritual calm. Viewers derive this sense less from the figures (no interaction occurs among them) than from Bellini's harmonious and balanced presentation of color and light. Line is not the chief agent of form, as it generally is in paintings produced in Rome and Florence. Indeed, outlines dissolve in light and shadow. Glowing color produces a soft radiance that envelops the forms with an atmospheric haze and enhances their majestic serenity.

Feast of the Gods. Painted a decade later, *Feast of the Gods* (FIG. 22-30) is one of Bellini's acknowledged masterpieces. By this time, the aged master was already looking to the work of some of his students for inspiration. *Feast of the Gods* draws on the poetic "Arcadian" landscapes of Giorgione da Castelfranco (FIG. 22-31). Derived from Arcadia, a region in southern Greece, the term *Arcadian* referred, by the time of the Renaissance, to an idyllic place of rustic peace and simplicity. After Giorgione's premature death in his early 30s, Bellini embraced his student's interests and, in *Feast of the Gods,* developed a new kind of mythological painting. The duke of Ferrara, Alfonso d'Este (r. 1505–1534), commissioned this work for the Camerino d'Alabastro (Alabaster Room), a private apartment in the Palazzo Ducale complex. Alfonso hired four painters—Bellini, Titian (Bellini's greatest student, discussed later in this chapter), Raphael, and Fra Bartolommeo (1472–1517) of Florence—to provide four paintings of related mythological subjects for the room, carefully selected for the duke by the humanist scholar Mario Equicola (1470–1515). Both Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo died before fulfilling the commission.

Although for his painting Bellini drew some of the figures from the standard repertoire of Greco-Roman art—most notably, the nymph carrying a vase on her head and the sleeping nymph in the lower right corner—the Olympian gods appear as peasants enjoying a picnic in a shady glade. The ancient literary source was the *Fasti* (1:391–440; 6:319–348) of the Roman poet Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE), who described banquets of gods. In Bellini's painting, satyrs attend the gods, nymphs bring jugs of wine, and couples engage in love play. At the far right, Priapus lifts the dress of the sleeping nymph with exposed breast. (All four paintings in the Camerino centered on Venus or Bacchus, the Roman gods of love and wine.) The mellow light of a long afternoon glows softly around the gathering, caressing the surfaces of colorful fabrics, smooth flesh, and polished metal. Here, Bellini communicated the delight the Venetian school took in the beauty of texture revealed by the full resources of gently and subtly harmonized color. Behind the warm, lush tones of the figures, a background of cool green tree-filled glades extends into the distance. At the right, a screen of trees—painted in 1529 by Titian—creates a verdant shelter. The atmosphere is idyllic, a lush countryside providing a setting for the never-ending pleasure of the immortal gods.

With Bellini, Venetian art became the great complement of the schools of Florence and Rome. The Venetians' instrument was color, that of the Florentines and Romans, sculpturesque form. Scholars often distill the contrast between these two approaches down to *colorito* (colored or painted) versus *disegno* (drawing and design). Whereas most central Italian artists emphasized careful design preparation based on preliminary drawing (see "Renaissance Drawings," page 640), Venetian artists focused on color and the process of paint application. Vasari, who held the artists of his native Florence in greater esteem than Venice's, disapprovingly drew attention to the

22-30 GIOVANNI BELLINI, *Feast of the Gods,* from the Camerino d'Alabastro, Palazzo Ducale, Ferrara, Italy, 1514; repainted in part by TITIAN, 1529. Oil on canvas, 5′ 7″ × 6′ 2″. National Gallery of Art, Washington (Widener Collection).

In *Feast of the Gods,* based on Ovid's *Fasti,* Bellini developed a new kind of mythological painting in which the Olympian deities appear as peasants enjoying a picnic in the soft afternoon light.

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A SECOND OPINION

Giorgione's *Tempest*

The Tempest (FIG. 22-31) is the greatest work attributed to the short-lived GIORGIONE DA CASTELFRANCO (ca. 1477–1510), the Venetian artist who deserves much of the credit for developing the poetic manner of painting and whose lush landscapes served as an inspiration for his teacher, Bellini, in works such as *Feast of the Gods* (FIG. 22-30). In Giorgione's *Tempest,* stormy skies and lightning in the middle background threaten the tranquility of the pastoral setting, however. And, in contrast to Bellini and the High Renaissance preference for compositions with weighty central figural groups, Giorgione pushed off to both sides the few human figures depicted—a young woman nursing a baby in the right foreground and, on the left, a clothed man variously identified as a gypsy, shepherd, or soldier.

Much scholarly debate has centered on the painting's subject, fueled by X-rays of the canvas, which revealed that the Venetian master altered many of the details as work progressed. Most notably, a seated nude bathing woman originally occupied the position where Giorgione subsequently placed the standing man. This kind of radical change in the "cast of characters" seems incompatible with a fixed narrative subject, but it has not prevented literally dozens of suggestions regarding who and what is represented. Among the proposals: Eve nursing Cain, viewed by Adam, after the couple have been expelled from Eden, the thunder signifying God's displeasure; the Greek hunter Iasion gazing at his lover, the goddess Demeter/Ceres, who suckles their son, Ploutos—in which case the thunderbolt expresses Zeus/Jupiter's rage; the Virgin Mary nursing the Christ Child seen by one of the shepherds who came to adore the newborn Savior; Venus nursing Cupid, watched by Mars; even Venice personified.

The ambiguity has led many art historians to argue that Giorgione did not intend the painting to have a definitive narrative at all, and that *The Tempest* is simply poesia. That Giorgione ushered in an enduring Venetian interest in landscape and atmospheric effects is, however, certain.

22-31 GIORGIONE DA CASTELFRANCO, *The Tempest,* ca. 1509–1510. Oil on canvas, 2′ 8 1/4″ × 2′ 4 3/4″. Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice.

The subject of Giorgione's painting featuring a nude woman in a lush landscape beneath a stormy sky is uncertain, contributing, perhaps intentionally, to the painting's intriguing air of mystery.

different working methods of the Venetians and attributed them largely to Giorgione (FIG. 22-31):

> Giorgione of Castelfranco . . . made use of live and natural objects and copied them as best he knew how with colors, tinting them with the crude and soft colors that Nature displays, without making preliminary drawings since he was firmly convinced that painting alone with its colors, and without any other preliminary study of designs on paper, was the truest and best method of working.[9]

In addition, the general thematic focus of Venetian artists differed from those of Florence and Rome. The Venetians painted the poetry of the senses and delighted in nature's beauty and the pleasures of humanity. Florentine and Roman artists gravitated toward more intellectual themes—the epic of humanity, the masculine virtues, the grandeur of the ideal, and the lofty conceptions of religion involving the heroic and sublime. Much of the history of later Western art involves a dialogue between these two traditions.

Giorgione. Describing Venetian art as "poetic" is particularly appropriate, given the development of *poesia,* or painting meant to operate in a manner similar to poetry. Both classical and Renaissance poetry inspired Venetian artists, and their paintings focused on the lyrical and sensual. Thus, in many Venetian artworks, identifying specific subjects may be impossible. That is certainly the case with *The Tempest*, a painting that continues to defy interpretation (see "Giorgione's *Tempest,*" above).

Titian. Giorgione's masterful handling of light and color and his interest in landscape, poetry, and music—Vasari reported that he

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1 ft.

22-32 Titian, *Pastoral Symphony,* ca. 1508–1511. Oil on canvas, 3′ 7 1/4″ × 4′ 6 1/4″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Venetian art conjures poetry. In this painting, Titian so eloquently evoked the pastoral mood that the inability to decipher the picture's meaning is not distressing. The mood and rich color are enough.

was an accomplished lutenist and singer—influenced not only his much older yet constantly inquisitive teacher, Bellini, but also his younger contemporary, Tiziano Vecelli, called Titian (ca. 1490–1576) in English. Indeed, a masterpiece long attributed to Giorgione—*Pastoral Symphony* (fig. 22-32)—is now widely believed to be an early work by Titian. Out of dense shadow emerge the soft forms of figures and landscape. Titian, a supreme colorist and master of the oil medium, cast a mood of tranquil reverie and dreaminess over the entire scene, evoking the landscape of a lost but never forgotten paradise. As in Giorgione's *Tempest* (fig. 22-31), the theme is as enigmatic as the lighting. Two nude women occupy the foreground. The seated one resembles the woman in *The Tempest,* but seen from behind. She holds a pipe in her right hand. The standing woman, whose thin garment is about to slip to the ground from her hips (compare fig. 5-84), pours water into a well from a glass pitcher. Accompanying them are two clothed young men, the lute player wearing elegant city clothes, the other barefoot and dressed like a shepherd. The four figures occupy a bountiful landscape. In the middle ground are a shepherd and his sheep. In the distance, a villa crowns a hill.

In *Pastoral Symphony,* Titian so eloquently evoked an Arcadian paradise that the viewer does not find the uncertainty about the picture's precise meaning distressing. The mood is enough. The musician symbolizes the poet. The pipe and lute symbolize his poetry. The two women may be thought of as the young men's invisible inspiration, their muses. Smoky shadow softly models the voluptuous bodies of the women. The fullness of their figures became the standard in Venetian art and contributes to their effect as poetic personifications of nature's abundance. Venetian painters, unlike their counterparts in Florence and Rome, generally painted directly on the canvas without preparatory drawings. Their nudes are neither precise anatomical studies nor idealized forms based on mathematics and geometry.

1 ft.

Assumption of the Virgin. On Bellini's death in 1516, the Republic of Venice appointed Titian as its official painter. Shortly thereafter, the prior of the Franciscan basilica of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari commissioned Titian to paint a gigantic altarpiece (nearly 23 feet high) for the high altar of the church. In *Assumption of the Virgin* (fig. 22-33), a fitting theme for the shrine of the "glorious Saint Mary," Titian's remarkable coloristic sense is again on display. The subject is the ascent of the Virgin to Heaven on a great white cloud borne aloft by putti. Above, golden clouds, so luminous

22-33 Titian, *Assumption of the Virgin,* 1515–1518. Oil on wood, 22′ 7 1/2″ × 11′ 10″. Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.

In this dramatic and richly colored depiction of the Virgin Mary's ascent to Heaven, greeted with open arms by God the Father, the golden clouds seem to glow and radiate light into the church.

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that they seem to glow and radiate light into the church, envelop the Virgin, whose head is on the vertical axis of the composition and is the center of a circle formed by the arched frame and the U-shaped band of clouds. God the Father appears above, slightly off-center, awaiting Mary with open arms. Below, closest to the viewer, over-life-size apostles gesticulate wildly as they witness the glorious event. Many have their backs to the worshipers, who join the apostles as observers looking up with them at the Virgin's miraculous ascent. Through his mastery of the oil medium—fresco was not a good choice for Venetian churches because of the dampness and salinity of this city with saltwater streets—Titian used vibrant color to infuse the image with intensity and amplify the drama.

Pesaro Madonna. A year after installing *Assumption of the Virgin* in the main altar of the Venetian church of the Frari, Titian received a commission to paint another altarpiece for the same church. Jacopo Pesaro (d. 1547), bishop of Paphos in Cyprus and commander of the papal fleet, had led a successful expedition in 1502 against the Turks during the Venetian-Turkish war. He dedicated a family chapel in Santa Maria Gloriosa and donated Titian's *Pesaro Madonna* altarpiece (FIG. 22-34) in gratitude. In a stately sunlit setting in what may be the Madonna's palace in Heaven, Mary receives the commander, who kneels dutifully at the foot of her throne. A soldier (Saint George?) behind the commander carries a banner with the *escutcheons* (shields with coats of arms) of the Borgia pope, Alexander VI, and of Pesaro. Behind him is a turbaned Turk, a prisoner of war of the Christian forces. Saint Peter appears on the steps of the throne, and Saint Francis introduces other Pesaro family members, who kneel solemnly in the right foreground. (All of the kneeling figures are male. Italian depictions of donors in this era typically excluded women and children.) Thus Titian entwined the human and the heavenly, depicting the Madonna and saints honoring the achievements of a specific man. A quite worldly transaction takes place (albeit beneath a heavenly cloud bearing angels) between a queen and her court and loyal servants, consistent with Renaissance protocol and courtly splendor.

A prime characteristic of High Renaissance painting is the massing of weighty figures, singly and in groups, in a majestic architectural setting. But here Titian did not compose a horizontal and symmetrical arrangement, as did Leonardo in *Last Supper* (FIG. 22-4) and Raphael in *School of Athens* (FIG. 22-9). Rather, using a triangular composition, he placed the figures on a steep diagonal, positioning the Madonna at the apex, well off the central axis. Titian drew attention to her with the perspective lines, the inclination of the figures, and the directional lines of gaze and gesture. The banner that forms a diagonal accent at the left beautifully provides a counterpoint, bringing the design into equilibrium, balancing the rightward and upward tendencies of its main direction. This dynamic composition breaks with most High Renaissance examples and foreshadowed a new kind of pictorial design—one built on movement rather than rest. It also anticipated some of the most daring illusionistic mural and ceiling paintings of the Baroque era in taking the viewer's position into consideration (see "How to Make a Ceiling Disappear," page 728). The *Pesaro Madonna* is on the wall in the left aisle of the Frari church. Worshipers approach the painting from the nave, turn, and look up at the Virgin in the same way that Jacopo Pesaro does. Then, if they turn to the right and look at the apse, they see Titian's *Assumption of the Virgin* (FIG. 22-33).

22-34 **TITIAN, *Pesaro Madonna,* 1519–1526. Oil on canvas, 15′ 11″ × 8′ 10″. Pesaro Chapel, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.**

Foreshadowing a new kind of pictorial design, Titian placed the figures on a steep diagonal, positioning the Madonna, the focus of his dynamic composition, well off the central axis.

Bacchus and Ariadne. After the deaths of Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo, Titian took over their commissions to paint *bacchanal* scenes for Alfonso d'Este's Camerino d'Alabastro, in addition to his own assignment. Titian also contributed the landscape background to Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* (FIG. 22-30). Completed in 1523, *Meeting of Bacchus and Ariadne* (FIG. 22-35), based on an ancient Latin poem by Catullus (d. 54 BCE), is a roughly 6-foot-square canvas in which Bacchus, accompanied by a boisterous group, arrives on the island of Naxos in a leopard-drawn chariot to save Ariadne, whom Theseus had abandoned there. Consistent with the mythological subject, Titian looked to classical art for models and derived one of the figures, the snake-entwined satyr, from the recently unearthed *Laocoön* (FIG. 5-89), a marble statue that also made an indelible impression on Michelangelo and many others. Titian's rich and luminous colors, especially his lavish use of ultramarine, the most expensive oil pigment, add greatly to the sensuous appeal of the painting, making it perfect for what Alfonso called his "pleasure chamber."

Venus of Urbino. In 1538, at the height of his powers, Titian painted the so-called *Venus of Urbino* (FIG. 22-36), probably for Guidobaldo II, who became the duke of Urbino the following year (r. 1539–1574). The title (given to the painting later) elevates to the status of classical mythology what is probably a representation of a sensual Italian woman in her bedchamber. Whether the nude

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1 ft.

22-35 Titian, *Meeting of Bacchus and Ariadne,* from the Camerino d'Alabastro, Palazzo Ducale, Ferrara, Italy, 1522–1523. Oil on canvas, 5′ 9″ × 6′ 3″. National Gallery, London.

Titian's rich and luminous colors add greatly to the sensuous appeal of this mythological painting in which he based one of the figures on the recently unearthed *Laocoön* (FIG. 5-89).

woman is divine or mortal, Titian based his version on an earlier (and pioneering) painting of Venus by Giorgione (not illustrated). Here, Titian established the compositional elements and the standard for paintings of the reclining female nude. This "Venus" reclines on the gentle slope of her luxurious pillowed couch. Her softly rounded body contrasts with the sharp vertical edge of the curtain behind her, which serves to direct the viewer's attention to her left hand and pelvis as well as to divide the foreground from the background. At the woman's feet is a slumbering lapdog—where Cupid would be if this were Venus (compare FIG. 7-60). In the right background, two servants bend over a chest, apparently searching for garments (Renaissance households stored clothing in carved wood chests called *cassoni*) to clothe their reclining nude mistress. Beyond them, a smaller vista opens into a landscape. Titian masterfully constructed the view backward into the room and the division of the space into progressively smaller units.

As in other Venetian paintings, color plays a prominent role in *Venus of Urbino.* The red tones of the matron's skirt and the muted reds of the tapestries against the neutral whites of the matron's sleeves and the kneeling girl's gown echo the deep Venetian reds set off against the pale neutral whites of the linen and the warm ivory gold of the flesh. The viewer must study the picture carefully to realize the subtlety of color planning. For instance, the two deep reds (in the foreground cushions and in the background skirt) play a critical role in the composition as a gauge of distance and as indicators of an implied diagonal opposed to the real one of the reclining figure. Here, Titian used color not simply to record surface appearance but also to organize his placement of forms.

1 ft.

22-36 Titian, *Venus of Urbino,* 1536–1538. Oil on canvas, 3′ 11″ × 5′ 5″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Titian established oil-based pigment on canvas as the preferred painting medium in Western art. Here, he also set the standard for representations of the reclining female nude, whether divine or mortal.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Women in the Renaissance Art World

The Renaissance art world was decidedly male dominated. Few women could become professional artists because of the many obstacles they faced. In particular, training practices requiring residence in a master's house (see "Artists' Guilds," page 430) prevented women from gaining the necessary experience to establish their own studios and attract patrons. In addition, social proscriptions, such as those barring women from drawing from nude models and from traveling alone to work on commissions far from home, hampered an aspiring woman artist's advancement in Renaissance Europe.

22-36A FONTANA, *Portrait of a Noblewoman,* ca. 1580.

Still, some determined Renaissance women surmounted these barriers and produced not only considerable bodies of work but earned enviable reputations as well. One was Sofonisba Anguissola (FIG. 22-44), the first Italian woman to have ascended to the level of international art celebrity. LAVINIA FONTANA (1552–1614; FIG. 22-36A) also achieved notable success, and her paintings constitute the largest surviving body of work by any woman artist before 1700.

Perhaps more challenging for women than the road to becoming a professional painter was the mastery of sculpture, made more difficult by the physical demands of the medium. Yet Properzia de' Rossi (ca. 1490–1530) established herself as a professional sculptor and was the only woman artist Vasari included in his *Lives*. Active in the early 16th century, she died of the plague in 1530, bringing her promising career to an early end.

Beyond the realm of art production, Renaissance women exerted significant influence as art patrons—and probably to a much greater degree than the available evidence suggests, because women often wielded their influence and decision-making power behind the scenes. Many of them attained their positions through marriage. Their power was thus indirect and provisional, based on their husbands' wealth and status. Thus documentation of the networks within which women patrons operated and of the processes they used to exert power in a society dominated by men is meager compared to what is known about male patrons.

Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that one of the most important Renaissance art patrons, male or female, was Isabella d'Este (1474–1539), the marquess of Mantua, one of the leading art centers of Renaissance Italy (see "Mantua," page 628). The daughter of Ercole d'Este, duke of Ferrara (r. 1471–1505), and brought up in the cultured princely court there, Isabella married Marquis Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua in 1490. The marriage gave Isabella access to the position and wealth necessary to become a major force in the Renaissance art world. An avid collector, she enlisted the aid of agents who scoured Italy for appealing artworks. Isabella did not limit her collection to painting and sculpture but included ceramics, glassware, gems, cameos, medals, classical texts, musical manuscripts, and musical instruments. She also commissioned several portraits of herself from the most esteemed artists of her day—Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea Mantegna, and Titian (FIG. 22-37). The detail and complexity of many of Isabella's contracts with artists reveal her insistence on control over the diverse series of works that she paid for.

22-37 TITIAN, *Isabella d'Este,* 1534–1536. Oil on canvas, 3′ $4\frac{1}{8}$″ × 2′ $1\frac{3}{16}$″. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Isabella d'Este, marquess of Mantua, was one of the most powerful women of the Renaissance era. When, at age 60, she hired Titian to paint her portrait, she insisted that the artist depict her in her 20s.

Other Renaissance women also positioned themselves as serious art patrons. One was Caterina Sforza (1462–1509), daughter of Galeazzo Maria Sforza (heir to the duchy of Milan), who married Girolamo Riario (1443–1488) in 1484. The death of her husband, lord of Imola and count of Forlì, gave Sforza, who survived him by two decades, access to power denied most women. Another female art patron was Lucrezia Tornabuoni (1425–1482), who married Piero di Cosimo de' Medici (1416–1469), one of many Medici, both men and women, who earned reputations as lavish art patrons.

Further archival investigation of women's roles in Renaissance Italy undoubtedly will produce more evidence of how women established themselves as patrons and artists and the extent to which they contributed to the careers of various artists and the development of Renaissance art in general.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Palma il Giovane on Titian

An important change occurring in the mid-16th century was the almost universal adoption of canvas, primed with a coat of white to furnish a smooth surface, in place of wood panels for paintings. The most famous painter of the time was Titian, and his works established oil-based pigment on canvas as the standard medium of the Western pictorial tradition thereafter. Palma il Giovane, one of Titian's students, who completed the *Pietà* (FIG. 22-38) that Titian intended for his tomb in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, wrote a valuable account of his teacher's working methods and of how Titian used the new medium to great advantage:

> Titian [employed] a great mass of colors, which served . . . as a base for the compositions. . . . I too have seen some of these, formed with bold strokes made with brushes laden with colors, sometimes of a pure red earth, which he used, so to speak, for a middle tone, and at other times of white lead; and with the same brush tinted with red, black and yellow he formed a highlight; and observing these principles he made the promise of an exceptional figure appear in four brushstrokes. . . . Having constructed these precious foundations, he used to turn his pictures to the wall and leave them there without looking at them, sometimes for several months. When he wanted to apply his brush again he would examine them with the utmost rigor . . . to see if he could find any faults. . . . In this way, working on the figures and revising them, he brought them to the most perfect symmetry that the beauty of art and nature can reveal. . . . [T]hus he gradually covered those quintessential forms with living flesh, bringing them by many stages to a state in which they lacked only the breath of life.
>
> He never painted a figure all at once and . . . in the last stages he painted more with his fingers than his brushes.*

*Francesco Valcanover, *Titian: Prince of Painters* (Venice: Marsilio, 1990), 23–24.

1 ft.

22-38 **TITIAN and PALMA IL GIOVANE, *Pietà,* ca. 1570–1576. Oil on canvas, 11′ 6″ × 12′ 9″. Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice.**

In this late work characterized by broad brushstrokes and a thick impasto, Titian portrayed himself as Saint Jerome kneeling before the dead Christ. Titian intended the work for his own tomb.

Isabella d'Este. Titian was also a highly esteemed portraitist. More than 50 portraits by his hand survive, reflecting the great demand for his services by wealthy patrons desirous of immortalizing themselves. One of Titian's best portraits is of Isabella d'Este (FIG. 22-37), one of the most prominent women of the Renaissance (see "Women in the Renaissance Art World," page 666). Isabella was the sister of Alfonso d'Este, for whom Titian painted three mythological scenes for the Ferrara ducal palace. At 16, she married Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua (1466–1519; FIG. 21-48), and through her patronage of art and music was instrumental in developing the Mantuan court into an important cultural center. Portraits by Titian generally emphasize his psychological reading of the subject's head and hands. Thus here Titian sharply highlighted Isabella's face, whereas her black dress fades into the undefined darkness of the background. The unseen light source also illuminates the sitter's hands, and Titian painted the sleeves of Isabella's elegant gown with incredible detail to further draw viewers' attention to her hands. This portrait reveals not only Titian's skill but the patron's wish too. Painted when Isabella was 60 years old, the portrait depicts her in her 20s—at her specific request. Titian used an earlier likeness of her as his guide, but his portrait is no copy. Rather, *Isabella d'Este* is a distinctive portrayal of the artist's poised and self-assured patron that owes little to its model.

Pietà. As Michelangelo had done late in his life, Titian began to contemplate death and salvation, and around 1570 he decided to create a memorial for his tomb. Titian, too, chose the Pietà as his theme, albeit for a painting (FIG. 22-38), not a statuary group, as in

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Michelangelo's case (FIG. 22-20). Intended for the altar of his burial chapel in the right aisle of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari in Venice, which housed two of his earlier altarpieces (FIGS. 22-33 and 22-34), Titian's *Pietà* remained unfinished when he died of the plague in 1576. His assistant, Jacopo Negretti, known as PALMA IL GIOVANE (1548–1628)—Palma the Younger—completed the painting.

Titian set the scene of grief over Christ's death in a rusticated niche reminiscent of the bays of Sansovino's Venetian Mint (FIG. 22-53A, *left*). The Virgin cradles her son's body, while Mary Magdalene runs forward with her right arm raised in a gesture of extreme distress. (Echoing her form, but in reverse, is the torch-carrying angel added by Palma.) The other penitent mourner is Saint Jerome, seen from behind kneeling at the Savior's side. His head has the features of the aged, balding Titian—another parallel with Michelangelo's *Pietà.* Both artists apparently wanted to portray themselves touching Christ's body, hoping for salvation.

For this huge (roughly 12-foot-square) canvas, Titian employed one of his favorite compositional devices (compare FIG. 22-34), creating a bold diagonal movement beginning at Jerome's feet and leading through Christ, the Virgin, and Mary Magdalene to the statue of Moses with the Ten Commandments at the left. (The other statue represents Faith. The votive painting leaning against its pedestal depicts Titian and his son Orazio, who also died of the plague in 1576, praying before another *Pietà.*) But unlike Titian's early and mature works, in which he used smooth and transparent oil glazes, this *Pietà* features broken brushstrokes and rough, uneven patches of pigment built up like paste (*impasto*) so that they catch the light, like his other late paintings. Many Baroque painters, especially Peter Paul Rubens (FIGS. 25-2, 25-3, and 25-4) and Rembrandt van Rijn (FIGS. 25-12, 25-13, 25-14, and 25-15), subsequently adopted Titian's innovative and highly expressive manner of applying thick paint to canvas (see "Palma il Giovane on Titian," page 667).

MANNERISM

The High Renaissance styles of Rome, Florence, and Venice dominated Italian painting, sculpture, and architecture for most of the 16th century, but as early as the 1520s, leading artists of the post-Leonardo, post-Raphael generation began to explore new modes of artistic expression. Art historians long ago began to use the term *Mannerism* to characterize the work of these artists. The term derives from the Italian word *maniera,* meaning "style" or "manner," which in turn derives from *mano* ("hand"). In the field of art history, the term *style* usually refers to a characteristic or representative mode, especially of an artist or period (for example, Titian's style or Gothic style or the maniera greca). Style can also refer to an absolute quality of fashion (for example, someone "has style" or "is stylish"). The first art historians to adopt the term argued that Mannerism's style (or representative mode) was characterized by style (being stylish, cultured, elegant).

The term is unfortunate in many respects. First, when originally applied to the artworks examined in this section, "Mannerism" had negative connotations, just as "Gothic" did when first used by Giorgio Vasari. Mannerist works are not, however, of inferior quality compared to High Renaissance works, although they are unquestionably different. Second, Mannerism is not a unified style. It encompasses diverse contemporaneous personal styles, even if they all represent a break from High Renaissance norms. Nonetheless, "Mannerism," like "Gothic," is too firmly entrenched in the vocabulary of the history of art to be discarded.

Painting

What specifically constitutes Mannerism in painting? Among the features most closely associated with Mannerism is artifice. Of course, all art involves artifice, in the sense that art is not "natural." It is something fashioned by human hands. But many artists, including High Renaissance painters such as Leonardo and Raphael, chose

22-39 JACOPO DA PONTORMO, *Entombment of Christ,* Capponi chapel, Santa Felicità, Florence, Italy, 1525–1528. Oil on wood, 10′ 3″ × 6′ 4″.

Mannerist paintings such as this one represent a departure from the compositions of the earlier Renaissance. Instead of concentrating masses in the center of the painting, Pontormo left a void.

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to conceal that artifice by using devices such as perspective and shading to make their representations of the world look natural. By contrast, Mannerist painters consciously revealed the constructed nature of their art. In other words, High Renaissance artists generally strove to create art that appeared natural, whereas Mannerist artists were less inclined to disguise the contrived nature of art production. This is why artifice is a central feature of discussions about Mannerism, and why Mannerist works can seem, appropriately, "mannered." The conscious display of artifice in Mannerism often reveals itself in imbalanced compositions and unusual complexities, both visual and conceptual. Ambiguous space, departures from expected conventions, elongated or distorted forms, and unusual presentations of traditional themes also surface frequently in Mannerist painting.

Pontormo. Set in a century-old chapel designed by Brunelleschi in the Florentine church of Santa Felicità, *Entombment of Christ* (FIG. 22-39) by the Florentine painter Jacopo Carucci, known as JACOPO DA PONTORMO (1494–1557) after his birthplace, exhibits almost all the stylistic features characteristic of Mannerism's early phase in painting—as does *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (FIG. 22-39A) by Pontormo's older contemporary DOMENICO BECCAFUMI (1481–1551). Christ's descent from the cross and subsequent entombment had frequently been depicted in art, and Pontormo exploited the familiarity that 16th-century viewers would have had by playing off their expectations. For example, he omitted from the painting both the cross and the tomb, and consequently scholars debate whether the artist meant to represent Christ's descent from the cross or his entombment. Also, instead of presenting the action as taking place across the perpendicular picture plane, as Rogier van der Weyden did (FIG. 20-13; compare FIG. 14-10), Pontormo rotated the conventional figural groups along a vertical axis. Several of the figures seem to float in the air. Those that touch the ground do so on tiptoes, enhancing the sense of weightlessness, particularly of Christ's body. Unlike High Renaissance artists,

22-39A BECCAFUMI, *Fall of the Rebel Angels,* ca. 1524.

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

How to Impress a Pope

1 in.

22-40 PARMIGIANINO, *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror,* 1524. Oil on wood, 9 5/8″ diameter. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Painted to impress Pope Clement VII with his virtuosity, Parmigianino's self–portrait brilliantly reproduces the young Mannerist's distorted appearance as seen in a barber's convex mirror.

Because Renaissance artists depended on commissions from churches, town councils, princes, and wealthy merchants, attracting the attention of a prominent patron early in one's career was essential if the artist was going to enjoy success. When he was 21, Parmigianino, who soon became a leading figure among the Mannerists who were exploring stylistic alternatives to the classical art of Raphael, devised an unusual way to impress Pope Clement VII with his skill. During a visit to a barber's shop, Parmigianino saw his reflection in a convex mirror, which inspired him to paint a self-portrait (FIG. 22-40) of unconventional format with the intention of presenting it to Pope Clement VII as a demonstration of his virtuosity.

To imitate the appearance of a convex mirror, Parmigianino had a carpenter prepare a section of a wood sphere of the same size and shape as a barber's mirror (about 10 inches in diameter) and used oil glazes to produce a surface luster that heightened the illusion of the viewer looking into a mirror and not at a painting. The viewer in this case is also the painter, whose handsome countenance Giorgio Vasari described as an angel's, not a man's. The pope remarked that Parmigianino's portrait of himself in his studio was "a marvel" and "astonishing" in its success in creating the appearance of someone gazing at his reflection. As in a real convex mirror, the artist's face—at the center of the reflective surface and some distance from it—is free of distortion, but his hand and sleeve are of exaggerated size. The emphasis on the hand no doubt is also a statement on Parmigianino's part about the supreme importance of the painter's hand in fashioning an artwork. That emphasis on artifice as the essence of painting is the core principle of Mannerism.

Parmigianino, whom Vasari described as possessing charm as well as good looks and precocious artistic talent, quickly became the favorite painter of the elite in Rome, the successor to Raphael, who had died just four years before Parmigianino's arrival at the papal court.

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who concentrated their masses in the center of the painting, Pontormo left a void. This emptiness accentuates the grouping of hands filling that hole, calling attention to the void—symbolic of loss and grief. The artist enhanced the painting's ambiguity with the curiously anxious glances the figures cast in all directions. (The bearded young man at the upper right who looks out at the viewer is probably a self-portrait of Pontormo.) Many of the figures have elastically elongated limbs and undersized heads, and move unnaturally. For example, the torso of the foreground figure bends in an anatomically impossible way. The contrasting colors, primarily light blues and pinks, add to the dynamism and complexity of the work. The painting represents a pronounced departure from the balanced, harmoniously structured compositions of the High Renaissance.

Parmigianino. Nine years younger than Pontormo, Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola of Parma, known as PARMIGIANINO (1503–1540), achieved a reputation as a gifted painter while still in his teens, and at age 21, he made a deep impression on Pope Clement VII with an unconventional self-portrait (see "How to Impress a Pope," page 669).

Parmigianino's best-known work, however, is *Madonna with the Long Neck* (FIG. 22-41), which exemplifies the elegant stylishness that was a principal aim of Mannerism. In Parmigianino's hands, this traditional, usually sedate, religious subject became a picture of exquisite grace and precious sweetness. The Madonna's small oval head, her long and slender neck, the otherworldly attenuation and delicacy of her hand, and the sinuous, swaying elongation of her frame—all are marks of the sophisticated courtly taste of Mannerist artists and patrons alike. Parmigianino amplified this elegance by expanding the Madonna's form as viewed from head to toe. Christ's unusually long body seems to drape across his mother's lap, threatening to spill into the painting's foreground. On the left stands a bevy of angelic creatures, exuding emotions as soft and smooth as their limbs. On the right, the artist included a tall white column without a capital and a long series of column bases without shafts. At the lower right corner of the canvas is a mysterious figure with a scroll, perhaps Saint James. His distance from the foreground is immeasurable and ambiguous—the antithesis of systematic Renaissance size diminution with distance.

Although the elegance and beauty of the painting are due in large part to the Madonna's attenuated neck and arms, that exaggeration is not solely decorative in purpose. *Madonna with the Long Neck* takes its subject from a simile in medieval hymns comparing the Virgin's neck with a great ivory tower or column, such as the one Parmigianino depicted to the right of the Madonna.

Bronzino. *Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time* (FIG. 22-42), by Agnolo di Cosimo, called BRONZINO (1503–1572), also displays all the chief features of Mannerist painting. A pupil of Pontormo, Bronzino was a Florentine and painter to the first grand duke of Tuscany, Cosimo I de' Medici (r. 1537–1574). In this painting, which Cosimo commissioned as a gift for King Francis I of France (see "Francis I, Royal Art Patron and Collector," page 703), Bronzino demonstrated the Mannerists' love of learned allegories with erotic undertones, a shift from the content and tone of High Renaissance art. Bronzino depicted Cupid—here not an infant but an adolescent who has reached puberty—fondling his mother, Venus, while provocatively thrusting his buttocks at the viewer. Folly prepares to shower the "couple" with rose petals. Time, who appears in the upper right corner, draws back the curtain to reveal the playful incest in progress.

22-41 **PARMIGIANINO, *Madonna with the Long Neck*, from the Baiardi Chapel, Santa Maria dei Servi, Parma, Italy, 1534–1540. Oil on wood, 7′ 1″ × 4′ 4″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.**

Parmigianino's Madonna displays the stylish elegance that was a principal aim of Mannerism. Mary has a small oval head, a long and slender neck, attenuated hands, and a sinuous body.

Other figures in the painting represent other human qualities and emotions, including Envy. The masks, a favorite device of the Mannerists, symbolize deceit.

Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time* seems to suggest that love—accompanied by envy and plagued by inconstancy—is foolish and that lovers will discover its folly in time. But as in many Mannerist paintings, the meaning here is ambiguous, and interpretations of the painting vary. Compositionally, Bronzino placed the figures around the front plane, and they almost entirely block the space. The contours are strong and sculptural, the surfaces of enamel smoothness. Of special interest are the heads, hands, and feet, for the Mannerists considered the extremities to be the carriers of grace, and the clever depiction of them evidence of artistic skill.

Eleanora of Toledo. In 1540, Cosimo I de' Medici married Eleanora of Toledo (1519–1562), daughter of Charles V's viceroy

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1 ft.

22-42 Bronzino, *Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time,* ca. 1546. Oil on wood, 5′ 1″ × 4′ 8 1/4″. National Gallery, London.

Bronzino's painting of Cupid fondling his mother, Venus, exemplifies the Mannerists' love of learned allegories with erotic undertones. As in many Mannerist works, the meaning is ambiguous.

in Naples, and thereby cemented an important alliance with the Spanish court. Several years later, Cosimo asked Bronzino to paint Eleanora and their second son, Giovanni (FIG. 22-43), who then was about three years old. Bronzino painted dozens of portraits of members of the Medici family, but never portrayed Eleanora with any of her daughters (she and Cosimo had three daughters as well as eight sons). This painting therefore should be seen as a formal dynastic portrait intended to present the duke's wife as the mother of one of his heirs.

As in other Bronzino portraits (FIG. 22-43A), the subjects appear aloof and emotionless. Bronzino idealized both Eleanora and Giovanni, giving both of them perfect features and blemishless skin that glows like alabaster. Eleanora's figure takes up most of the panel's surface, and Bronzino further underscored her primacy by lightening the blue background around her head, creating a halolike frame for her face and perhaps associating the mother and son with the Madonna and Christ Child.

22-43A Bronzino, *Portrait of a Young Man,* ca. 1530–1545.

Seated with one arm around Giovanni and the other resting on her lap, Eleanora looks out at the viewer with cool detachment. She is richly attired in a brocaded gown and wears a costly pearl necklace and a tiara. The painter reproduced the various textures of fabric, jewels, hair, and flesh with supreme skill. The boy stands stiffly, staring forward, suppressing all playful thoughts in order to behave as expected on this formal occasion. Bronzino's portrayal of Eleanora and Giovanni is in some ways less a portrait of a mother and child than of a royal audience.

Sofonisba Anguissola. The aloof formality of Bronzino's dynastic portrait is much relaxed in the portraiture of Sofonisba Anguissola (ca. 1532–1625) of Cremona in northern Italy. Anguissola introduced a new kind of group portrait of irresistible charm, characterized by an informal intimacy and by subjects that are often moving, conversing, or engaged in activities. Like many of the other works she produced before settling in Spain in 1559, the portrait illustrated here

1 ft.

22-43 Bronzino, *Eleanora of Toledo and Giovanni de' Medici,* ca. 1546. Oil on wood, 3′ 9 1/4″ × 3′ 1 3/4″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Bronzino was the official portraitist of Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici. He portrayed Cosimo's Spanish wife and their second son as coolly detached personalities. Eleanora wears a brocaded gown, necklace, and tiara.

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22-44 Sofonisba Anguissola, *Portrait of the Artist's Sisters and Brother,* ca. 1555. Oil on wood, 2′ $5\frac{1}{4}$″ × 3′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″. Methuen Collection, Corsham Court, Wiltshire.

Anguissola was the leading woman artist of her time. Her contemporaries admired her use of relaxed poses and expressions in intimate and informal group portraits such as this one of her family.

represents members of her family. Against a neutral ground, Anguissola placed her two sisters and brother in an affectionate pose meant not for official display but for private showing (FIG. 22-44). The sisters, wearing matching striped gowns, flank their brother, who caresses a lapdog. The older sister (at the left) summons the dignity required for the occasion, while the boy looks quizzically at the portraitist with an expression of naive curiosity, and the other girl diverts her attention toward something or someone to the painter's left.

Anguissola's use of relaxed poses and expressions, her sympathetic personal presentation, and her graceful treatment of the forms brought her international acclaim (see "Women in the Renaissance Art World," page 666). She was praised by the aged Michelangelo, was court painter to Phillip II (r. 1556–1598) of Spain, and, at the end of her life, gave advice on art to a young admirer of her work, Anthony Van Dyck (FIG. 25-5), the great Flemish master.

Sculpture

Mannerism extended beyond painting. Artists translated its principles into sculpture and architecture as well.

Benvenuto Cellini. Among those who made their mark as Mannerist sculptors was Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), the author of a fascinating autobiography. It is difficult to imagine a medieval artist composing an autobiography. Only in the Renaissance, with the birth of the notion of individual artistic genius, could a work such as Cellini's (or Vasari's *Lives*) have been conceived and written. Cellini's literary self-portrait presents him not only as a highly accomplished artist but also as a statesman, soldier, and lover, among many other roles.

22-45 Benvenuto Cellini, *Saltcellar of Francis I,* 1540–1543. Gold, enamel, and ebony, $10\frac{1}{4}$″ × 1′ $1\frac{1}{8}$″. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Famed as a master goldsmith, Cellini fashioned this costly saltcellar for the table of Francis I of France. The elongated proportions of the figures clearly reveal Cellini's Mannerist approach to form.

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22-45A Cellini, *Genius of Fontainebleau,* 1542–1543.

Cellini was, first of all, a goldsmith, but only one of his major works in that medium survives, the saltcellar (fig. 22-45) he fashioned for the royal table of Francis I (see "Francis I, Royal Art Patron and Collector," page 703). The king had hired Cellini with a retainer of an annual salary, supplemented by fees for the works he produced—for example, his *Genius of Fontainebleau* (fig. 22-45A) for the royal hunting lodge outside Paris. The price Francis paid Cellini for the luxurious gold-and-enamel saltcellar illustrated here was almost 50 percent greater than the artist's salary for the year.

The two sculpted figures of Cellini's saltcellar are Neptune and Tellus (or, as the artist named them, Sea—the source of salt—and Land). They recline atop an ebony base decorated with relief figures of Dawn, Day, Twilight, Night, and the four winds—some based on Michelangelo's statues in the New Sacristy (fig. 22-16) attached to San Lorenzo. The boat next to Neptune's right leg is the salt container, and the triumphal arch (compare fig. 7-76) next to the right leg of the earth goddess held the pepper. The elongated proportions of the figures, especially the slim, small-breasted figure of Tellus, whom ancient artists always represented as a matronly woman (fig. 7-30), reveal Cellini's Mannerist approach to form.

Giambologna. The lure of Italy drew a brilliant young Flemish sculptor, Jean de Boulogne, to Florence, where he practiced his art under the equivalent Italian name of Giovanni da Bologna or, in its more common contracted form, Giambologna (1529–1608). His *Abduction of the Sabine Women* (fig. 22-46) exemplifies Mannerist principles of figure composition in sculpture. Drawn from the legendary history of Rome, the group of figures received its current title—relating how the early Romans abducted wives for themselves from the neighboring Sabines—only after its exhibition. Earlier, it was *Paris Abducting Helen,* among other mythological titles. In fact, the sculptor did not intend to depict any particular subject. He created the group as a demonstration piece. His goal was to achieve a dynamic spiral figural composition involving an old man, a young man, and a woman, all nude in the tradition of ancient statues of deities and mythological figures.

Although Giambologna would have known Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Hercules and Antaeus* (fig. 21-13), whose Greek hero lifts his opponent off the ground, he turned directly to ancient sculpture for inspiration, especially to the much-admired *Laocoön* (fig. 5-89), discovered in Rome earlier in the century. *Abduction of the Sabine Women* includes references to that ancient statue in the crouching old man and in the woman's up-flung arm. The three bodies interlock on a vertical axis, creating an ascending spiral movement.

To appreciate *Abduction of the Sabine Women* fully, the viewer must walk around the statuary group, because the work changes radically according to the viewing point. The open spaces passing through the masses (for example, the space between an arm and a body) have as great an effect as the solids, and they contribute greatly to the shifting imagery. This sculpture was the first large-scale group since classical antiquity designed to be seen from multiple viewpoints, although Giambologna's figures do not break out of the spiral vortex but remain as if contained within a cylinder.

22-46 Giambologna, *Abduction of the Sabine Women,* Loggia dei Lanzi, Piazza della Signoria, Florence, Italy, 1579–1583. Marble, 13′ 5½″ high.

This sculpture was the first large-scale group since classical antiquity designed to be seen from multiple viewpoints. The three bodies interlock to create a vertical spiral movement.

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THE PATRON'S VOICE

Federigo Gonzaga, Giulio Romano, and the Palazzo del Tè

Just as the clergy were the primary source of artistic commissions during the Middle Ages, Renaissance patrons, whether popes, dukes, or bankers, had a powerful—often a controlling—voice in the content and even the form of the artworks they paid for (see "Art in the Princely Courts of Renaissance Italy," page 625, and "Michelangelo, Pope Julius II, and the Sistine Chapel," page 635). But there were also many instances of a give-and-take between artists and patrons. One well-documented example is the relationship between Federigo Gonzaga, duke of Mantua, and Giulio Romano, the painter and architect whom he lured to northern Italy in 1524. Giorgio Vasari describes in detail how Gonzaga showered Giulio with gifts and then accepted the artist's proposal to construct a grandiose palace when the duke had planned only to invest in a modest retreat:

> Giulio was celebrated as the best artist in Italy after the death of Raphael, and Count Baldassare Castiglione [FIG. 22-10A], in Rome at that time as the ambassador of Federigo Gonzaga, . . . was ordered to procure an architect . . . and the count worked at this so diligently with entreaties and promises that Giulio declared he would go at any time provided it was by the leave of Pope Clement. Once this permission had been obtained, . . . Castiglione presented Giulio to [Federigo] who, after many acts of kindness, gave Giulio an honorably furnished home and provided a salary and food for him. . . . [and] sent Giulio several lengths of velvet and satin, as well as other kinds of cloth and fabric for his clothing. And afterwards, learning that Giulio had no horse, he had one of his own favorite horses, called Luggieri, brought out and gave it to Giulio, and when Giulio had mounted the horse, they went off . . . to where His Excellency had a place and some stables called the Te in the middle of a meadow. . . . [Federigo declared] he would like to prepare a small place where he could go and take refuge on occasion to have lunch or amuse himself at dinner. . . . Giulio surveyed everything, took the ground-plan for the site, and set to work. . . . [Federigo] later decided, after such a humble beginning, to make the entire edifice into a grand palace [FIG. 22-47], for Giulio executed a very beautiful model, its courtyard [FIG. 22-48] rusticated inside and out, which pleased that ruler so much that he ordered an ample provision of money.*

*Giorgio Vasari, "The Life of Giulio Romano, Painter," translated by Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella, *Giorgio Vasari: The Lives of the Artists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 366–367.

22-47 GIULIO ROMANO, aerial view of the Palazzo del Tè (looking north), Mantua, Italy, 1525–1535.

Federigo Gonzaga originally intended to build a modest country villa, but the duke liked Giulio Romano's first design so much that he asked the architect to enlarge it to palatial scale with additional wings.

22-48 GIULIO ROMANO, courtyard of the Palazzo del Tè (looking southeast), Mantua, Italy, 1525–1535.

Federico Gonzaga was greatly pleased by Giulio's Mannerist divergences from architectural convention in the Palazzo del Tè. The design constitutes a parody of Bramante's classical style.

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Architecture

Mannerist architects used classical architectural elements in a highly personal and unorthodox manner, rejecting the balance, order, and stability that were the hallmarks of the High Renaissance style, and aiming instead to reveal the contrived nature of architectural design.

Giulio Romano. Applying that unorthodox approach was the goal of Giulio Romano (ca. 1499–1546) when he designed the Palazzo del Tè (fig. 22-47) in Mantua and, with it, formulated almost the entire architectural vocabulary of Mannerism. Early in his career, Giulio was Raphael's chief assistant in decorating the Vatican stanze. After Raphael's premature death in 1520, Giulio became his master's artistic executor, completing Raphael's unfinished frescoes and panel paintings. In 1524, Giulio went to Mantua (opening an opportunity at the papal court for Parmigianino), having been courted by Duke Federigo Gonzaga (r. 1530–1540), for whom he built and decorated the Palazzo del Tè between 1525 and 1535 (see "Federigo Gonzaga, Giulio Romano, and the Palazzo del Tè," page 674). Gonzaga intended the palace to serve as both suburban summer residence and stud farm for his famous stables. Originally planned as a relatively modest country villa, Giulio's building so pleased his patron that Gonzaga soon commissioned the architect to enlarge the structure. In a second building campaign, Giulio expanded the villa to a palatial scale by adding three wings, which he placed around a square central court (fig. 22-48). This once-paved court, which functions both as a passage and as the focal point of the design, has a nearly urban character. Its surrounding buildings form a self-enclosed unit with a large garden, flanked by a stable, attached to it on the east side.

Giulio's Mannerist style is on display in the facades facing the palace's courtyard (fig. 22-48), where the divergences from architectural convention are pronounced. Indeed, the Palazzo del Tè constitutes an enormous parody of Bramante's classical style, a veritable Mannerist manifesto announcing the artifice of architectural design. In a building laden with structural surprises and contradictions, the courtyard is the most unconventional of all. The *keystones* (central *voussoirs*), for example, either have not fully settled or seem to be slipping from the arches, playfully teasing visitors' expectations. Even more eccentrically, Giulio placed voussoirs in the pediments over the rectangular niches, where no arches exist. The massive Tuscan columns flanking these niches carry incongruously narrow *architraves.* That these architraves break midway between the columns stresses their apparent structural insufficiency, and they seem unable to support the weight of the *triglyphs* of the *Doric frieze* above (see "Doric and Ionic Orders," page 116, and fig. 5-13, *left*), which threaten to crash down on the head of anyone foolish enough to stand beneath them. To be sure, only a highly sophisticated observer can appreciate Giulio's witticism. Recognizing such quite subtle departures from the norm presupposes a thorough familiarity with the established rules of classical architecture. That the duke delighted in Giulio's mannered architectural inventiveness speaks to his cultivated taste.

Sala dei Giganti. Federigo also entrusted Giulio with the interior decoration of his suburban pleasure palace. In the Sala dei Giganti (Room of the Giants; fig. 22-49), painted to serve as the reception hall for the second visit to Mantua of Charles V, frescoes cover every square inch of the walls and ceiling. At the top (almost entirely out of view in the photograph reproduced here) is an illusionistic oculus that pays tribute to, but is a Mannerist commentary on, Mantegna's earlier trompe l'oeil ceiling in

22-49 Giulio Romano, *Fall of the Giants from Mount Olympus,* fresco in the Sala dei Giganti, Palazzo del Tè, Mantua, Italy, 1530–1532.

Giulio Romano's dramatic ceiling fresco of giants battling the Greek gods of Mount Olympus continues the theme of collapsing architecture that he used on the Palazzo del Tè's exterior (fig. 22-48).

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the Camera Picta (FIG. 21-49) of the ducal palace in Mantua. The *Fall of the Giants from Mount Olympus* revives the venerable classical theme of the *gigantomachy* (battle of gods and giants), which was popular in ancient Greece (FIGS. 5-18 and 5-80) because the defeat of the giants at the hands of the Olympian gods served as an allegory of the triumph of Greek civilization over barbarism. In Renaissance Mantua, Duke Federigo may have seen himself as a modern-day Zeus/Jupiter, who in Giulio's fresco hurls thunderbolts at the giants who have stormed Mount Olympus, causing them to fall back to earth amid collapsing classical temples.

The gigantic fresco merits comparison with Michelangelo's dramatic vision in his *Last Judgment* (FIG. 22-19), painted later in the decade for the east wall of the Sistine Chapel in Rome. But despite the tumultuous details of Michelangelo's fresco of heroically nude cloud-borne figures, the composition retains classical balance and symmetry, whereas Giulio's fresco embodies the instability and asymmetry that Mannerist artists and patrons alike preferred. In the Palazzo del Tè, where the architect and the painter were the same man and had the full support of his ducal patron, Giulio carried his critical and whimsical commentary on classical architecture indoors. Visitors to the pleasure palace surely would have been reminded of the triglyphs about to crash down from the Doric frieze of the building's exterior (FIG. 22-48) when they encountered the collapsing entablatures and crumbling columns of the frescoes in the Sala dei Giganti.

LATE RENAISSANCE

The popularity the Mannerist style enjoyed following the deaths of Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael did not lessen in any way the prestige of the High Renaissance style in painting, sculpture, and architecture. Indeed, some of the most influential artists and architects of the 16th century worked during the several decades of the Late Renaissance in Italy.

Painting

Tintoretto. The Venetian Jacopo Robusti, known as TINTORETTO (1518–1594), claimed to be a student of Titian and aspired to combine Titian's color with Michelangelo's drawing, but he adopted many Mannerist pictorial devices, which he employed to produce works imbued with dramatic power, depth of spiritual vision, and glowing color schemes.

Toward the end of Tintoretto's life, his art became spiritual, even visionary, as solid forms dissolved into swirling clouds of dark shot through with fitful light. In Tintoretto's *Last Supper* (FIG. 22-50), painted for the right wall next to the high altar in the Venetian church of San Giorgio Maggiore (FIG. 22-57), the figures appear in a dark interior illuminated by a single light in the upper left of the image. The shimmering halos establish the biblical nature of the scene. The ability of this dramatic scene to engage viewers was fully in keeping with Counter-Reformation ideals (see "The

22-50 **TINTORETTO, *Last Supper,* 1594. Oil on canvas, 12′ × 18′ 8″. San Giorgio Maggiore, Venice.**

The Late Renaissance Venetian painter Tintoretto adopted many Mannerist pictorial devices to produce works imbued with emotional power, depth of spiritual vision, glowing color, and dramatic lighting.

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22-51 Paolo Veronese, *Christ in the House of Levi,* from the refectory of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, Italy, 1573. Oil on canvas, 18′ 3″ × 42′. Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice.

Veronese's paintings feature superb color and majestic classical settings. The Catholic Church accused him of impiety for including dogs and dwarfs near Christ in this work originally titled *Last Supper.*

Council of Trent," page 654) and the Catholic Church's belief in the didactic nature of religious art.

Among the Mannerist elements in Tintoretto's *Last Supper* are its imbalanced composition and visual complexity. In terms of design, the contrast with Leonardo's *Last Supper* (fig. 22-4) is both extreme and instructive. Leonardo's composition, balanced and symmetrical, parallels the picture plane in a geometrically organized and closed space. The figure of Jesus is the tranquil center of the drama and the perspective focus. In Tintoretto's painting, Jesus is above and beyond the converging perspective lines racing diagonally away from the picture surface, creating disturbing effects of limitless depth and motion. The viewer locates Tintoretto's Jesus via the light flaring, beaconlike, out of darkness. The contrast between the two pictures reflects the direction Late Renaissance painting took in the 16th century, as it moved away from High Renaissance architectonic clarity of space and neutral lighting toward the dynamic perspectives and dramatic chiaroscuro of the coming Baroque.

Veronese. The second leading Late Renaissance Venetian painter was Paolo Caliari of Verona, called Paolo Veronese (1528–1588). Whereas Tintoretto gloried in monumental drama and deep perspectives, Veronese specialized in splendid pageantry painted in superb color and set within majestic classical architecture. Like Tintoretto, Veronese painted on a huge scale, with canvases often as large as 20 by 30 feet or more, covering vast wall (fig. 22-51) and ceiling (fig. 22-52) surfaces. His usual subjects, painted for the refectories of wealthy monasteries, afforded him an opportunity to display magnificent companies at table.

Veronese painted *Christ in the House of Levi* (fig. 22-51), originally called *Last Supper,* for the refectory of Santi Giovanni e Paolo in Venice. Unlike Tintoretto, Veronese conformed to High Renaissance compositional principles of symmetrical balance and ordered architectonics. Consistent with Venetian tradition, his shimmering colors span the whole spectrum, although he avoided solid colors in favor of half shades (light blues, sea greens, lemon yellows, roses, and violets), creating veritable flowerbeds of tone. In a great open loggia framed by three monumental arches, Christ sits at the center of the splendidly garbed elite of Venice. In the foreground, with a courtly gesture, the very image of gracious grandeur, the chief steward welcomes guests. Robed lords, their colorful retainers, dogs, and dwarfs crowd into the spacious loggia. Also present are exotic figures wearing turbans, and others of African descent.

Painted in 1573 during the Counter-Reformation, this depiction prompted criticism from the Catholic Church. The Holy Office of the Inquisition put the painter on trial, accusing Veronese of impiety for painting "lowly creatures" so close to the Lord and ordering him to make changes at his own expense within three months. Reluctant to do so, he simply changed the painting's title, converting the subject to a less solemn one. His patrons were quite amenable to this solution, for they found nothing objectionable in the painting. Magnificent feasts and carnivals were a source of pride for Venetians.

Triumph of Venice. Veronese, like Tintoretto, also received prestigious commissions from the Venetian Republic itself. Both artists were hired to decorate the grand chambers and council rooms of the Doge's Palace (fig. 14-23). In *Triumph of Venice*

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22-52 Paolo Veronese, *Triumph of Venice,* ca. 1585. Oil on canvas, 29′ 8″ × 19′. Hall of the Grand Council, Doge's Palace, Venice.

Veronese's immense oval ceiling painting presents a tableau of Venice crowned by Fame amid columns, clouds, and personifications. Baroque painters adopted this 45-degree view from the ground.

in the grandiose Hall of the Grand Council (FIG. 22-52), Veronese revealed himself a master of illusionistic ceiling compositions. Within an oval frame, he presented personified Venice, crowned by Fame, enthroned between two great twisted columns in a balustrade-capped loggia, garlanded with clouds, and attended by figures symbolic of the maritime republic's glories. Unlike Mantegna's di sotto in sù (FIG. 21-49) perspective, Veronese's is a projection not directly up from below but at a 45-degree angle to spectators, a technique used by many later Baroque decorators (for example, FIGS. 24-22, 24-23, and 24-24).

Correggio. One Italian Renaissance painter who developed a personal style almost impossible to classify was Antonio Allegri, known as Correggio (ca. 1489–1534) from his birthplace near Parma. The teacher of Parmigianino, Correggio pulled together many stylistic trends, including those of Leonardo, Raphael, and the Venetians. His most enduring contribution was the further development of illusionistic ceiling perspective painting. In Parma Cathedral, he painted away the entire dome with his *Assumption of the Virgin* (FIG. 22-53; see "How to Make a Ceiling Disappear," page 728). Opening up the *cupola,* the artist showed worshipers a view of the sky, with concentric rings of clouds where hundreds of soaring figures perform a wildly pirouetting dance in celebration of the Assumption. Versions of these angelic creatures became permanent tenants of numerous Baroque churches in later centuries. Correggio was also an influential painter of religious panels, anticipating in them many other Baroque compositional devices. Correggio's *Assumption of the Virgin,* painted less than a decade after Raphael's death, predates Veronese's *Triumph of Venice* by more than a half century, but contemporaries expressed little appreciation for his achievement. Later, during the 17th century, Baroque painters recognized him as a kindred spirit.

Architecture

During the Late Renaissance in Italy, leading architects as well as painters adhered to High Renaissance norms of design, but often incorporated some Mannerist elements. The major Italian architects of the second half of the 16th century were Andrea Palladio in Venice and Giacomo della Porta and Giacomo da Vignola in Rome.

Andrea Palladio. The chief architect of the Venetian Republic from 1570 until his death a decade later was Andrea di Pietro of Padua, known as Andrea Palladio (1508–1580). (The surname derives from Pallas Athena, Greek goddess of wisdom, an appropriate reference for an architect schooled in the classical tradition of Alberti and Bramante.) Palladio began his career as a stonemason and decorative sculptor in Vicenza. At age 30, however, he turned to architecture, engineering, military science, and the ancient literature on architecture. In order to study the ancient buildings firsthand, Palladio made several trips to Rome. In 1556, he illustrated Daniele Barbaro's edition of Vitruvius's *De architectura*

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22-53 Correggio, *Assumption of the Virgin,* 1526–1530. Fresco, 35′ 10″ × 37′ 11″. Parma Cathedral, Parma.

Working long before Veronese, Correggio, the teacher of Parmigianino, won little fame in his day, but his illusionistic ceiling designs, such as this one in Parma Cathedral, inspired many Baroque painters.

(see "Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture,*" page 204) and later wrote his own architectural treatise, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (*The Four Books of Architecture*), originally published in 1570, the year he succeeded Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570; fig. 22-53A) as Venice's official architect. That work had wide-ranging influence on succeeding generations of architects throughout Europe. Palladio's influence outside Italy, most significantly in England and in colonial America, was stronger and more lasting than any other architect's.

22-53A Sansovino, Mint and Library, Venice, begun 1536.

Palladio gained his significant reputation from his many designs for *villas* (palatial extraurban homes) built on the Venetian mainland. Nineteen still stand, and they especially influenced later architects. The same spirit that prompted the ancient Romans to build villas in the countryside motivated a similar villa-building boom in 16th-century Venice, which, with its very limited space, was highly congested. But a longing for the countryside was not the only motive. Declining fortunes prompted the Venetians to develop their mainland possessions with new land investment and reclamation projects. Citizens who could afford to do so set themselves up as aristocratic farmers and developed swamps into productive agricultural land. The villas were thus the elegant residential centerpieces of income-producing farms surrounded by service outbuildings (like the much later American plantations, which emulated many aspects of Palladio's architectural style). Palladio generally arranged the outbuildings in long, low wings branching out from the main building and enclosing a large rectangular court area.

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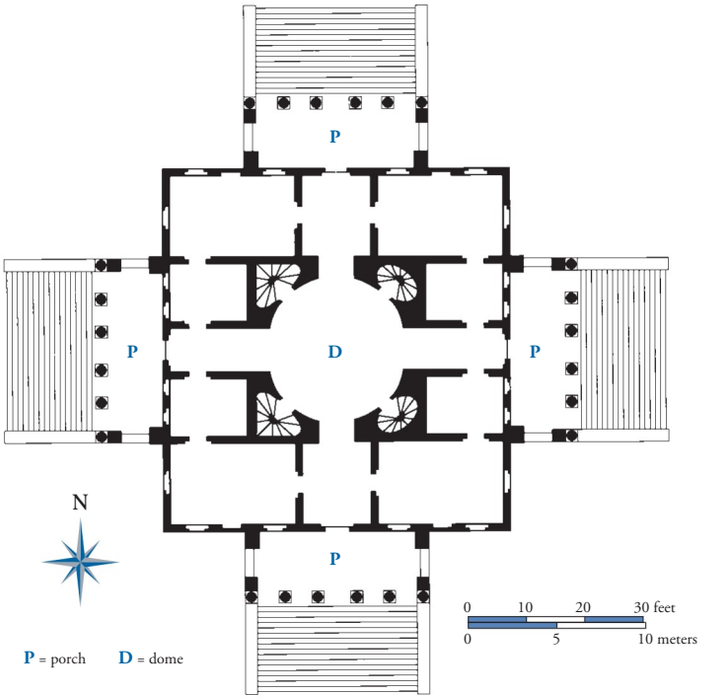
22-54 Andrea Palladio, Villa Rotonda (looking southwest), near Vicenza, Italy, ca. 1550–1570.

The Villa Rotonda has four identical facades, each one resembling a Roman temple with a columnar porch. In the center is a great dome-covered rotunda modeled on the Pantheon (FIG. 7-49).

Villa Rotonda. Palladio's most famous villa, Villa Rotonda (FIG. 22-54), near Vicenza, is exceptional because the architect did not build it for an aspiring gentleman farmer but for a retired monsignor in the papal court in Rome, Paolo Almerico (1514–1589), who wanted a villa for social events. Palladio planned and designed Villa Rotonda, located on a hilltop, as a kind of *belvedere* (literally "beautiful view"; in architecture, a structure with a view of the countryside or the sea), without the usual wings of secondary buildings. It has a central plan (FIG. 22-55) featuring four identical facades with projecting porches, each of which resembles a Roman Ionic temple. In placing a traditional temple porch in front of a dome-covered unit, Palladio doubtless had the Pantheon (FIG. 7-49) in mind. (The villa's name "La Rotonda," proposed by Almerico, is a reference to Santa Maria Rotonda in Rome—the name of the Pantheon after its remodeling as a church with twin bell towers added to its ancient facade.) But, as Bramante did in his Tempietto (FIG. 22-21), Palladio transformed his model into a new design without parallel in antiquity, rotating the plan 45 degrees from the cardinal points in order for natural sunlight to illuminate every room. Each of the villa's four porches doubles as a columnar facade and a platform for enjoying a different view of the surrounding landscape. In this design, the central dome-covered rotunda logically functions as a circular reception area from which visitors may turn in any direction for the preferred view. The result is a building with functional parts systematically related to one another in terms of calculated mathematical relationships. Villa Rotonda embodies all the qualities of self-sufficiency and formal completeness that High Renaissance architects sought.



22-55 Andrea Palladio, plan of the Villa Rotonda, near Vicenza, Italy, ca. 1550–1570.

Andrea Palladio published an influential treatise on architecture in 1570. Consistent with his design theories, all parts of the Villa Rotonda relate to one another in terms of mathematical ratios.

San Giorgio Maggiore. One of the most dramatically placed buildings in Venice is San Giorgio Maggiore (FIGS. 22-56 and 22-57), directly across the Grand Canal from Piazza San Marco and the palace of the doges. Dissatisfied with earlier solutions to the problem of integrating a high central nave and lower aisles into a unified facade design, Palladio solved it by superimposing a tall and narrow classical porch on a low broad one. This solution reflects the building's interior arrangement (dome-covered nave and single-story aisles) and in that sense is strictly logical, but the intersection of two temple facades is irrational and ambiguous, consistent with contemporaneous developments in Mannerist architecture (for example, FIG. 22-48). Palladio's design also created the illusion of three-dimensional depth, an effect intensified by the strong projection of the central columns and the shadows they cast. The play of shadow across the building's surfaces, its reflection in the water, and its gleaming white against sea and sky create a remarkably colorful effect. The interior of the church lacks the ambiguity of the facade and exhibits strong roots in High Renaissance architectural style. Light floods the interior and crisply defines the contours of the rich

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22-56 Andrea Palladio, San Giorgio Maggiore (looking southeast), Venice, Italy, begun 1566.

Dissatisfied with earlier solutions to the problem of integrating a high central nave and lower aisles into a unified facade, Palladio superimposed a tall and narrow classical porch on a low broad one.

22-57 Andrea Palladio, interior of San Giorgio Maggiore (looking east), Venice, Italy, begun 1566.

In contrast to the somewhat irrational intersection of two temple facades on the exterior of San Giorgio Maggiore, Palladio's interior is strictly logical, consistent with classical architectural theory.

22-58 Giacomo della Porta, west facade of Il Gesù, Rome, Italy, begun 1568.

In Giacomo della Porta's innovative design, the march of pilasters and columns builds to a climax at the central bay. Many Roman Baroque church facades are architectural variations of Il Gesù.

wall moldings with their archaeologically correct profiles, an exemplar of classical architectural theory.

Il Gesù. Probably the most influential building of the later Cinquecento was the mother church of the Jesuit order, Il Gesù, or Church of Jesus (fig. 22-58), in Rome. The activity of the Society of Jesus, known as the Jesuits, was an important component of the Counter-Reformation (see "The Council of Trent," page 654). Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), a Spanish nobleman who dedicated his life to the service of God, founded the Jesuits in 1534 with preaching and missionary work as the key components of their spiritual assignment. In 1540, Pope Paul III formally recognized the Jesuits as a religious order. They soon became the papacy's invaluable allies in the Vatican's quest

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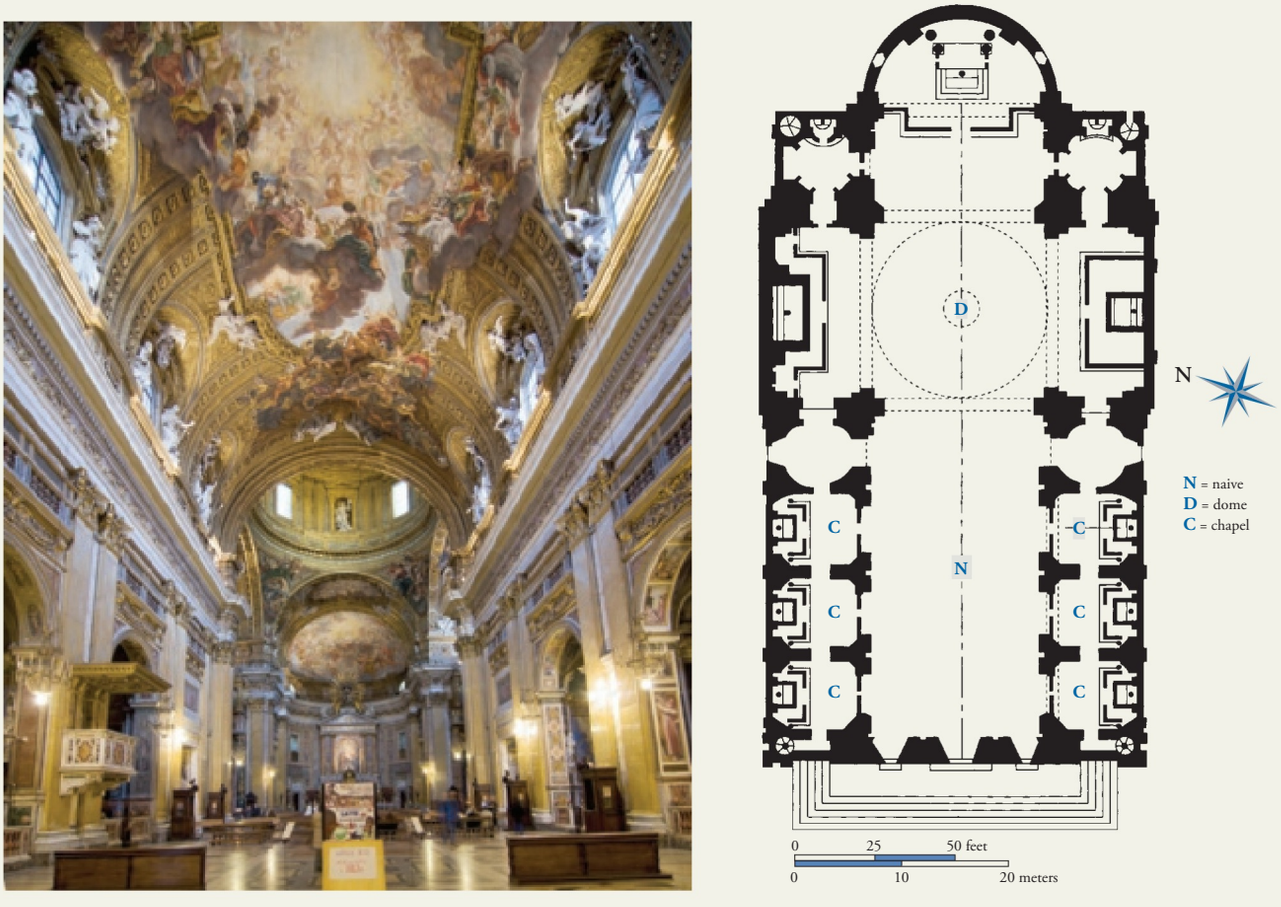
Rethinking the Basilican Church

As a major participant in the Counter-Reformation, the Jesuit order needed a church appropriate to its new prominence. In 1568, with the financial backing of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589), the order turned to Giacomo da Vignola (1507–1573), who designed Il Gesù's plan (fig. 22-59, *right*), and Giacomo della Porta (ca. 1533–1602), who was responsible for the facade (fig. 22-58)—and who later designed the dome of Saint Peter's (fig. 22-25).

The plan of the Church of Jesus in Rome expands Alberti's scheme for Sant'Andrea (figs. 21-46 and 21-47) in Mantua. In Il Gesù, the nave (fig. 22-59, *left*) takes over the main volume of space, making the structure a great hall with side chapels. The transept is no wider than the nave and chapels, and Vignola also eliminated the normal deep choir in front of the altar. Consequently, all worshipers have a clear view of the celebration of the Eucharist. The wide acceptance of Vignola's plan in the Catholic world, even in modern times, speaks to its suitability for the performance of Catholic rituals. The opening of the church building into a single great hall provides an almost theatrical setting for large promenades and processions (which combined social with priestly functions). Above all, the ample space could accommodate the great crowds that gathered to hear the eloquent preaching of the Jesuits.

The facade of Il Gesù (fig. 22-58) was also not entirely original, but it too had an enormous influence on later church design. The union of the lower and upper stories, achieved by scroll buttresses, harks back to Alberti's Santa Maria Novella (fig. 21-37A). Its classical pediment is familiar in Alberti's work (fig. 21-45), as well as in Palladio's (figs. 22-54 and 22-55). The paired pilasters appear in Michelangelo's design for Saint Peter's (fig. 22-25). Della Porta skillfully synthesized these existing motifs and unified the two stories. The horizontal march of the pilasters and columns builds to a dramatic climax at the central bay, and the bays of the facade snugly fit the nave-chapel system behind them. Many Roman church facades of the 17th century are architectural variations on della Porta's design. Chronologically and stylistically, Il Gesù belongs to the Late Renaissance, but its enormous influence on later basilican churches marks it as one of the most significant buildings for the development of Italian Baroque religious architecture.



22-59 Giacomo da Vignola, interior looking east (*left*) and plan (*right*) of Il Gesù, Rome, Italy, 1568.

Giacomo da Vignola's plan for Il Gesù, with its exceptionally wide nave with side chapels instead of aisles—ideal for grand processions—won wide acceptance in the Catholic world.

to reassert the supremacy of the Catholic Church. Particularly successful in the field of education, the Jesuit order established numerous schools. In addition, its members were effective missionaries and carried the message of Catholicism to the Americas, Asia, and Africa.

The Jesuits also made their mark in the history of architecture with the construction of Il Gesù (see "Rethinking the Basilican Church," above), which had an enormous influence on church design in the Baroque era, discussed in detail in the next chapter.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Renaissance and Mannerism in Cinquecento Italy

High Renaissance

- Leonardo da Vinci, the quintessential "Renaissance man," won fame for his sfumato (misty haziness) and for his psychological insight in depicting biblical narratives (*Last Supper*) and in portraits (*Mona Lisa*).
- Raphael favored lighter tonalities than Leonardo and clarity over obscurity. His weighty figures appear in landscapes under blue skies (*Madonna of the Meadows*) or in grandiose architectural settings rendered in perfect perspective (*School of Athens*).
- Michelangelo's statues (*David, Moses*) and paintings (Sistine Chapel ceiling) feature emotionally charged figures with heroic physiques. Indeed, in the Sistine Chapel, many of his figures seem to be painted statues. Michaelangelo preferred pent-up energy to Raphael's calm, ideal beauty.
- Whereas most Florentine and Roman artists emphasized careful design preparation based on preliminary drawings (disegno), Venetian artists, especially Giorgione and Titian, focused on color and the process of paint application (colorito), landscape, and a poetic approach to painting (poesia). Titian, famed for his rich surface textures and dazzling display of color in all its nuances, established oil paint on canvas as the standard medium of the Western pictorial tradition.
- In architecture, Bramante championed the classical style of the ancients. He based his design for the Tempietto on antique models, but the combination of parts was new and original.

Michelangelo, *David,* Piazza della Signoria, Florence, 1501–1504

Bramante, Tempietto, San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, begun 1502

Mannerism 1520–1600

- Mannerism emerged in the 1520s as an alternative to the High Renaissance style. A prime feature of Mannerist art is artifice. Renaissance artists generally strove to create art that appeared natural, whereas Mannerist artists were less inclined to disguise the contrived nature of art production. Ambiguous space, departures from expected conventions, and unusual presentations of traditional themes are hallmarks of the Mannerist paintings of Pontormo, Parmigianino, and Bronzino.
- Mannerism was also a sculptural style, as practiced by Benvenuto Cellini and Giambologna, whose elegant figures, often based on antique statuary, have the slim waists and long limbs that appealed to Mannerist taste.
- The leading Mannerist architect was Giulio Romano, who, in the Palazzo del Tè in Mantua, rejected the balance, order, and stability of the High Renaissance style.

Cellini, *Saltcellar of Francis I,* 1540–1543

Giulio Romano, Palazzo del Tè, Mantua, 1525–1535

Late Renaissance

- Andrea Palladio, an important theorist as well as architect, became the official architect of Venice in 1570. He carried on Bramante's classical style in his designs of Venetian villas on the mainland, chief among them the Villa Rotonda near Vicenza.
- Giacomo da Vignola and Giacomo della Porta rethought the design of church facades and interiors in Il Gesù in Rome, the mother church of the Jesuit order.
- Veronese created huge illusionistic Venetian ceiling paintings, foreshadowing developments in the Baroque era.

Veronese, *Triumph of Venice,* Doges' Palace, ca. 1585

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23-1 **Quinten Massys, *Money-Changer and His Wife,* 1514. Oil on wood, 2′ 3¾″ × 2′ 2⅜″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.**

▲**23-1a** Massys's record of a secular financial transaction is also a commentary on Netherlandish values. The banker's wife shows more interest in the money-weighing than in her prayer book.

▲**23-1b** Quinten Massys was the leading painter in early-16th-century Antwerp, which had become the major port of the Netherlands. Here, he depicted a businessman and his wife checking the weight of coins.

▲**23-1c** Reflected in the convex mirror that Massys placed facing the viewer is a man reading a Bible or prayer book in front of a church—images of a righteous life to balance the couple's pursuit of wealth.

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HIGH RENAISSANCE AND MANNERISM IN NORTHERN EUROPE AND SPAIN 23

FRAMING THE ERA

Netherlandish Mores and the Pursuit of Wealth

With the demise of the duchy of Burgundy in 1477 and the division of that territory between France and the Holy Roman Empire (MAP 23-1), the Netherlands at the beginning of the 16th century was among the most commercially advanced and prosperous countries in Europe. Its extensive network of rivers and easy access to the Atlantic Ocean encouraged overseas trade, and shipbuilding was one of the Netherlands' most profitable enterprises. As many as 500 ships a day passed through the harbor of Antwerp, which became the main Netherlands port after 1510.

The prosperity that Antwerp's growing merchant class enjoyed enabled businessmen to accumulate worldly goods, including artworks, which in turn attracted many artists to the city. Among them was QUINTEN MASSYS (ca. 1466–1530), who became Antwerp's leading early-16th-century master. The son of a Louvain blacksmith, Massys explored the styles and modes of a variety of models, from earlier masters, such as Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden, to his contemporaries Albrecht Dürer, Hieronymous Bosch, and Leonardo da Vinci. Yet his eclecticism was subtle and discriminating, enriched by an inventiveness that gave a personal stamp to his paintings.

In *Money-Changer and His Wife* (FIG. 23-1), Massys presented a professional man transacting business. He holds scales, checking the weight of coins on the table. The artist's detailed rendering of the figures, setting, and objects suggests a fidelity to observable fact, and provides insight into developing commercial practices.

But *Money-Changer and His Wife* is also a commentary on Netherlandish values and mores. The painting highlights the financial transactions that were an increasingly prominent part of secular life in the Netherlands and that distracted Christians from their religious duties. The banker's wife, for example, shows more interest in watching her husband weigh money than in reading her prayer book. Massys incorporated into his painting numerous references to the importance of a moral, righteous, and spiritual life, including a candlestick and a carafe with water, traditional religious symbols. The couple ignores them, focusing solely on money. On the right, seen through a window, an old man talks with another man, a reference to idleness and gossip. The reflected image in the convex mirror on the counter offsets the sloth and foolish chatter. There, a man reads what is most likely a Bible or prayer book. Behind him is a church steeple.

An inscription on the original frame (now lost) read, "Let the balance be just and the weights equal" (Lev. 19:36), an admonition that applies both to the money-changer's professional conduct and eventually to Judgment Day. Nonetheless, the couple in this painting has tipped the balance in favor of the pursuit of wealth.

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NORTHERN EUROPE IN THE 16TH CENTURY

The dissolution of the Burgundian Netherlands in 1477 led in the early 16th century to a realignment in the European geopolitical landscape (MAP 23-1, page 688). France and the Holy Roman Empire absorbed the former Burgundian territories and increased their power. But by the end of the century, through calculated marriages, military exploits, and ambitious territorial expansion, Spain was the dominant European state. Throughout the Continent, monarchs increasingly used art and architecture to glorify their reigns and to promote a stronger sense of cultural and political unity among their subjects, thereby laying the foundation for today's European nations. Wealthy merchants also cultivated art as a status symbol, and the commissioning and collecting of artworks became less and less the exclusive province of the aristocracy.

These important societal changes occurred against the backdrop of a momentous religious crisis. Concerted attempts to reform Church practices led to the Reformation and the establishment of Protestantism (as distinct from Catholicism), which in turn prompted the Church of Rome's response, the Counter-Reformation (see "The Council of Trent," page 654). Ultimately, the Reformation split Christendom in half and produced a hundred years of civil war between Protestants and Catholics.

Northern Humanism. The tumultuous religious conflict engulfing 16th-century Europe did not, however, prevent—and may even have accelerated—the exchange of intellectual and artistic ideas, because artists frequently moved from one area to another in search of religious freedom and lucrative commissions. Catholic Italy and the (mostly) Protestant Holy Roman Empire shared in a lively commerce—economic and cultural—and 16th-century art throughout Europe was a major beneficiary of that exchange. Humanism filtered up from Italy and spread throughout Northern Europe. Humanists north of the Alps, like their southern counterparts, cultivated knowledge of classical cultures and literature, but they focused more on reconciling humanism with Christianity.

Among the most influential of these "Christian humanists" were the Dutchman Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) of Rotterdam and the Englishman Sir Thomas More (1478–1535). Erasmus demonstrated his interest in both Italian humanism and religion with his "philosophy of Christ," emphasizing education and scriptural knowledge. Both an ordained priest and an avid scholar, in 1509 Erasmus wrote (in Latin) his most famous essay, *In Praise of Folly,* which he published two years later. In this widely read work, Erasmus satirized not just the Church of Rome but various social classes as well. His ideas were to play an important role in the development of the Reformation, but he consistently declined to join any of the Reformation sects. Equally well educated was Thomas More, who served King Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547; FIG. 23-12A). Henry eventually ordered More's execution because of More's opposition to England's break with the Catholic Church. In France, François Rabelais (ca. 1494–1553), a former monk who advocated rejecting stagnant religious dogmatism, disseminated the humanist spirit.

The turmoil emerging during the 16th century lasted well into the 17th century and permanently affected the face of Europe. The concerted challenges to established authority and the persistent philosophical inquiry eventually led to the rise of new political systems (for example, the nation-state) and new economic systems (such as capitalism).

GERMANY

Although at the opening of the 16th century many Christians in the Holy Roman Empire expressed dissatisfaction with the Church of Rome, Martin Luther had not yet posted his *Ninety-five Theses,* which launched the Protestant Reformation. The Catholic clergy in Germany still offered artists important commissions.

Matthias Grünewald. Matthias Neithardt, known conventionally as MATTHIAS GRÜNEWALD (ca. 1480–1528), worked for the archbishops of Mainz in several capacities, from court painter and decorator to architect, hydraulic engineer, and superintendent of works. Grünewald eventually moved to northern Germany, where he settled at Halle in Saxony. Around 1512, he began work on the *Isenheim Altarpiece* (FIG. 23-2), a complex and fascinating polyptych reflecting Catholic beliefs and incorporating several references to Catholic doctrines, such as the lamb (symbol of the son of God), whose wound spurts blood into a chalice in Grünewald's depiction of Christ's crucifixion (FIG. 23-2, *top*) on the exterior of the altarpiece.

Created for the monastic hospital order of Saint Anthony of Isenheim, the *Isenheim Altarpiece* takes the form of a carved wood shrine by NIKOLAUS HAGENAUER (active 1493–1538) featuring large painted and gilded statues of Saints Anthony Abbot, Augustine, and Jerome in the main zone, and smaller statues of Christ blessing the host and the 12 apostles in the predella (FIG. 23-2, *bottom*). To Hagenauer's centerpiece, carved around 1505, Grünewald added between 1512 and 1515 two pairs of painted moveable wings that open at the center. Hinged at the sides, one pair stands directly behind the other. The exterior panels of the first pair (visible when the altarpiece is closed, FIG. 23-2, *top*) are *Crucifixion* in the center, *Saint Sebastian* on the left, *Saint Anthony Abbot* on the right, and *Lamentation* in the predella. When these exterior wings are open, four additional scenes (not illustrated)—*Annunciation, Angelic Concert, Madonna and Child,* and *Resurrection*—appear. Opening this second pair of wings exposes Hagenauer's interior shrine, flanked by Grünewald's *Meeting of Saints Anthony and Paul* and *Temptation of Saint Anthony* panels (FIG. 23-2, *bottom*).

HIGH RENAISSANCE AND MANNERISM IN NORTHERN EUROPE AND SPAIN

1500–1530

- In Catholic countries, commissions for religious works, such as the *Isenheim Altarpiece,* continue, but, consistent with Reformation values, Protestant patrons prefer secular themes, such as portraiture, classical mythology, and the macabre, including death and witchcraft
- Albrecht Dürer achieves international fame (and wealth) as a master printmaker

1530–1560

- Netherlandish painters inject moralizing religious messages into seemingly secular genre paintings
- Hans Holbein, Caterina van Hemessen, and Levina Teerlinc achieve renown as portrait painters
- In France under Francis I (r. 1515–1547) and Henry II (r. 1547–1559), architectural designs and interior decoration are a mix of Italian Mannerist and Northern Renaissance elements

1560–1600

- Pieter Bruegel the Elder, the greatest Netherlandish artist of the mid-16th century, produces masterful landscapes that nonetheless focus on human activities
- Greek-born El Greco settles in Toledo and creates paintings that are a uniquely personal mix of Byzantine and Italian Mannerist elements. His hybrid style captures the fervor of Spanish Catholicism

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23-2 Matthias Grünewald, *Isenheim Altarpiece* (*top:* closed; *bottom:* open), from the chapel of the Hospital of Saint Anthony, Isenheim, France, ca. 1512–1515. Oil on wood, center panel 9′ 9½″ × 10′ 9″, each wing 8′ 2½″ × 3′ ½″, predella 2′ 5½″ × 11′ 2″. Shrine carved by Nikolaus Hagenauer, ca. 1505. Painted and gilt limewood, 9′ 9½″ × 10′ 9″. Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar.

Befitting its setting in a monastic hospital, Matthias Grünewald's *Isenheim Altarpiece* includes painted panels depicting suffering and disease but also miraculous healing, hope, and salvation.

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The placement of this altarpiece in the choir of a church adjacent to the monastery's hospital dictated much of the imagery. Saints associated with the plague and other diseases and with miraculous cures, such as Saints Anthony and Sebastian, appear prominently in the *Isenheim Altarpiece.* Grünewald's panels specifically address the themes of dire illness and miraculous healing and accordingly emphasize the suffering of the order's patron saint, Anthony Abbot (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). The painted images served as warnings, encouraging increased devotion from monks and hospital patients. They also functioned therapeutically by offering some hope to the afflicted. Indeed, Saint Anthony's legend emphasized his dual role as vengeful dispenser of justice (by inflicting disease) and benevolent healer.

MAP 23-1 **Europe in the early 16th century.**

One of the most memorable scenes is *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (FIG. 23-2, *bottom right*). It is a terrifying image of the five temptations (lack of faith, despair, impatience, spiritual pride, and avarice), depicted as an assortment of ghoulish and bestial creatures in a dark landscape, attacking the saint. In the foreground, Grünewald painted a grotesque image of a man, whose oozing boils, withered arm, and distended stomach all suggest a horrible disease. Medical experts have connected these symptoms with ergotism (a disease caused by ergot, a fungus that grows especially on rye). Doctors did not discover the cause of this disease until about 1600. People lived in fear of its recognizable symptoms (convulsions and gangrene) and called the illness "Saint Anthony's Fire." Ergotism was one of the major diseases treated at the Isenheim hospital. Indeed, Grünewald depicted Christ's skin covered with sores. Furthermore, ergotism often compelled amputation, and viewers of the *Isenheim Altarpiece* have noted that the two moveable halves of the altarpiece's predella (FIG. 23-2, *top*), if slid apart, make it appear as if Christ's legs have been amputated. The same observation applies to the two main exterior panels. Due to the off-center placement of the cross, opening the left panel "severs" one arm from the crucified figure.

Thus Grünewald carefully selected and presented his altarpiece's iconography to be particularly meaningful for patients at this hospital. In the interior shrine, the artist balanced the horrors of the disease and the punishments awaiting those who did not repent with scenes such as *Meeting of Saints Anthony and Paul,* depicting the two saints, healthy and aged, conversing peacefully. Even the exterior panels (the closed altarpiece; FIG. 23-2, *top*) convey these same concerns. *Crucifixion* emphasizes Christ's pain and suffering, but the knowledge that this act redeemed humanity tempers the misery. In addition, Saint Anthony appears in the right wing as a devout follower of Christ who, like Christ, endured intense suffering for his faith. Saint Anthony's appearance on the exterior thus reinforces the themes Grünewald intertwined throughout this entire work—themes of pain, illness, and death, as well as those of hope, comfort, and salvation. Grünewald also brilliantly used color to enhance the impact of the imagery. He intensified the contrast of horror and hope by playing subtle tones and soft harmonies against shocking dissonances of color.

Albrecht Dürer. A slightly older contemporary of Grünewald's was ALBRECHT DÜRER (1471–1528) of Nuremberg, the first artist outside Italy to become an international celebrity. Dürer was a highly skilled painter, but his reputation today as in his own time rests primarily on his graphic art, which he promoted with an astute businessman's skill. With the aid of his wife, his mother, and an agent, Dürer aggressively marketed his engravings and woodcuts and became a wealthy man. Moreover, in 1506, to protect his financial interests, Dürer filed the first lawsuit in history over intellectual property copyright, accusing an Italian artist of copying his prints.

Unlike the younger Grünewald, Dürer traveled extensively, visiting and studying in Colmar, Basel, Strasbourg, Venice, Antwerp, and Brussels, among other locales. As a result, Dürer met many of the leading humanists and artists of his time, including Erasmus of Rotterdam and the Venetian master Giovanni Bellini (FIGS. 21-40, 22-29, and 22-30). Fascinated with the classical ideas of the Italian Renaissance, Dürer was among the first Northern European artists to travel to Italy expressly to study Italian Renaissance art. After his first journey in 1494–1495 (the second was in 1505–1506), he incorporated many Italian developments into his prints and paintings. Like Leonardo da Vinci, Dürer wrote theoretical treatises on a variety of subjects, including perspective, fortification, and the ideal in human proportions. Unlike Leonardo, he both finished and

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published his writings. Dürer also was the first Northern European artist to leave a record of his life and career through his correspondence, a detailed diary, and a series of self-portraits.

Self-Portraits. Dürer's earliest preserved self-portrait—a silverpoint drawing now in the Albertina in Vienna—dates to 1484, when he was only 13, two years before he began his formal education as an apprentice in the workshop of Michael Wolgemut (FIG. 20-23). In 1498, a few years after his first visit to Italy, he painted a likeness of himself in the Italian mode—a seated half-length portrait in three-quarter view in front of a window through which the viewer sees a landscape. The *Self-Portrait* reproduced here (FIG. 23-3), painted just two years later, is markedly different in character both from his earlier self-portraits and Italian Renaissance portraiture. Inscribed with his monogram and the date (*left*) and four lines (*right*) stating that the painting depicts him at age 28, the panel portrays the artist in a fur-trimmed coat in a rigid frontal posture against a dark background. Dürer has a short beard and shoulder-length hair, and the portrait intentionally evokes medieval devotional images of Christ. The position of Dürer's right hand resembles but does not duplicate (which would have been blasphemous) Christ's standard gesture of blessing in Byzantine icons (FIG. 9-33; compare also Dieric Bouts's depiction of Christ in his *Last Supper*; FIG. 20-15). The focus on the hand is doubtless a reference to the artist's hand as a creative instrument (compare FIG. 22-40). Deeply affected by the new humanistic view that had emerged in Renaissance Italy of the artist as a divinely inspired genius, Dürer responded by painting himself as a Christ-like figure. He also embraced Italian artists' interest in science, as is evident in his botanically accurate 1503 watercolor study *Great Piece of Turf* (FIG. 23-3A).

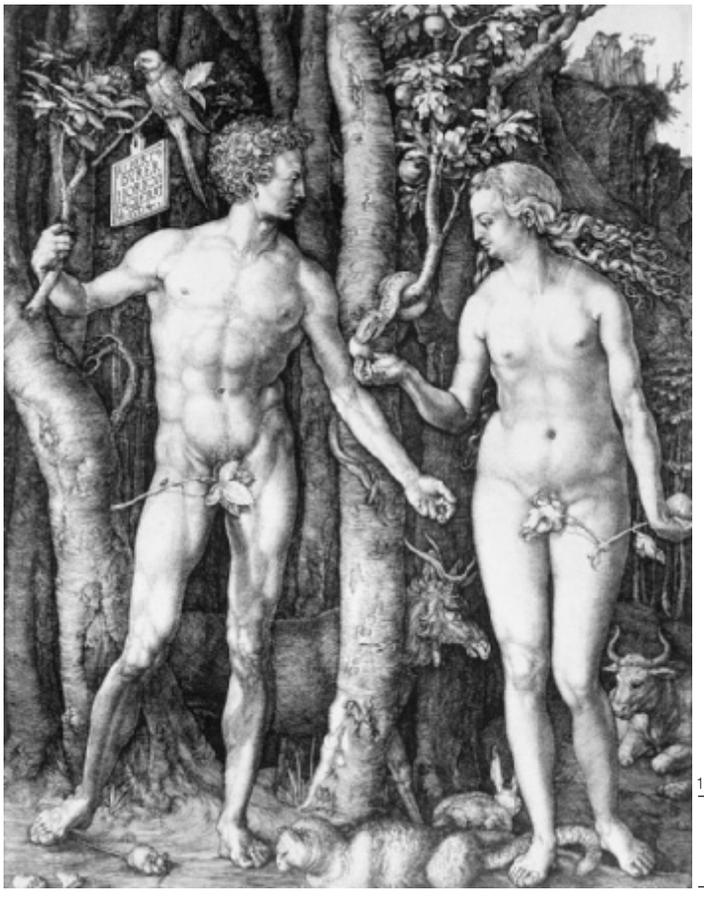
23-3A DÜRER, *Great Piece of Turf,* 1503.

Fall of Man. Trained as a goldsmith by his father before he took up painting and printmaking, Dürer developed an extraordinary proficiency in handling the *burin.* This technical ability, combined with his extraordinary skill in drawing, enabled Dürer to produce a body of graphic work that few artists have rivaled for quality and number. Many of his prints were book illustrations, and Dürer also sold prints in single sheets, which people of ordinary means could buy, expanding his audience considerably and, as noted, making him a wealthy man. Erasmus praised Dürer as "the Apelles [the most renowned ancient Greek painter] of black lines,"[1] and the German artist's mastery of all aspects of printmaking is evident also in his woodcuts (FIG. I-9).

One of Dürer's early masterpieces, *Fall of Man* (*Adam and Eve*; FIG. 23-4), represents the first distillation of his studies of the

23-3 ALBRECHT DÜRER, *Self-Portrait,* 1500. Oil on wood, $2' \, 2\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1' \, 7\frac{1}{4}''$. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Dürer here presents himself as a frontal Christlike figure reminiscent of medieval icons. His self-portrait is an image of the artist as a divinely inspired genius, a concept inconceivable before the Renaissance.



23-4 ALBRECHT DÜRER, *Fall of Man* (*Adam and Eve*), 1504. Engraving, $9\frac{7}{8}'' \times 7\frac{5}{8}''$. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (centennial gift of Landon T. Clay).

Dürer was the first Northern Renaissance artist to achieve international celebrity. *Fall of Man,* with two figures based on ancient statues, reflects his studies of the Vitruvian theory of human proportions.

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Vitruvian theory of human proportions (compare FIG. 22-6A), a theory based on arithmetic ratios. Clearly outlined against the dark background of a Northern European forest, the two idealized figures of Adam and Eve stand in poses reminiscent of specific classical statues of Apollo and Venus. Preceded by numerous geometric drawings in which the artist attempted to systematize sets of ideal human proportions in balanced contrapposto poses, the final print presents Dürer's concept of the "perfect" male and female figures. Yet he tempered this idealization with naturalism, demonstrating his well-honed observational skills in his rendering of the background foliage and animals (compare FIGS. 23-3A and 23-4A). The gnarled bark of the trees and the feathery leaves authenticate the scene, as do the various creatures skulking underfoot. The animals populating the print are symbolic. The choleric cat, the melancholic elk, the sanguine rabbit, and the phlegmatic ox represent humanity's temperaments based on the "four humors" (see the discussion of FIG. 23-5), which, prior to the fall of man, are in balance. Nonetheless, the tension between the cat and the mouse in the foreground symbolizes the relation between Adam and Eve at the crucial moment before they commit the Original Sin.

23-4A DÜRER, *Knight, Death, and the Devil,* 1513.

Melencolia I. The Renaissance celebration of artistic genius led many artists to reflect on their own talents and worth. Dürer was certainly a man who engaged in probing introspection (literally "looking inside"). *Melencolia I* (FIG. 23-5), perhaps Dürer's most famous print, reveals not only his unsurpassed skill with the engraver's burin but also a great deal about his psyche as a Renaissance artist. Melancholy is one of the temperaments associated with the four humors—the fluids that were the basis of the theories about body functions developed by the ancient Greek physician Hippocrates and practiced in medieval physiology. The Italian humanist Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) had written an influential treatise (*De vita triplici,* 1482–1489) in which he asserted that artists were distinct from the population at large because they were born under the sign of the planet Saturn, named for the ancient Roman god. They shared that deity's melancholic temperament because they had an excess of black bile (one of the four humors) in their systems. Artists therefore were "saturnine"—eccentric and capable of both inspired artistic frenzy and melancholic depression. Raphael had depicted Michelangelo in the guise of the brooding Heraclitus in his *School of Athens* (FIG. 22-9), and Dürer used a similarly posed female figure for his winged personification of Melancholy.

In 1510, in *De occulta philosophia,* Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535) of Nettesheim identified three levels of melancholy.

1 in.

23-5 ALBRECHT DÜRER, *Melencolia I,* 1514. Engraving, $9\frac{3}{8}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

In this "self-portrait" of his artistic personality, Dürer represented Melancholy as a brooding winged woman. All around her are the tools of the artist and builder—but the melancholic artist cannot use them.

1 ft.

23-6 ALBRECHT DÜRER, *Four Apostles,* from the city hall, Nuremberg, Germany, 1526. Oil on wood, each panel 7′ 1″ × 2′ 6″. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Dürer's support for Lutheranism surfaces in his portraitlike depictions of four saints on two painted panels. Peter, representative of the pope in Rome, plays a secondary role behind John the Evangelist.

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Catholic versus Protestant Views of Salvation

23-7 **Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Law and Gospel,* ca. 1530. Woodcut, $10\frac{5}{8}'' \times 1' \frac{3}{4}''$. British Museum, London.**

Lucas Cranach was a close friend of Martin Luther, whose *Ninety-five Theses* launched the Protestant Reformation in 1517. This woodcut contrasts Catholic and Protestant views of how to achieve salvation.

A central concern of the Protestant reformers was the question of how Christians achieve salvation. Rather than perceive salvation as something for which weak and sinful humans must constantly strive through good deeds performed under the watchful eye of a punitive God, Martin Luther argued that faithful individuals attained redemption solely by God's bestowal of his grace. Therefore, people cannot earn salvation. Further, no ecclesiastical machinery with all its miraculous rites and Church-sanctioned indulgences could save sinners face-to-face with God. Only absolute faith in Christ could redeem sinners and ensure salvation. Redemption by faith alone, with the guidance of holy scripture, was the fundamental doctrine of Protestantism.

In *Law and Gospel* (FIG. 23-7), a woodcut dated about a dozen years after Luther set the Reformation in motion with his *Ninety-five Theses,* Lucas Cranach the Elder gave visual expression to the doctrinal differences between Protestantism and Catholicism. Cranach contrasted Catholicism (based on Old Testament law, according to Luther) and Protestantism (based on the Gospel belief in God's grace) in two images separated by a centrally placed tree that has leafy branches only on the Protestant side. On the left half, Judgment Day has arrived, as represented by Christ's appearance at the top of the scene, hovering amid a cloud halo and accompanied by angels and saints. Christ raises his left hand in the traditional gesture of damnation, and, below, a skeleton drives off a terrified person to burn for eternity in Hell. This person tried to live a good and honorable life, but despite his efforts, he fell short. Moses stands to the side, holding the tablets of the law—the Ten Commandments, which Catholics follow in their attempt to attain salvation.

In contrast to this Catholic reliance on good works and clean living, Protestant doctrine emphasized God's grace as the source of redemption. Accordingly, God showers the sinner in the right half of the print with grace, as streams of blood flow from the crucified Christ. At the far left are Adam and Eve, whose Original Sin necessitated Christ's sacrifice. In the lower right corner of the woodcut, Christ emerges from the tomb and promises salvation to all who believe in him.

The first was artistic melancholy, which explains the Roman numeral on the banner carried by the bat—a creature of the dark—in Dürer's engraving. Above the brooding figure of Melancholy is an hourglass with the sands of time running out. All around her are the tools of the artist and builder (compare FIG. 13-33)—compass, hammer, nails, and saw among them. However, those tools are useless to the frustrated artist while suffering from melancholy. Melancholy's face is obscured by shadow, underscoring her state of mind. But Dürer also included a burst of light on the far horizon behind the bat, an optimistic note suggesting that artists can overcome their depression and produce works of genius—such as this engraving.

Four Apostles. Dürer's major work in the oil medium is *Four Apostles* (FIG. 23-6), a two-panel painting he produced without commission and presented to the city fathers of Nuremberg in 1526 to be hung in the city hall. Saints John and Peter appear on the left panel, Mark and Paul on the right (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). In addition to showcasing Dürer's mastery of the oil technique, his brilliant use of color and of light and shade, and his ability to imbue the four saints with individual personalities and portraitlike features, *Four Apostles* documents Dürer's support for the German theologian Martin Luther (1483–1546), who sparked the Protestant Reformation (see "Catholic versus Protestant Views of Salvation," above). Dürer conveyed his Lutheran sympathies by his positioning of the figures. He relegated Saint Peter (as representative of the pope in Rome) to a secondary role by placing him behind John the Evangelist (compare Konrad Witz's Peter in *Miraculous Draft of Fish* [FIG. 20-20], widely interpreted as a commentary on the limited powers of the pope). John assumed particular prominence for Luther because of the evangelist's focus on Jesus as a person in his Gospel. In addition, Peter and John both read from the Bible, the single authoritative source of religious truth, according to Luther. Dürer emphasized the Bible's centrality by depicting it open to the passage "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John 1:1). At the bottom of the panels, Dürer included quotations from the four apostles' books, using Luther's German translation of the New Testament. The excerpts warn against the coming of perilous times and the preaching of false prophets who will distort God's word.

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Luther and the Reformation. The Protestant Reformation, which came to fruition in the early 16th century, had its roots in long-term, growing dissatisfaction with the Catholic Church's leadership. The deteriorating relationship between the faithful and the Church of Rome's hierarchy stood as an obstacle for the millions who sought a meaningful religious experience. Particularly damaging was the perception that the Roman popes concerned themselves more with temporal power and material wealth than with the salvation of their Christian flock. The fact that many 15th-century popes and cardinals came from wealthy families, such as the Medici, intensified this perception. It was not only those at the highest levels who seemed to ignore their spiritual duties. Archbishops, bishops, and abbots began to accumulate numerous offices, thereby increasing their revenues but making it more difficult for them to fulfill all of their responsibilities. By 1517, dissatisfaction with the Roman Church had grown so widespread that Luther felt free to openly challenge papal authority by posting on October 31 in Wittenberg his *Ninety-five Theses,* in which he enumerated his objections to Catholic practices, especially the sale of indulgences. *Indulgences* were Church-sanctioned remittances (or reductions) of time that Catholics had to spend in Purgatory for confessed sins. The increasing frequency of their sale suggested that those who could afford to purchase indulgences were buying their way into Heaven.

Luther's goal was significant reform and clarification of major spiritual issues, but his ideas ultimately led to splitting Western Christendom apart. According to Luther, the Catholic Church's extensive structure needed casting out, for it had no basis in scripture. The Bible and nothing else could serve as the foundation for Christianity. Luther called the pope the Antichrist (for which Pope Leo X excommunicated him in 1520) and the Church of Rome the "whore of Babylon." He denounced ordained priests and also rejected most of Catholicism's sacraments other than baptism and communion, decrying them as obstacles to salvation (see "Catholic versus Protestant Views of Salvation," page 691). Luther maintained that for Christianity to be restored to its original purity, the Catholic Church needed cleansing of all the doctrinal impurities that had collected through the ages. Luther advocated the Bible as the source of all religious truth. The Bible—the sole scriptural authority—was the word of God. The Church's councils, laws, and rituals carried no weight. Luther facilitated the lay public's access to biblical truths by publishing the first translation of the Bible in a vernacular language.

Art and the Reformation. In addition to doctrinal differences, Catholics and Protestants took divergent stances on the role of visual imagery in religion. Catholics embraced church decoration as an aid to communicating with God (see "The Council of Trent," page 654). By contrast, Protestants believed that images of Christ, the Virgin, and saints could lead to idolatry. Furthermore, images distracted viewers from focusing on the real reason for their presence in church—to communicate directly with God. Because of this belief, Protestant churches were relatively bare, and the extensive church pictorial programs found especially in Italy but also in Northern Europe (for example, Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece*; FIGS. 20-9 and 20-10) were absent from Protestant churches. After Grünewald completed his *Isenheim Altarpiece* (FIG. 23-2), church commissions largely disappeared. Some artists emigrated to Catholic lands in search of work. Others depended on secular commissions from private patrons.

The Protestant concern over the role of religious imagery escalated at times to outright *iconoclasm*—the destruction of religious artworks, a revival of an attitude that, centuries before, led to a total ban on religious art in the Byzantine Empire (see "Icons and Iconoclasm," page 278). In encouraging a more personal relationship with God, Protestant leaders spoke out against much of the religious art being produced. In his 1525 tract *Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and Sacraments,* Martin Luther explained his attitude toward religious imagery:

> I approached the task of destroying images by first tearing them out of the heart through God's Word and making them worthless and despised. . . . For when they are no longer in the heart, they can do no harm when seen with the eyes. . . . I have allowed and not forbidden the outward removal of images. . . . And I say at the outset that according to the law of Moses no other images are forbidden than an image of God which one worships. A crucifix, on the other hand, or any other holy image is not forbidden.[2]

In fact, Luther approved the inclusion of illustrations in his translations of the Bible as well as painted altarpieces in churches, which he believed served a didactic purpose. However, two influential Protestant theologians based in Switzerland—Huldrych (Ulrich) Zwingli (1484–1531) and French-born John Calvin (Jean

1 in.

23-8 LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER, *Judgment of Paris,* 1530. Oil on wood, 1′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″ × $9\frac{1}{2}$″. Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe.

For aristocratic German patrons, Cranach painted many classical myths featuring seductive female nudes. In his *Judgment of Paris,* the Greek shepherd is a knight in armor in a Saxon landscape.

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Cauvin, 1509–1564)—were more vociferous in cautioning their followers about the potentially dangerous nature of all religious imagery. Zwingli and Calvin's condemnation of religious imagery often led to eruptions of iconoclasm. Particularly violent waves of iconoclastic fervor swept Basel, Zurich, Strasbourg, and Wittenberg in the 1520s. In an episode known as the Great Iconoclasm, bands of Calvinists visited Catholic churches in the Netherlands in 1566, shattering stained-glass windows, smashing statues, and destroying paintings and other artworks that they perceived as idolatrous. These strong reactions to art, which reflected the religious fervor of the time, also serve as dramatic demonstrations of the power of art—and of how much art matters in society.

Lucas Cranach the Elder. The artist most closely associated with the Protestant Reformation and with Martin Luther in particular was Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), who provided the illustrations for Luther's vernacular Bible. Cranach and Luther were godfathers to each other's children, and many scholars have dubbed Cranach "the painter of the Reformation." Cranach was also an accomplished graphic artist who used the new, inexpensive medium of prints on paper to promote Lutheran ideology (fig. 23-7). Cranach's work encompasses a wide range of themes, however. For example, for aristocratic Saxon patrons, he produced a large number of paintings of classical myths featuring female nudes in suggestive poses.

One classical theme that Cranach depicted several times was *Judgment of Paris,* of which the small panel (fig. 23-8) now in Karlsruhe is the best example. Homer recorded the story in the eighth century bce, but Cranach's source was probably the elaboration of the Greek tale in Roman times by Lucian (ca. 120–ca. 180). Mercury chose a handsome young shepherd named Paris to be the judge of a beauty contest among three goddesses—Juno, wife of Jupiter; Minerva, Jupiter's virgin daughter and goddess of wisdom and war; and Venus, the goddess of love (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Mount Olympus," page 107). According to Lucian, each goddess attempted to bribe Paris with rich rewards if he chose her. Venus won by offering Paris the most beautiful woman in the world, Helen of Troy, and thus set in motion the epic war between the Greeks and Trojans recounted in Homer's *Iliad.*

No one, however, could confuse Cranach's painting with an ancient depiction of the myth. The setting is a German landscape with a Saxon castle in the background, and the seated shepherd is a knight in full armor wearing a fashionable hat. Mercury, an aged man (as he never is in ancient art), also wearing armor, bends over to draw Paris's attention to the three goddesses. They are nude save for their fine jewelry and, in the case of Juno, an elegant hat. Cranach's goddesses are loosely based on classical representations of the Three Graces (compare fig. 21-28), although ancient artists never depicted Juno or Minerva undressed. The German painter's figures also do not have the proportions (or modesty) of Praxiteles's *Aphrodite of Knidos* (fig. 5-62) or Botticelli's Venus (fig. 21-1). Slender, with small heads and breasts and long legs, they pose seductively before the judge. Venus performs a dance for Paris, but he seems indifferent to all three goddesses. Only the rearing horse appears to be excited by the spectacle—a touch of humor characteristic of Cranach.

ART AND SOCIETY

Witchcraft and the Macabre

In an age when the normal life span was only about 40 years and disease, plague, and superstitious fear were commonplace, it is natural that these macabre themes would figure prominently in some artworks, such as Matthias Grünewald's *Isenheim Altarpiece* (fig. 23-2), painted for the Hospital of Saint Anthony in Isenheim. Death figures prominently too in the work of Grünewald's contemporary, Hans Baldung Grien, who also explored exotic and erotic subjects, including witchcraft.

Witchcraft was a counter-religion in the 15th and 16th centuries involving magical rituals, secret potions, and Devil worship. Witches prepared brews that they inhaled or rubbed into their skin, sending them into hallucinogenic trances in which they allegedly flew through the night sky on broomsticks or goats. The popes condemned all witches, and Church inquisitors vigorously pursued these demonic heretics and subjected them to torture to wrest confessions from them. People also feared witches because they thought they could create storms and hailstorms that ruined crops and caused famines. Witchcraft fascinated Baldung, and he turned to the subject repeatedly. For him and his contemporaries, witches were evil forces in the world, threats to man—as was Eve herself, whom Baldung also frequently depicted as a temptress responsible for Original Sin.

In *Witches' Sabbath* (fig. 23-9), Baldung depicted a night scene in a forest featuring a coven of nude witches, although 16th-century witches performed their rites clothed. Female nudity and macabre scenes were popular with men, who avidly purchased the relatively inexpensive prints that Baldung created in large numbers. The coven in the *Witches' Sabbath* woodcut includes both young seductresses and old hags. They gather around a covered jar from which a fuming concoction escapes into the air. One young witch rides through the night sky on a goat. She sits backward—Baldung's way of suggesting that witchcraft is the inversion of the true religion, Christianity.

23-9 Hans Baldung Grien, *Witches' Sabbath,* 1510. Chiaroscuro woodcut, 1′ $2\frac{7}{8}$″ × $10\frac{1}{4}$″. British Museum, London.

Baldung's woodcut depicts witches gathered around a cauldron containing a secret potion. One witch flies mounted backward on a goat, suggesting that witchcraft is the inversion of Christianity.

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Hans Baldung Grien. When Albrecht Dürer undertook his second trip to Italy in 1505, he placed his most gifted assistant, Hans Baldung Grien (ca. 1484–1545), in charge of his studio. The son of a prosperous attorney and the brother of a university professor, Baldung chose to pursue printmaking (fig. 23-9) and painting (fig. 23-10) as a profession rather than the law or letters. He eventually settled in Strasbourg, a center of humanistic learning, where he enjoyed a long and successful career. Baldung produced some religious works, but his reputation rested primarily on his exploration of nontraditional subjects, such as witchcraft (see "Witchcraft and the Macabre," page 693).

One of the works that Baldung devoted to witchcraft is *Witches' Sabbath* (fig. 23-9), a *chiaroscuro woodcut*—a recent innovation usually attributed to the Flemish woodcutter Jost de Negker (ca. 1485–ca. 1544). The technique requires the use of two blocks of wood instead of one. The printmaker carves and inks one block (the *key block*) in the usual way in order to produce a traditional black-and-white print (see "Printed Books," page 589). Then the artist cuts a second block (the *tone block*) consisting of broad highlights to be inked in grays or colors and printed over the first block's impression. Chiaroscuro woodcuts therefore incorporate some of the qualities of painting and feature tonal subtleties absent in traditional woodcuts.

Three Ages of Woman and Death. Baldung's *Witches' Sabbath* does not address death and illness directly, but the inevitability of old age and death (with a strong dose of eroticism) are the central elements in his *Three Ages of Woman and Death* (fig. 23-10), a subject that Baldung returned to repeatedly during his career. Albrecht Dürer—in whose workshop Baldung trained—had portrayed Death and Famine (fig. I-9) in his woodcuts, and the emaciated figure of Death in Baldung's painting owes a debt to his master's work, as does the beautiful nude young woman Death approaches from behind. She is a variation on Dürer's Eve in *Fall of Man* (fig. 23-4), an engraving Dürer produced while Baldung was his apprentice. Baldung's oil painting is a commentary on *vanitas* (Latin, "vanity," especially with regard to the transience of life), another popular subject.

The voluptuous, fair-skinned young woman gazes at her reflection in a mirror as she combs her long hair, oblivious that Death pursues her. The maiden appears two more times in the same painting at two different ages—as an infant who plays with one end of the young woman's transparent mantle and as a wrinkled, dark-skinned old woman who rushes in from the left to try to push Death away. Baldung tells the viewer that the old woman will not succeed in warding off Death. Indeed, the sand in the hourglass Death holds mockingly over the maiden's head will run out too soon. (An hourglass also looms over Dürer's personified Melancholy in *Melencolia I,* fig. 23-5.) The visual tensions between youth and age, fleshy maiden and skeletal death, are characteristic elements of Baldung's prints and paintings alike.

Albrecht Altdorfer. Although Dürer, Cranach, and Baldung sold their artworks primarily to private patrons, other artists in 16th-century Germany, as elsewhere in Europe, earned their income in the employ of rulers, and their work promoted the political agendas of their patrons. In 1529, for example, the duke of Bavaria, Wilhelm IV (r. 1508–1550), commissioned Albrecht Altdorfer (ca. 1480–1538) of Regensburg to paint the *Battle of Issus* (fig. 23-11) at the commencement of his military campaign against the invading Ottoman Turks. The panel depicts Alexander the Great's defeat of King Darius III of Persia in 333 bce near a town called Issus on the Pinarus River. Altdorfer announced the subject—which a Greek painter, probably Philoxenos of Eretria, had represented two millennia before (fig. 5-70)—in the Latin inscription suspended in the sky. The parallels between the historical and contemporary conflicts were no doubt significant to the duke. Both involved Western societies engaged in battles against Eastern foes with different values—the Persians in antiquity and the Ottomans in 1528. Altdorfer reinforced this connection by attiring the figures in 16th-century armor (many of the "Persian" soldiers wear Turkish turbans) and depicting them battling in 16th-century military formations.

1 in.

23-10 Hans Baldung Grien, *Three Ages of Woman and Death,* 1510. Oil on wood, 1′ $3\frac{3}{4}$″ × 1′ $\frac{3}{4}$″. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Baldung often explored macabre themes featuring female nudity. Here, Death approaches a maiden as she admires her reflection. Beside her are an old woman and an infant—the maiden at different ages.

Landscapes gained popularity in the 16th century in the wake of the Protestant Reformation's iconoclastic tendencies. Altdorfer was one of the first to draw and paint landscapes as subjects in their own right, and *Battle of Issus* reveals his interest in recording natural locales. The battle takes place in an almost cosmological setting. From a bird's-eye view, the clashing armies swarm in the foreground. In the distance, craggy mountain peaks rise next to still bodies of water. Amid swirling clouds, a blazing sun descends. Although the spectacular topography may appear invented, Altdorfer derived his depiction of the landscape from a 1493 map of the Mediterranean world in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* (fig. 20-23).

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1 ft.

23-11 Albrecht Altdorfer, *Battle of Issus,* 1529. Oil on wood, 5′ 2¼″ × 3′ 11¼″. Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Interweaving landscape, history, and 16th-century politics, Altdorfer painted Alexander the Great's defeat of the Persians for a patron who had just embarked on a military campaign against the Ottoman Turks.

Specifically, the viewer sees the terrain and sea from the mountains of Greece to the Nile Valley in Egypt. In addition, Altdorfer may have acquired his information about this battle from the German scholar Johannes Aventinus (1477–1534), whose account of Alexander's victory describes the bloody daylong battle. Appropriately, given Alexander's designation as the "sun god," the sun sets over the victorious Greeks on the right, while a small crescent moon (a symbol of ancient Persia) hovers in the upper left corner over the retreating enemy forces.

Hans Holbein. Also in the employ of the rich and powerful for much of his career was Hans Holbein the Younger (ca. 1497–1543), who excelled as a portraitist. Born in Augsburg, Germany, and trained by his father, Holbein produced many of his best portraits in England. The surfaces of Holbein's paintings are as lustrous as enamel, and the details are exact and exquisitely drawn, consistent with the tradition of 15th-century Flemish art. Yet he also incorporated Italian ideas about compositional design and sculpturesque form. Holbein is a leading example of the increasingly international outlook of 16th-century European artists.

Holbein began his artistic career in Basel, where he became a master in the painter's guild in 1519 and met Erasmus of Rotterdam, whose portrait he painted several times. Because of the immediate threat of a religious civil war in Basel, Erasmus suggested that Holbein leave for England and gave him a recommendation to Thomas More, chancellor of England under Henry VIII. Holbein arrived in England in 1526 and quickly obtained important commissions—for example, to paint More's portrait. Holbein returned to Basel in 1528, but went back to England in 1532 and remained there until his death in 1543. In 1533, he painted one of his most ambitious works, a double portrait (fig. 23-12) of the French ambassadors to England, Jean de Dinteville (1504–1557) and Georges de Selve (1509–1542). A few years later (1536), Holbein became the King's Painter and produced numerous portraits of Henry VIII (fig. 23-12A).

23-12A Holbein the Younger, *Henry VIII,* 1540.

1 ft.

23-12 Hans Holbein the Younger, *The French Ambassadors,* 1533. Oil and tempera on wood, 6′ 8″ × 6′ 9½″. National Gallery, London.

In this double portrait, Holbein depicted two humanists with a collection of objects reflective of their worldliness and learning, but he also included an anamorphic skull, a reminder of death.

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Hieronymus Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*

Garden of Earthly Delights (FIG. 23-13), Hieronymus Bosch's most famous and most enigmatic painting, is a large triptych. That format would suggest a religious function for the work as an altarpiece, but the painting was on display in the palace of Count Hendrik III of Nassau-Breda (r. 1516–1538) no later than seven years after its completion. This suggests that the triptych was a secular commission, and some scholars have proposed that given the work's central themes of sex and procreation, the painting may commemorate a wedding. Paintings of married couples are common in Netherlandish art. Fifteenth-century examples include *Giovanni Arnolfini and His Wife* (FIG. 20-11) and *A Goldsmith in His Shop* (FIG. 20-14). Any similarity to those earlier paintings ends there, however. Whereas Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus grounded their depictions of husbands and wives in contemporary Netherlandish life and custom, Bosch's image portrays a visionary world of fantasy and intrigue—a painted world without close parallel until the advent of Surrealism more than 400 years later (FIG. 29-39).

Few scholars today subscribe to the wedding-painting explanation, but that Bosch's triptych was never intended for or displayed in a church seems certain. However, that does not preclude a moralistic interpretation of the complex painting, one in the tradition of medieval representations of sin and of the horrors of Hell (for example, FIGS. 12-1 and 12-38A).

In the left panel, God (in the form of Christ) presents Eve to Adam in a landscape, presumably the Garden of Eden. (When closed, the triptych's wings show the earth on the third day of Creation.) Bosch's wildly imaginative setting includes an odd pink fountainlike structure in a body of water and an array of fanciful and unusual animals, including a giraffe, an elephant, and winged fish.

The central panel is a continuation of Paradise, a sunlit landscape filled with nude people, including exotic figures of African descent, who frequently appear in Renaissance paintings (for example, FIG. 21-49), both north and south of the Alps. All those in Paradise are in the prime of youth. They blithely cavort amid bizarre creatures and unidentifiable objects. Some of the youths exuberantly stand on their hands or turn somersaults. The numerous fruits and birds in the scene are fertility symbols and suggest procreation. Indeed, many of the figures pair off as couples. These are the descendants of Adam and Eve, who have not learned the lesson of their ancestors' expulsion from Paradise, leading God to unleash a flood to rid the world of all humans save for Noah and his family.

In contrast to the orgiastic overtones of the central panel is the terrifying image of Hell in the right wing, where viewers must search through the inky darkness to find all of the fascinating though repulsive details that Bosch recorded. Beastly creatures devour people, while other condemned souls endure tortures tailored to their conduct while alive. A glutton must vomit eternally. A miser squeezes gold coins from his bowels. A spidery monster fondles a promiscuous woman while toads bite her.

Another element of *Garden of Earthly Delights* that bears on its interpretation is that many details throughout the triptych are based on chemical apparatus of the day, which Bosch knew well because his in-laws were pharmacists. The painting may have been intended for a learned audience of aristocrats in Nassau who were fascinated by *alchemy*—the medieval study of seemingly magical chemical changes. (Witchcraft also involved alchemy; see "Witchcraft," page 693.)

23-13 HIERONYMUS BOSCH, *Garden of Earthly Delights,* ca. 1505–1510. Oil on wood, center panel 7′ $2\frac{5}{8}$″ × 6′ $4\frac{3}{4}$″, each wing 7′ $2\frac{5}{8}$″ × 3′ $2\frac{1}{4}$″. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

In the fantastic sunlit landscape that is Bosch's Paradise, scores of nude people in the prime of life blithely cavort. The horrors of Hell include sinners enduring tortures tailored to their conduct while alive.

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The French Ambassadors exhibits Holbein's considerable talents—his strong sense of composition, gift for recording likenesses, marvelous sensitivity to color, and faultless technique. The two men, both ardent humanists, stand at opposite ends of a side table covered with an oriental rug and a collection of objects reflective of their worldliness and their interest in learning and the arts. These include mathematical and astronomical models and implements (compare FIG. 26-23), a lute with a broken string, compasses, a sundial, flutes, globes, and an open hymnbook with Luther's translation of *Veni, Creator Spiritus* and of the Ten Commandments.

Of particular interest is the long gray shape that slashes diagonally across the picture plane and interrupts the stable, balanced, and serene composition. Here Holbein employed *anamorphosis,* image distortion that requires a special device—such as a cylindrical mirror—or looking at the painting at an acute angle to recognize it. In this case, if the viewer stands off to the right, the distorted image becomes a skull. Although scholars disagree on the skull's precise meaning in this context, it certainly refers to death. Artists commonly incorporated skulls into paintings as reminders of mortality. Indeed, Holbein depicted a skull on the metal medallion on Jean de Dinteville's hat. Holbein may have intended the skulls, in conjunction with the crucifix that appears half hidden behind the curtain in the upper left corner, to encourage viewers to ponder death and resurrection. (A faint image of a skull appears on the polygonal block at the left in Dürer's *Melencolia I*; FIG. 23-5.)

Holbein's portrait of the two ambassadors may also allude to the growing tension between secular and religious authorities. Jean de Dinteville was a titled landowner, Georges de Selve a bishop. The inclusion of Luther's translations next to the lute with the broken string (a symbol of discord) may subtly refer to this religious strife. In any case, *The French Ambassadors* is a painting of supreme artistic achievement. Holbein rendered the still-life objects with the same meticulous care as he did the men themselves, the woven design of the deep emerald curtain behind them, and the Italian marble-inlay floor, drawn in perfect perspective.

THE NETHERLANDS

During the second half of the 16th century, Philip II of Spain (r. 1556–1598) controlled the Netherlands, which consisted of 17 provinces corresponding to present-day Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg. Philip had inherited the region from his father, Charles V (r. 1516–1556), the Holy Roman Emperor and champion of Catholicism. Philip sought to force the entire population to become Catholic. His heavy-handed tactics and repressive measures led in 1579 to revolt and the formation of two federations: the Union of Arras, a Catholic union of southern Netherlandish provinces, which remained under Spanish dominion, and the Union of Utrecht, a Protestant union of northern provinces, which became the Dutch Republic (MAP 25-1).

As in Germany (FIG. 23-2), early-16th-century Netherlandish artists continued to receive commissions from Catholic churches for large-scale altarpieces and other religious works. Because of Protestantism, the Netherlands witnessed the beginning of a robust private art market focused on secular subjects. Consequently, Netherlandish art of this period provides a wonderful glimpse into the lives of various levels of society, from nobility to peasantry, capturing their activities, environment, and values (see "Netherlandish Mores and the Pursuit of Wealth," page 685).

1 ft.

23-14 JAN GOSSAERT, *Neptune and Amphitrite,* 1516. Oil on wood, 6′ 2″ × 4′ ¾″. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

Dürer's *Fall of Man* (FIG. 23-4) inspired the poses of Gossaert's classical deities, but the architectural setting is probably based on the sketches Gossaert made of ancient buildings during his trip to Rome.

Hieronymus Bosch. The leading Netherlandish painter at the turn of the century was HIERONYMUS BOSCH (ca. 1450–1516), one of the most fascinating artistic personalities in history. Bosch's most famous painting, *Garden of Earthly Delights* (FIG. 23-13), is also his most puzzling, and no interpretation has ever won universal acceptance (see "Hieronymus Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights,*" page 696).

Jan Gossaert. Bosch and Quinten Massys (FIG. 23-1) spent their entire careers in the Netherlands, but many of their contemporaries succumbed to the lure of Italy. JAN GOSSAERT (ca. 1478–1535), known to his contemporaries as "the Apelles of our age," was one of those who traveled to Italy (in 1508–1509) and became fascinated with classical antiquity and mythology (FIG. 23-14), although he also painted traditional Christian themes (FIG. 23-14A). Giorgio Vasari (see "Vasari's *Lives,*" page 648), writing about 15 years

23-14A GOSSAERT, *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin,* ca. 1520–1525.

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after Gossaert's death, claimed that "Giovanni di Mabuse [Jan Gossaert] was almost the first to bring from Italy into Flanders the true method of making scenes full of nude figures."[3]

In fact, Gossaert derived much of his classicism from Albrecht Dürer, whose *Fall of Man* (FIG. 23-4) inspired the composition and poses in Gossaert's *Neptune and Amphitrite* (FIG. 23-14). However, in contrast to Dürer's exquisitely small engraving, Gossaert's painting is more than 6 feet tall and 4 feet wide. The artist executed the painting with characteristic Netherlandish polish, skillfully drawing and carefully modeling the life-size figures. Gossaert depicted the sea god with his traditional attribute, the *trident* (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Mount Olympus," page 107; compare FIG. 7-23), and wearing a laurel wreath and an ornate conch shell in place of Dürer's fig leaf. Amphitrite is fleshy and, like Neptune, assumes a classical statuary stance with outthrust hips (compare FIG. 5-62). The architectural frame, which resembles the *cella* of a classical temple (FIG. 5-46), is an unusual mix of Doric and Ionic elements and *bucrania* (ox-skull decorations), a common motif in ancient architectural ornamentation. Gossaert likely based the classical setting on sketches he had made of ancient buildings while in Rome. (Several of his drawings of ancient statues and of the Colosseum are preserved.)

Gossaert had traveled to Italy as part of an official delegation to Pope Julius II led by Philip, Admiral of Burgundy (1498–1517) and Bishop of Utrecht (1517–1524), who commissioned Gossaert to paint *Neptune and Amphitrite.* The subject must have held special appeal for the admiral, but Philip did not display the work publicly. He kept the representation of the nude god and goddess in the innermost room of his castle.

Pieter Aertsen. Gossaert's *Neptune and Amphitrite* is exceptional in treating a Greco-Roman subject. More typical, and another example of the Netherlandish tendency to inject reminders about spiritual well-being into paintings of everyday life, is *Butcher's Stall* (FIG. 23-15) by PIETER AERTSEN (ca. 1507–1575) of Amsterdam, who became a master in Antwerp's Guild of Saint Luke in 1535 and a citizen of his adopted city in 1542. He returned to Amsterdam in 1557 and worked there until his death two decades later.

Butcher's Stall is one of the *genre* scenes (paintings of daily life) for which Aertsen achieved fame. On display is an array of meat products—a side of a hog, chickens, sausages, a stuffed intestine, pig's feet, meat pies, a cow's head, a hog's head, and hanging entrails. Also visible are fish, pretzels, cheese, and butter. But, like Massys (FIG. 23-1), Aertsen strategically embedded religious images in his

23-15 PIETER AERTSEN, *Butcher's Stall,* 1551. Oil on wood, 4′ $\frac{3}{8}$″ × 6′ 5$\frac{3}{4}$″. Uppsala University Art Collection, Uppsala.

Butcher's Stall appears to be a genre painting, but in the background, Joseph leads a donkey carrying Mary and the Christ Child. Aertsen balanced images of gluttony with allusions to salvation.

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1 in.

23-16 Caterina van Hemessen, *Self-Portrait,* 1548. Oil on wood, 1′ $\frac{3}{4}$″ × 9 $\frac{7}{8}$″. Kunstmuseum Basel, Basel.

In this first known Northern European self-portrait by a woman, Caterina van Hemessen represented herself as a confident artist momentarily interrupting her work to look out at the viewer.

painting. In the background (fig. 23-15, *center left*), Joseph leads a donkey carrying Mary and the Christ Child. The holy family stops to offer alms to a beggar and his son, while the people behind the holy family wend their way toward a church. Furthermore, the crossed fishes on the platter and the pretzels and wine in the rafters on the upper left all refer to "spiritual food" (pretzels were often served as bread during Lent). Aertsen accentuated these allusions to salvation through Christ by contrasting them to their opposite—a life of gluttony, lust, and sloth. He represented this degeneracy with the oyster and mussel shells (which Netherlanders believed possessed aphrodisiacal properties) scattered on the ground on the painting's right side, along with the people seen eating and carousing nearby under the roof. Underscoring the general theme is the placard at the right advertising land for sale—Aertsen's moralistic reference to a recent scandal involving the transfer of land from an Antwerp charitable institution to a land speculator.

Caterina van Hemessen. With the accumulation of wealth in the Netherlands, private portraits increased in popularity. The example illustrated here (fig. 23-16), by Caterina van Hemessen (1528–1587), is the first known Northern European self-portrait by a woman. The artist signed the work "Caterina van Hemessen painted me / 1548 / her age 20" and confidently presented herself as a painter who interrupts her work at her easel to look toward the viewer. She holds brushes, a palette, and a *maulstick* (a stick used to steady the hand while painting) in her left hand, and delicately applies pigment to the panel with her right hand. Professional women artists remained unusual in the 16th century in large part because of the difficulty in obtaining formal training (see "The Artist's Profession in Flanders," page 580). Caterina was typical in having been taught by her father, Jan Sanders van Hemessen (ca. 1500–1556), a well-known painter in Antwerp who had traveled in Italy in the 1520s. She acquired an enviable reputation for her portraits of women and enjoyed the patronage of Mary, queen consort of Hungary (1505–1558).

Levina Teerlinc. Another Netherlandish woman painter was Levina Teerlinc (ca. 1515–1576) of Bruges. She established such a high reputation that Henry VIII (fig. 23-12A) invited her to England and appointed her royal *paintrix* in 1546, three years after the death of Hans Holbein the Younger. Teerlinc became a formidable rival of her male contemporaries at the court and received greater compensation for her work than they did for theirs—in striking contrast to what Artemisia Gentileschi, the leading female painter in 17th-century Italy, experienced in her homeland (see "The Letters of Artemisia Gentileschi," page 725). Teerlinc's considerable skill is evident in a life-size portrait (fig. 23-17) attributed to her, which depicts Elizabeth I as a composed, youthful princess. Daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth was probably in her late 20s when she posed for this portrait. Appropriate to her station

1 ft.

23-17 Attributed to Levina Teerlinc, *Elizabeth I as a Princess,* ca. 1559. Oil on wood, 3′ 6 $\frac{3}{4}$″ × 2′ 8 $\frac{1}{4}$″. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, Windsor.

Teerlinc received greater compensation for her work for the British court than did her male contemporaries. Her considerable skill is evident in this life-size portrait of Elizabeth I as a young princess.

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in life, Elizabeth wears an elegant brocaded gown, extravagant jewelry, and a headdress based on a style popularized by her mother.

Teerlinc's success testifies to her determination and skill, given the difficulties that women faced in a profession dominated by men. Women also played an important role as patrons in 16th-century Northern Europe. Politically powerful women such as Mary of Hungary, van Hemessen's patron, and Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), regent of the Netherlands during the early 16th century, were active collectors and patrons, and contributed significantly to the thriving state of the arts. As did other art patrons, these women collected and commissioned art not only for the aesthetic pleasure it provided but also for the status it bestowed on them and the cultural sophistication it represented.

Joachim Patinir. In addition to portrait and genre painting, landscape painting flourished in the 16th-century Netherlands. Joachim Patinir (ca. 1480–1524), who became a master in Antwerp's painters' guild in 1515, was particularly well known for his landscapes. In fact, the word *Landschaft* (landscape) first emerged in German literature as a characterization of an artistic category when Dürer described Patinir as a "good landscape painter." In *Landscape with Saint Jerome* (fig. 23-18), Patinir subordinated the saint, who removes a thorn from a lion's paw in the foreground, to the exotic and detailed landscape populated by other figures and animals. As is typical of his work, in this painting Patinir depicted the countryside from a high vantage point in order to achieve a broad and distant panorama. Craggy rock formations, verdant rolling fields, villages with church steeples, expansive bodies of water, and a dramatic sky fill most of the panel. Although nature figures more prominently in his religious paintings than do the biblical protagonists, Patinir had little interest in exploring Italian linear perspective. In fact, his bird's-eye views are inconsistent: the terrain is represented from above, but individual features, such as trees and rocky outcroppings, are seen head-on. He did, however, use different blues, making them paler with increasing distance to suggest recession.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder. The greatest Netherlandish painter of the mid-16th century was Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1528–1569). Trained in Antwerp and influenced by Patinir, although he was an apprentice in a different studio, Bruegel was also a landscape painter. In Bruegel's paintings, however, no matter how huge a slice

23-18 **Joachim Patinir,** ***Landscape with Saint Jerome,*** **ca. 1520–1524. Oil on wood, 2′ $5\frac{1}{8}''$ × 2′ $11\frac{7}{8}''$. Museo del Prado, Madrid.**

Joachim Patinir, a renowned Netherlandish landscape painter, subordinated the story of Saint Jerome to the depiction of craggy rock formations, verdant rolling fields, and expansive bodies of water.

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of the world the artist depicted, human activities remain the dominant theme. Like many of his contemporaries, Bruegel traveled to Italy, where between 1551 and 1554 he went as far south as Sicily, and was in Rome in 1553. Unlike other artists, however, Bruegel chose not to incorporate classical elements into his paintings. He settled in Brussels in 1563.

Bruegel's *Netherlandish Proverbs* (FIG. 23-19), painted in Antwerp several years after the artist returned from Italy, depicts a Netherlandish village populated by a wide range of people, encompassing nobility, peasants, and clerics. Seen from the kind of bird's-eye view that Patinir favored is a mesmerizing array of activities reminiscent of the topsy-turvy scenes of Bosch (FIG. 23-13). In fact, contemporaries referred to Bruegel as "a second Bosch." Nonetheless, *Netherlandish Proverbs* is unlike anything Bosch ever painted, and the purpose and meaning of Bruegel's anecdotal details are clear, whereas Bosch's are difficult to interpret, at least for modern viewers. By illustrating more than a hundred proverbs in this one painting, the artist indulged his Netherlandish audience's obsession with proverbs, passion for detailed and clever imagery, and interest in human folly—the subject of Erasmus's most famous work, *In Praise of Folly.*

As the viewer scrutinizes the myriad vignettes within the painting, Bruegel's close observation and deep understanding of human nature become apparent. The proverbs depicted include, on the far left, a man in blue gnawing on a pillar. "He who bites a church pillar" is a religious zealot engaged in folly. To his right, a man "beats his head against a wall" (a frustrated idiot who has attempted something impossible). On the roof, a man "shoots one arrow after the other, but hits nothing" (a fool who throws good money after bad). In the far distance, near the burst of sunlight, the "blind lead the blind"—a subject to which Bruegel returned several years later in one of his most famous paintings (not illustrated).

In contrast to Patinir's Saint Jerome, lost in the landscape, the vast cast of often comical characters in Bruegel's *Netherlandish Proverbs* fills the panel, so much so that the artist almost shut out the sky. *Hunters in the Snow* (FIG. 23-20) and *Fall of Icarus* (FIG. 23-19A) are very different in character and illustrate the

23-19A BRUEGEL THE ELDER, *Fall of Icarus,* ca. 1555–1556.

1 ft.

23-19 PIETER BRUEGEL THE ELDER, *Netherlandish Proverbs,* 1559. Oil on wood, 3′ 10″ × 5′ 4 1/8″. Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

In this painting of a Netherlandish village, Bruegel indulged his audience's obsession with proverbs and passion for clever imagery, and demonstrated his deep understanding of human nature.

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23-20 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Hunters in the Snow,* 1565. Oil on wood, 3′ 10 1/8″ × 5′ 3 3/4″. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

In *Hunters in the Snow,* one of a series of paintings illustrating different seasons, Bruegel draws the viewer diagonally into the expansive winter landscape by his mastery of line, shape, and composition.

dynamic variety of Bruegel's work. *Hunters in the Snow* (fig. 23-20) is one of a series of six paintings he produced in Brussels illustrating seasonal changes, with each painting representing not a season but a pair of months. The paintings were a private commission and hung in the home of Nicolaes Jongelinck, a wealthy Antwerp merchant. The series, which Bruegel completed in a single year, grew out of the tradition of depicting months and peasants in Books of Hours (figs. 20-5 and 20-6). The painting, which must represent December/January, shows human figures and landscape locked in winter cold, reflecting the particularly severe winter of 1565. The weary hunters return with their hounds, women build fires, skaters skim the frozen pond, and the town and its church huddle in their mantle of snow. Bruegel rendered the landscape in an optically accurate manner. It develops smoothly from foreground to background and draws the viewer diagonally into its depths, starting with the row of bare trees in the left foreground. The painter's supreme skill in using line and shape and his subtlety in tonal harmony make this one of the great landscape paintings in Western art.

FRANCE

As Holbein's *French Ambassadors* (fig. 23-12) illustrates, France in the early 16th century continued its efforts to secure widespread recognition as a political power and cultural force. Under Francis I (r. 1515–1547; fig. 23-21), the French established a firm foothold in Milan and its environs, and waged a campaign (known as the Habsburg-Valois Wars) against Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Spain. These wars, which occupied Francis for most of his reign, involved disputed territories—southern France, the Netherlands, the Rhineland, northern Spain, and Italy—and reflect France's central role in the shifting geopolitical landscape (map 23-1).

The French king also took a strong position in the religious controversies of his day. By the mid-16th century, the split between Catholics and Protestants had become so pronounced that subjects often felt compelled either to accept the religion of their sovereign or emigrate to a territory where the sovereign's religion corresponded with their own. France was predominantly Catholic, and in 1534, Francis declared Protestantism illegal. The state persecuted its Protestants—the Huguenots, a Calvinist sect—and drove them underground. Calvin himself fled from France to Switzerland two years later. The Huguenots' commitment to Protestant Calvinism eventually led to one of the bloodiest religious massacres in European history when the Huguenots and Catholics clashed in Paris in August 1572. The violence quickly spread throughout France with the support of many nobles, which presented a serious threat to the king's authority.

Jean Clouet. As the rulers of antiquity and other Renaissance monarchs had done, Francis commissioned portraits of himself to assert his authority. The finest is the portrait that Jean Clouet (ca. 1485–1541) painted about a decade after Francis became king. Clouet probably moved from the Netherlands to France during the reign of Louis XII (r. 1498–1515). He soon established a studio specializing in portraiture and received royal commissions. In *Francis I* (fig. 23-21), Clouet presented the French monarch as a worldly ruler magnificently bedecked in silks and brocades, wearing a gold chain with a medallion of the Order of Saint Michael, a French order founded by Louis XI in 1469. Francis appears suave and confident, with his hand resting on the pommel of a dagger. Despite the careful detail, the portrait also exhibits an elegantly formalized quality, the result of Clouet's suppression of modeling, which flattens features, seen particularly in Francis's neck. The disproportion between the king's small head and his broad body, swathed in heavy layers of fabric, adds to the formalized nature.

Portraiture was, however, a relatively minor interest of Francis's. He was a great patron of sculpture and the decorative arts; a passionate collector of paintings, especially those of Italian masters; and a builder on a grand scale (see "Francis I, Royal Art Patron and Collector," page 703).

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THE PATRON'S VOICE

Francis I, Royal Art Patron and Collector

With the coming of age of Francis I, the Catholic Church, the primary patron of art and architecture in medieval France, yielded that position to the French monarchy. The patronage of Francis I, extensively chronicled in a rich trove of contemporary documents, is an illuminating case study of what can result from the confluence of vast wealth, absolute power, and sophisticated taste.

23-21A Gallery of Francis I, Fontainebleau, ca. 1533–1539.

Francis expended especially large sums on building projects, including a royal hunting lodge at Chambord (FIG. 23-22). After his decision in 1528 to relocate to Paris from the Loire valley, he undertook the remodeling of the Louvre, then a medieval fortress (FIG. 20-6), and constructed new palaces in the Bois du Boulogne forest outside Paris, at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and most significantly at Fontainebleau (FIGS. 23-21A).

Francis favored art that was at once elegant, erotic, and unorthodox. Appropriately, Mannerism held great appeal for him, and he hired three prominent Italian Mannerists to create artworks for his pleasure and to decorate the new palace at Fontainebleau: Benvenuto Cellini (FIGS. 22-45 and 22-45A), ROSSO FIORENTINO (1494–1540), and FRANCESCO PRIMATICCIO (1504–1570). Francis had earlier enticed Leonardo da Vinci to come to France after the king won control of Milan in 1516. Leonardo was given a generous pension and an elegant home at Cloux, where he died three years later (without having produced any important works for the king).

Anecdotes abound attesting to Francis's deep personal interest in the artists in his employ. The king was capable of both extravagant praise and harsh criticism. On one occasion, he rebuked Cellini for not living up to his promises and warned the artist about the consequences if he did not change his ways:

> I gave you express orders to make me twelve silver statues. . . . You have chosen to execute a saltcellar [FIG. 22-45], and vases and busts and doors, and a heap of other things. . . . You have neglected my wishes and worked for the fulfillment of your own. . . . I tell you, therefore, plainly: do your utmost to obey my commands; for if you stick to your own fancies you will run your head against a wall.*

Francis probably made his greatest mark, however, as a collector. Through diplomatic gifts he received and the artworks his agents commissioned or acquired on his behalf in Italy, Francis formed a magnificent collection. With some horror, Giorgio Vasari, the great chronicler of Renaissance artists' lives (see "Giorgio Vasari's *Lives,*" page 648), took note in his biography of Andrea del Sarto (FIG. 22-8A) of the king's ravenous appetite for Italian art and of how the artistic patrimony of Vasari's beloved Florence was being exported to France:

> In Florence . . . Giovanbattista della Palla . . . was not only having executed all the sculptures and pictures he could, to send to France for King Francis I, but was also buying antiques of all sorts and pictures of every kind, provided only that they were by the hands of good masters; and every day he was packing them up and sending them off.†

1 ft.

23-21 JEAN CLOUET, *Francis I,* ca. 1525–1530. Tempera and oil on wood, 3′ 2″ × 2′ 5″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Clouet's portrait of the elegantly dressed Francis I reveals the artist's skill, but the flattening of the king's features and disproportion between his head and body give the painting a formalized quality.

Francis's art treasures became the core of one of the world's greatest museums, the Musée du Louvre. A brief list just of the works in *Art through the Ages* that Francis once owned will suffice to indicate the quality of his collection: Leonardo da Vinci's *Madonna of the Rocks* (FIG. 22-2) and *Mona Lisa* (FIG. 22-5); Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time* (FIG. 22-42); Michelangelo's *Bound Slave* (FIG. 22-15); and Cellini's saltcellar (FIG. 22-45) and *Genius of Fontainebleau* (FIG. 22-45A). In addition, Francis's collection boasted works by Perugino, Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Titian, Giulio Romano, and Rosso Fiorentino, as well as tapestries and ancient statues.

*Quoted by Robert J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 456.
†Translated by Janet Cox-Rearick, *The Collection of Francis I: Royal Treasures* (New York: Abrams, 1996), 87.

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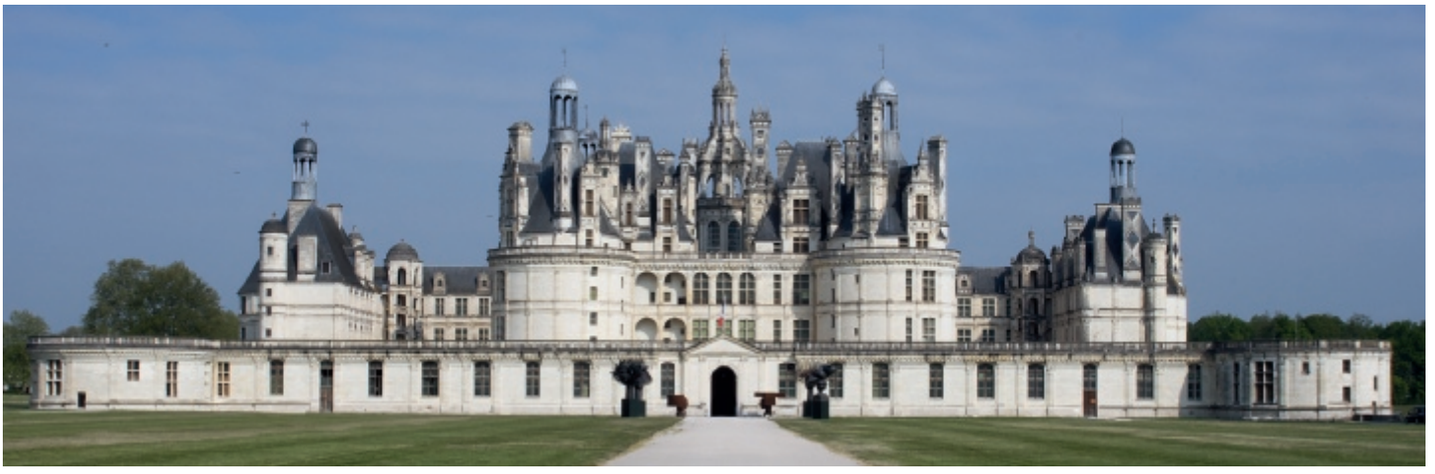

23-22 Château de Chambord (looking northwest), Chambord, France, begun 1519.

French Renaissance châteaux, which developed from medieval castles, served as country houses for royalty. King Francis I's Château de Chambord reflects Italian palazzo design, but it has a Gothic roof.

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Château de Chambord. Among Francis's architectural commissions is the grandiose Château de Chambord (FIG. 23-22). As a building type, the *château* developed from medieval fortified castles, but, reflecting more peaceful times, Renaissance châteaux served as country houses for royalty, who usually built them near forests for use as hunting lodges. Many, including Chambord, still featured defensive surrounding moats, however. Construction of the Château de Chambord began in 1519, but Francis I never saw its completion. Chambord's plan, originally drawn by a pupil of Giuliano da Sangallo (FIGS. 22-26 and 22-27), includes a central square block with four corridors in the shape of a cross and a broad central staircase that gives access to groups of rooms—ancestors of the modern suite of rooms or apartments. At each of the four corners, a round tower punctuates the square plan. From the exterior, Chambord presents a carefully contrived horizontal accent on three levels, with continuous moldings separating its floors. Windows align precisely, one exactly over another. The Italian Renaissance palazzo served as the model for this matching of horizontal and vertical features, but above the third level, the structure's lines break chaotically into a jumble of high *dormers* (projecting gable-capped windows), chimneys, and turrets that are the heritage of French Gothic residential architecture—for example, the Louvre palace (FIG. 20-6) in Paris.

Louvre, Paris. Chambord, despite its Italian elements, is essentially a French building. During the reign of Francis's successor, Henry II (r. 1547–1559), however, translations of Italian architectural treatises appeared, and Italian architects themselves came to work in France. Moreover, the French turned to Italy for study and travel. These exchanges caused a more extensive revolution in style than had transpired earlier, although certain French elements derived from the Gothic tradition persisted. This incorporation of Italian architectural ideas characterizes the redesigned Louvre in Paris, originally a medieval palace and fortress (FIG. 20-6). Since Charles V's renovation of the Louvre in the mid-14th century, the

23-23 PIERRE LESCOT, west wing of the Cour Carrée (Square Court; looking west) of the Louvre, Paris, France, begun 1546.

Pierre Lescot's design for the Louvre palace reflects Italian Renaissance architectural models, but the decreasing height of the stories, large windows, and steep roof are Northern European features.

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castle had fallen into a state of disrepair. Francis I initiated the project to renovate the royal palace (see "Francis I," page 703) when he decided in 1528 to move his court to Paris from the Loire valley. It was not until 1546, however, that Francis commissioned Pierre Lescot (1510–1578) to build a new palace. Francis died the following year, but work continued under Henry II, who greatly enlarged the project, enabling Lescot to design a palace that has become synonymous with the classical style of 16th-century French architecture.

Lescot and his associates were familiar with the architectural style of Bramante and his school. In the west wing of the Cour Carrée (Square Court; fig. 23-23) of the Louvre, each of the stories forms a complete order, and the cornices project enough to furnish a strong horizontal accent. The arcading on the ground story reflects the ancient Roman use of arches and produces more shadow than in the upper stories due to its recessed placement, thereby strengthening the design's visual base. On the second story, the pilasters rising from bases and the alternating curved and angular pediments have direct antecedents in several High Renaissance palaces—for example, the Palazzo Farnese (fig. 22-26) in Rome. Yet the decreasing height of the stories, the scale of the windows (proportionately much larger than in Italian Renaissance buildings), and the steep roof are Northern European elements. Especially French are the tall central sections projecting from the wall on each side of the courtyard that feature double columns framing a niche. The richly articulated wall surfaces also include relief sculptures by Jean Goujon (ca. 1510–1565), who had previously collaborated with Lescot on the Fountain of the Innocents (fig. 23-23A) in Paris.

23-23A Goujon, Fountain of the Innocents, 1547–1549.

Other Northern European countries imitated this French classical manner—its double-columned pavilions, tall and wide windows, profuse statuary, and steep roofs—although with local variations. The modified classicism that the French embraced became the model for building projects north of the Alps through most of the 16th century.

SPAIN

Spain's ascent to power in Europe began in the mid-15th century with the marriage of Isabella of Castile (1451–1504) and Ferdinand of Aragon (1452–1516) in 1469. By the end of the 16th century, Spain had emerged as the dominant European power. Under the Habsburg rulers Charles V and Philip II, the Spanish Empire controlled a territory greater in extent than any ever known—a large part of Europe, the western Mediterranean, a strip of North Africa, and vast expanses in the New World. Spain acquired many of its New World colonies through aggressive overseas exploration. Among the most notable conquistadors sailing under the Spanish flag were Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), Vasco Núñez de Balboa (ca. 1475–1517), Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521), Hernán Cortés (1485–1547), and Francisco Pizarro (ca. 1470–1541). The Habsburg Empire, enriched by New World plunder, supported the most powerful military force in Europe. Spain defended and then promoted the interests of the Catholic Church in its battle against the inroads of the Protestant Reformation. Indeed, Philip II earned the title "Most Catholic King." Spain's crusading spirit, nourished by centuries of war with Islam, prepared the country to assume the role of the most Catholic civilization of Europe and the Americas. In the 16th century, for good or for ill, Spain left the mark of its power, religion, language, and culture on two hemispheres.

23-24 **Portal, Colegio de San Gregorio, Valladolid, Spain, ca. 1498.**

The Plateresque architectural style takes its name from *platero* (Spanish, "silversmith"). At the center of this portal's Late Gothic tracery is the coat of arms of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella.

Colegio de San Gregorio. During the 15th century and well into the 16th, a Late Gothic style of architecture, the Plateresque, prevailed in Spain. *Plateresque* derives from the Spanish word *platero* ("silversmith"), and delicately executed ornamentation resembling metalwork is the defining characteristic of the Plateresque style. The Colegio de San Gregorio (Seminary of Saint Gregory; fig. 23-24) in the Castilian city of Valladolid handsomely exemplifies the Plateresque manner, which Spanish expansion into the Western Hemisphere also brought to New Spain (fig. 23-24A). Great carved retables

23-24A Casa de Montejo, Mérida, 1549.

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(FIGS. 20-3, 20-21, 20-22, and 23-2, *bottom*) appealed to church patrons and architects in Spain, and the portals of Plateresque facades often resemble elegantly carved retables set into an otherwise blank wall.

The Plateresque entrance of San Gregorio is a lofty sculptured stone screen bearing no functional relation to the architecture behind it. On the entrance level, lacelike tracery reminiscent of Moorish design hems the flamboyant ogival arches. (Spanish hatred of the Moors did not discourage Spanish architects from adapting Moorish motifs—a habit that dates to the Visigothic age; see FIGS. 11-10 and 11-11.) A great screen, paneled into sculptured compartments, rises above the tracery. In the center, the branches of a huge pomegranate tree (symbolizing Granada, the Moorish capital of Spain, which the Habsburgs captured in 1492) wreathe the coat of arms of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. Cupids play among the tree branches, and, flanking the central panel, niches frame armed pages of the court, heraldic wild men symbolizing aggression, and armored soldiers, attesting to Spain's proud new militancy. In typical Plateresque and Late Gothic fashion, the activity of a thousand intertwined motifs unifies the whole design, which, in sum, creates an exquisitely carved panel greatly expanded in scale from the retables that inspired it.

El Escorial. Under Philip II, the Plateresque style gave way to an Italian-derived classicism that also characterized 16th-century French architecture (FIG. 23-23). The Italian style is on display in the expansive complex called El Escorial (FIG. 23-25), which JUAN DE HERRERA (ca. 1530–1597) and JUAN BAUTISTA DE TOLEDO (d. 1567), principally the former, constructed for Philip II. In his will, Charles V stipulated that a "dynastic pantheon" be built to house the remains of past and future monarchs of Spain. Philip II, obedient to his father's wishes, chose a site some 30 miles northwest of Madrid in rugged terrain with barren mountains. Here, he built El Escorial, which incorporated not only a royal mausoleum but also a church, a monastery, and a palace. Legend has it that the gridlike plan for the enormous complex, 625 feet wide and 520 feet deep, symbolized the gridiron on which Saint Lawrence, El Escorial's patron saint, suffered his martyrdom (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247).

The vast structure is in keeping with Philip's austere character, his passionate Catholicism, his proud reverence for his dynasty, and his stern determination to impose his will worldwide. He insisted that in designing El Escorial, the architects should focus on simplicity of form, severity in the whole, nobility without arrogance, and majesty without ostentation. The result is a classicism of Doric severity, ultimately derived from Italian architecture and with the grandeur of Saint Peter's (FIGS. 24-3 and 24-4) implicit in the scheme, but without close parallel in European architecture.

Only the three entrances, with the dominant central portal framed by *superimposed orders* and topped by a pediment in the Italian fashion, break the long sweep of the structure's severely plain walls. Massive square towers punctuate the four corners. The stress is on the central axis, echoed in the two flanking portals. The construction material for the entire complex (including the church)—granite, a difficult stone to work—conveys a feeling of starkness and gravity. The church's imposing facade and the austere geometry of the interior complex, with its blocky walls and ponderous arches, produce an effect of overwhelming strength and weight. The entire complex is a monument to the collaboration of a great king and remarkably understanding architects. El Escorial stands as the overpowering architectural expression of Spain's spirit in its heroic epoch and of the character of Philip II, the extraordinary ruler who directed it.

El Greco. Reflecting the increasingly international character of European art as well as the mobility of artists, the greatest Spanish painter of the era was not a Spaniard. Born on Crete, Domenikos Theotokopoulos, called EL GRECO (ca. 1547–1614), emigrated to Italy as a young man. After studying Late Byzantine frescoes and mosaics, El Greco, still young, went to Venice, where he worked in

23-25 JUAN DE HERRERA and JUAN BAUTISTA DE TOLEDO, El Escorial (looking southeast), near Madrid, Spain, 1563–1584.

Conceived by Charles V and built by Philip II, El Escorial is a royal mausoleum, church, monastery, and palace in one. The complex is classical in style, with severely plain walls and massive towers.

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Titian's studio, although Tintoretto's paintings (FIG. 22-50) seem to have made a stronger impression on him. A brief trip to Rome explains the influences of Roman and Florentine Mannerism on his work. By 1577, he had left for Spain to spend the rest of his life in Toledo.

El Greco's art, which is a strong personal blending of Byzantine and Mannerist elements, had no Spanish antecedents and little effect on later Spanish painters. His great reliance on and mastery of color reflect his exposure to Venetian art, and his figural style owes a strong debt to Italian Mannersim. His hybrid art, therefore, is not strictly Spanish, but its intense emotionalism appealed to Spanish piety and captured the fervor of Spanish Catholicism.

View of Toledo. El Greco's singular vision is evident in *View of Toledo* (FIG. 23-26), the only pure landscape he ever painted. As does so much of El Greco's work, this painting breaks sharply with tradition. The Greek-born artist depicted the Spanish city from a nearby hilltop and drew attention to the great spire of Toledo's cathedral by leading the viewer's eye along the diagonal line of the bridge crossing the Tajo River and continuing with the city's walls. El Greco knew Toledo intimately, and every building is recognizable, although he rearranged some of their positions. For example, he moved the Alcazar palace to the right of the cathedral. Yet El Greco rendered no structure in meticulous detail, as most Renaissance painters would have done, and the color palette is not true to nature but limited to greens and grays. The atmosphere is eerie. Dramatic bursts of light in the stormy sky cast a ghostly pall over the city. The artist applied oil pigment to canvas in broad brushstrokes typical of his late, increasingly abstract painting style, with the result that the buildings and trees do not have sharp contours and almost seem to shake.

Art historians have compared *View of Toledo* to Giorgione da Castelfranco's *Tempest* (FIG. 22-31) and the dramatic lighting to works by Tintoretto (FIG. 22-50), and indeed, El Greco's Venetian training is evident. Still, the closest parallels lie not in the past but in the future—in paintings such as Vincent van Gogh's *Starry Night* (FIG. 28-20) and in 20th-century Surrealism (FIG. 29-39).

23-26 EL GRECO, *View of Toledo,* ca. 1610. Oil on canvas, 3′ 11¾″ × 3′ 6¾″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (H. O. Havemeyer Collection. Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929).

View of Toledo is the only pure landscape that El Greco ever painted. The dark, stormy sky casts a ghostly pall over the Spanish city. The painting exemplifies the artist's late, increasingly abstract, style.

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23-27 El Greco, *Burial of Count Orgaz,* 1586. Oil on canvas, 16′ × 12′. Santo Tomé, Toledo.

El Greco's art is a blend of Byzantine and Italian Mannerist elements. His intense emotional content captured the fervor of Spanish Catholicism, and his dramatic use of light foreshadowed the Baroque style.

Burial of Count Orgaz. More typical of El Greco's work is *Burial of Count Orgaz* (fig. 23-27), painted in 1586 for the church of Santo Tomé (Saint Thomas) in Toledo. El Greco based the painting on the legend of the count of Orgaz, who had died some three centuries before and who had been a great benefactor of Santo Tomé. According to the legend, Saints Stephen and Augustine miraculously descended from Heaven to lower the count's body into its sepulcher in the church. In the painting, El Greco carefully distinguished the terrestrial and celestial spheres. The radiant Heaven above illuminates the earthly scene below. The painter represented the terrestrial realm with a firm realism, whereas he depicted the celestial, in his quite personal manner, with elongated undulating figures, fluttering draperies, and a visionary swirling cloud. Below, the two saints lovingly lower the count's armor-clad body, the armor and heavy draperies painted with all the rich sensuousness of the Venetian school. A solemn chorus of personages dressed in black fills the background. Among the witnesses to the miracle are El Greco himself (third from the left in the row of mourners, above Saint Stephen's head); his young son, Jorge Manuel (the young page at the lower left next to Saint Stephen); the robed, reading priest who commissioned the painting, Andrés Núñez (at the far right); and the Spanish king Philip II, whom El Greco placed among the blessed in the heavenly realm at the top right. In the carefully individualized features of these figures, El Greco demonstrated that he was also a great portraitist.

The upward glances of some of the figures below and the flight of an angel above link the painting's lower and upper spheres. The action of the angel, who carries the count's soul in his arms as Saint John and the Virgin (next to Saint Peter, who displays the keys to the kingdom of Heaven) intercede for Orgaz before the throne of Christ, reinforces this connection. El Greco's deliberate change in style to distinguish between the two levels of reality gives the viewer an opportunity to see the artist's early and late manners in the same work, one below the other. His relatively realistic presentation of the earthly sphere is still strongly rooted in Venetian art, but the abstractions and distortions that El Greco used to show the immaterial nature of the heavenly realm characterize his later style. His elongated figures existing in undefined spaces, bathed in a cool light of uncertain origin, explain El Greco's usual classification as a Mannerist, but his art is impossible to define using conventional labels. Although El Greco used Mannerist formal devices, his primary concerns were conveying emotion and religious fervor and arousing those feelings in viewers. The forcefulness of his paintings is the result of his unique, highly developed expressive style, which foreshadowed developments of the Baroque era in Spain and Italy, examined in the next chapter.

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THE BIG PICTURE

High Renaissance and Mannerism in Northern Europe and Spain

Germany

- Widespread dissatisfaction with the Church in Rome led to the Protestant Reformation, splitting Christendom in half. Protestants, led by Martin Luther, objected to the sale of indulgences and rejected most of the sacraments of the Catholic Church. They also condemned ostentatious church decoration as a form of idolatry that distracted the faithful from communication with God.
- As a result, Protestant churches were relatively bare, but art, especially prints, still played a role in Protestantism. Lucas Cranach the Elder, "the painter of the Reformation," was godfather of Luther's children.
- The greatest German printmaker of the 16th century was Albrecht Dürer, whose works reflect his studies of classical statuary and of the Vitruvian theory of human proportions. Dürer's engravings, such as *Fall of Man,* rival painting in tonal quality.
- Other German artists, such as Matthias Grünewald and Hans Baldung Grien, explored disease, death, witchcraft, and eroticism in their art. The portraitist Hans Holbein became court painter in England.

Dürer, *Fall of Man,* 1504

Holbein, *The French Ambassadors,* 1533

The Netherlands

- The Netherlands was one of the most commercially advanced and prosperous countries in 16th-century Europe. Much of Netherlandish art of this period provides a picture of contemporary life and values. Quentin Massys's *Money-Changer and His Wife,* for example, is a commentary on a couple's obsession with wealth. Pieter Aertsen's *Butcher's Stall* seems to be a straightforward genre scene, but includes the holy family offering alms to a beggar in the background, providing a stark contrast between gluttony and religious piety.
- Landscapes were the specialty of Joachim Patinir. Pieter Bruegel's repertoire also included landscape painting. His *Hunters in the Snow* is one of a series of paintings depicting seasonal changes and the activities associated with them, as in traditional Books of Hours.
- Women artists of the period include Caterina van Hemessen, who painted the earliest Northern European self-portrait of a woman, and Levina Teerlinc, who produced portraits for the English court.

Massys, *Money-Changer and His Wife,* 1514

France

- King Francis I fought against Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and declared Protestantism illegal in France. An admirer of Italian art, he invited several prominent Mannerists to work at his court and decorate his palace at Fontainebleau. His art collection formed the core of the Musée du Louvre.
- French architecture of the 16th century mixes Italian and Northern Renaissance elements, as in Pierre Lescot's design of the renovated Louvre palace and Francis's château at Chambord, which combines classical motifs derived from Italian palazzi with a Gothic roof silhouette.

Lescot, Cour Carrée, Louvre, Paris, begun 1546

Spain

- At the end of the 16th century, Spain was the dominant power in Europe, with an empire greater in extent than any ever known, including vast territories in the New World. The Spanish Plateresque style of architecture, which spread to New Spain, takes its name from *platero* ("silversmith") and features delicate ornamentation resembling metalwork.
- Under Philip II, the Plateresque style gave way to an Italian-derived classicism, seen at its best in El Escorial, a royal mausoleum, monastery, and palace complex near Madrid.
- The leading painter of 16th-century Spain was the Greek-born El Greco, who combined Byzantine style, Italian Mannerism, and the religious fervor of Catholic Spain.

El Greco, *View of Toledo,* ca. 1610

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24-1 **Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa,* Cornaro chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome, Italy, 1647–1652. Marble, group of Teresa and angel, 11′ 6″ high.**

▶**24-1a** From their choice balcony seats, the family of Cardinal Federico Cornaro reacts in a highly animated way to the drama unfolding before them of the angel instilling divine love in Saint Teresa of Ávila.

▲**24-1b** Teresa was the most important 16th-century Carmelite nun and a recently canonized mystical saint. Bernini depicted her swooning backward onto a cloud while the smiling angel aims his fire-tipped arrow at her heart.

▶**24-1c** Bernini, a master sculptor, captured the mingling of spiritual and physical passion that Teresa says she experienced in her vision. Her posture, tilted head, and open mouth express the saint's ecstasy.

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THE BAROQUE IN ITALY AND SPAIN 24

FRAMING THE ERA

Mystical Drama in a Baroque Chapel

Architect, painter, sculptor, playwright, and stage designer, Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) was the embodiment of the Baroque spirit in Italian art and architecture. In one of his most famous works—*Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* (fig. 24-1)—the high drama, dynamic motion, and heightened emotionalism that are Baroque hallmarks are on full display.

In 1646, Bernini was asked to decorate the Cornaro chapel of Santa Maria della Vittoria (so named because of the Virgin's aid in a 1620 Catholic victory near Prague during the Thirty Years' War), and he executed the multimedia commission between 1647 and 1652. The Cornaro family's chapel was to be dedicated to Saint Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), the most important Carmelite nun of the Spanish Counter-Reformation, who only recently had been canonized by the Catholic Church. To re-create Teresa's vision of an angel with a fire-tipped arrow instilling divine love in her heart (an experience that she said made her swoon in delightful anguish at the "sweet pain" that she felt), Bernini marshaled the full capabilities of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Drawing also on his considerable knowledge of the theater, Bernini transformed the Cornaro chapel into a stage for the production of this mystical drama. The niche in which it takes place appears as a shallow *proscenium* (the part of the stage in front of the curtain) crowned with a broken Baroque pediment and ornamented with polychrome marble. On either side of the chapel, from their choice balcony seats at the end of a long vaulted columnar hall rendered in perfect perspective, Cardinal Federico Cornaro (1579–1653) and his family react in a highly animated way to the heavenly drama unfolding before their eyes. In an intense moment mingling spiritual and physical passion, Teresa swoons backward onto a cloud, while the smiling angel aims his arrow. Bernini's supreme technical virtuosity is evident in the visual differentiation in texture among clouds, rough cloth and gauzy material, smooth flesh, and feathery wings—all carved from the same white marble. Light from a hidden window of yellow glass pours down in golden rays suggesting the radiance of Heaven, whose painted representation covers the vault.

The passionate drama of Bernini's *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* correlated with the ideas disseminated earlier by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), who founded the Jesuit order in 1534 and whom the Catholic Church canonized as Saint Ignatius in 1622. In his book *Spiritual Exercises,* Ignatius argued that the re-creation of spiritual experiences in artworks would do much to increase devotion and piety. Thus theatricality and sensory impact were useful vehicles for achieving Counter-Reformation goals (see "The Council of Trent," page 654), and Bernini, a devout Catholic as well as a supremely talented artist, was the ideal choice for the Cornaro commission.

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"BAROQUE" ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Art historians traditionally describe 17th-century European art as *Baroque,* but the term is problematic because the period encompasses a broad range of styles and genres. Although its origin is unclear, "Baroque" may have come from the Portuguese word *barroco,* meaning an irregularly shaped pearl. Use of the term can be traced to the late 18th century, when critics belittled the Baroque period's artistic production, in large part because of perceived deficiencies in comparison to the art of the Italian Renaissance. Over time, this negative connotation faded, but the term stuck. "Baroque" remains useful to describe the distinctive new style that emerged during the early 1600s—a style of complexity and drama seen especially in Italian art of this period. Whereas Renaissance artists embraced the precise, orderly rationality of classical models, Baroque artists reveled in dynamism, theatricality, and elaborate ornamentation, as in Bernini's *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* (FIG. 24-1).

ITALY

Although in the 16th century the Roman Catholic Church launched the Counter-Reformation in response to—and as a challenge to—the Protestant Reformation, the considerable appeal of Protestantism continued to preoccupy the popes throughout the 17th century. The Peace of Westphalia (MAP 25-1) in 1648 formally recognized the principle of religious freedom, serving to validate Protestantism, predominantly in the German states. With the Catholic Church as the leading art patron in 17th-century Italy, the aim of much Italian Baroque art was to restore Roman Catholicism's predominance and centrality. The Council of Trent, one 16th-century Counter-Reformation initiative, firmly resisted Protestant objections to using images in religious worship, insisting on their necessity for teaching the laity (see "The Council of Trent," page 654). Baroque art and architecture in Italy, especially in Rome, embodied the renewed energy of the Counter-Reformation and the papacy's zeal to communicate the Catholic message to the populace.

Architecture and Sculpture

At the end of the 16th century, Pope Sixtus V (r. 1585–1590) played a key role in the Catholic Church's lengthy campaign to reestablish its preeminence. He augmented the papal treasury and intended to rebuild Rome as an even more magnificent showcase of Church power. Between 1606 and 1667, several strong and ambitious popes—Paul V, Urban VIII, Innocent X, and Alexander VII—made many of Sixtus V's dreams a reality. Rome still bears the marks of their patronage everywhere.

24-2 CARLO MADERNO, facade of Santa Susanna (looking north), Rome, Italy, 1597–1603.

Santa Susanna's facade is one of the earliest manifestations of the Baroque spirit in architecture. The rhythm of the columns and pilasters mounts dramatically toward the emphatically stressed vertical axis.

Santa Susanna. The facade (FIG. 24-2) that CARLO MADERNO (1556–1629) designed at the turn of the century for the Roman church of Santa Susanna stands as one of the earliest manifestations of the Baroque spirit in architecture. In its general appearance, Maderno's facade resembles Giacomo della Porta's immensely influential design for Il Gesù (FIG. 22-58), the church of the Jesuits in Rome. But the later facade has a greater verticality that concentrates and dramatizes the major features of its model. The tall central section projects forward from the horizontal lower story, and the scroll buttresses connecting the two levels are narrower and set

THE BAROQUE IN ITALY AND SPAIN

1600–1625
- Paul V commissions Maderno to complete Saint Peter's
- Carracci introduces quadro riportato fresco painting in the Palazzo Farnese
- Caravaggio pioneers tenebrism in Baroque painting
- Bernini creates *David* and *Apollo and Daphne* for Cardinal Scipione Borghese

1625–1650
- Borromini designs San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane and Sant'Ivo in Rome
- Gentileschi, the leading woman artist of the 17th century, achieves international renown
- Ribera and Zurburán paint scenes of martyrdom in Catholic Spain
- Philip IV of Spain appoints Velázquez court painter

1650–1675
- Bernini designs the colonnaded oval piazza in front of Saint Peter's
- Murillo creates the canonical image of the Immaculate Virgin
- Velázquez paints *Las Meninas*
- Catholic churches in New Spain emulate but do not copy European models

1675–1700
- Gaulli and Pozzo paint illusionistic ceiling frescoes in Il Gesù and Sant'Ignazio in Rome
- Guarini brings the Baroque architectural style of Rome to Turin

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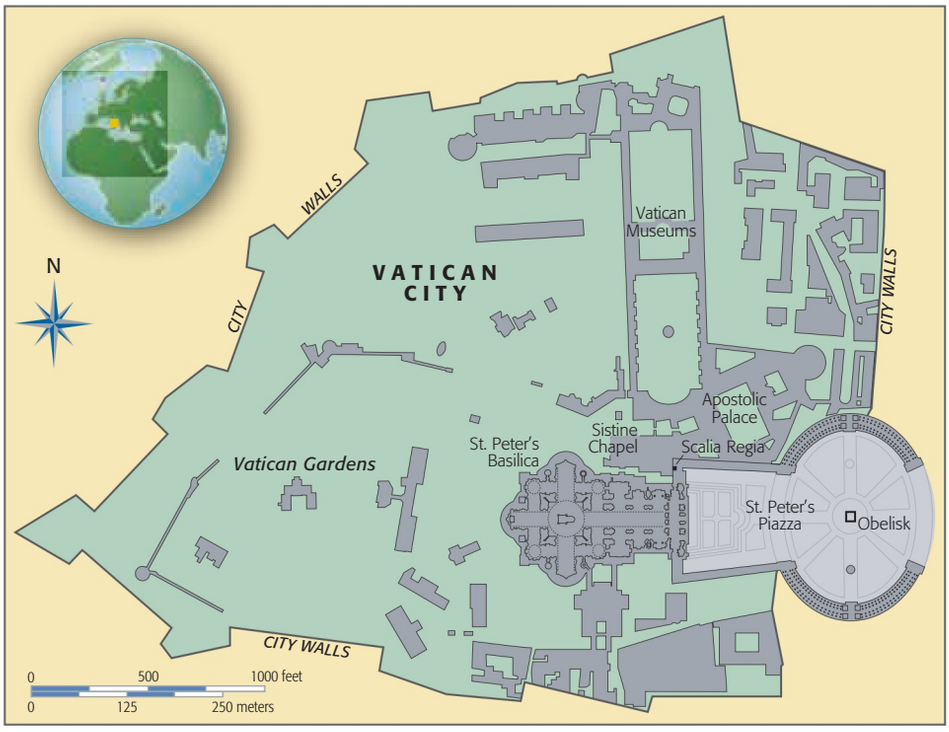

MAP 24-1 Vatican City.

at a sharper angle. The elimination of an arch framing the pediment over the doorway further enhances the design's vertical thrust. The rhythm of Santa Susanna's vigorously projecting columns and pilasters mounts dramatically toward the emphatically stressed central axis. The recessed niches, which contain statues and create pockets of shadow, heighten the sculptural effect.

Maderno and Saint Peter's. The drama inherent in Santa Susanna's facade appealed to Pope Paul V (r. 1605–1621), who commissioned Maderno in 1606 to complete Saint Peter's in Rome. As the symbolic seat of the papacy, the church that Constantine originally built over the first pope's tomb was the very emblem of Western Christendom. In light of Counter-Reformation concerns, the Baroque popes wanted to conclude the already century-long rebuilding project and reap the prestige embodied in the mammoth new church. In many ways, Maderno's facade (FIG. 24-3) is a gigantic expansion of the elements of Santa Susanna's first level. But the compactness and verticality of the smaller church's facade are not as prominent because the enormous breadth of Saint Peter's counterbalances them. Special circumstances must be taken into consideration when assessing Maderno's design, however. Because Maderno had to match the preexisting core of an incomplete building, he did not have the luxury of formulating a totally new concept for Saint Peter's. Moreover, the facade's two outer bays with bell towers were not part of the architect's original design. Hence, had the facade been constructed according to Maderno's initial concept, it would have exhibited greater verticality and visual coherence.

Maderno's plan (MAP 24-1) also departed from the Renaissance central plans for Saint Peter's designed by Bramante (FIG. 22-22) and, later, by Michelangelo (FIG. 22-24). Paul V asked Maderno to add three nave bays to the earlier nucleus because Church officials had decided that the central plan was too closely associated with ancient temples, such as the Pantheon (FIG. 7-49). Further, the spatial organization of the longitudinal basilican plan of the original fourth-century church (FIG. 8-10) reinforced the symbolic distinction between clergy and laity and also was much better suited for religious processions. Lengthening the nave, however, pushed the dome farther back from the facade, and all but destroyed the effect Michelangelo had planned—a structure pulled together and dominated by its dome. When viewed at close range, the dome barely emerges above the facade's soaring frontal plane. Seen from the great piazza (FIG. 24-4) added later by Bernini (see "Completing Saint Peter's," page 714), Maderno's dome appears to have no drum. Visitors must move back quite a distance from

24-3 CARLO MADERNO, east facade of Saint Peter's (FIG. 24-4), Vatican City, Rome, Italy, 1606–1612.

For the facade of Saint Peter's, Maderno elaborated on his design for Santa Susanna (FIG. 24-2). The two outer bays with bell towers were not part of his plan and detract from the verticality he sought.

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Completing Saint Peter's

Old Saint Peter's had a large forecourt, or *atrium* (FIG. 8-10, no. 6), in front of the church proper, and in the mid-17th century, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, who had long before established his reputation as a supremely gifted architect and sculptor (FIGS. 24-5, 24-6, and 24-6A), received the prestigious commission to construct a grand colonnade-framed piazza (FIG. 24-4) in front of Maderno's facade. Bernini's design had to incorporate two preexisting structures on the site—an *obelisk* the ancient Romans had brought from Egypt (which Pope Sixtus V had moved to its present location in 1585 as part of his vision of Christian triumph in Rome) and a fountain Maderno had constructed in front of the church. Bernini's solution was to co-opt these features to define the long axis of a vast oval embraced by two colonnades joined to Maderno's facade. Four rows of huge Tuscan columns make up the two colonnades, which terminate in classical temple fronts. The colonnades extend a dramatic gesture of embrace to all who enter the piazza, symbolizing the welcome the Roman Catholic Church gave its members during the Counter-Reformation. Bernini himself referred to his colonnades as the welcoming arms of Saint Peter's.

Beyond their symbolic resonance, the colonnades served visually to counteract the natural perspective and bring the facade closer to the viewer. Emphasizing the facade's height in this manner, Bernini subtly and effectively compensated for its extensive width. Thus a Baroque transformation expanded the compact central designs of Bramante and Michelangelo into a dynamic complex of axially ordered elements that reach out and enclose spaces of vast dimension. By its sheer scale and theatricality, the completed Saint Peter's fulfilled the desire of the Counter-Reformation Church to present an awe-inspiring and authoritative vision of itself.

24-4 Aerial view of Saint Peter's (looking northwest), Vatican City, Rome, Italy. Piazza designed by GIAN LORENZO BERNINI, 1656–1667.

The dramatic gesture of embrace that Bernini's colonnade makes as worshipers enter Saint Peter's piazza symbolizes the welcome the Catholic Church wished to extend during the Counter-Reformation.

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the front (FIG. 24-3) to see the dome and drum together. Today, visitors to the Vatican can appreciate Michelangelo's design only by viewing Saint Peter's west end (FIG. 22-25).

Baldacchino. Bernini's colonnaded piazza in front of Saint Peter's was neither his first nor his last project for the Vatican. For Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–1667) he tackled the difficult problem of designing a stairway in the papal palace, the Scala Regia (FIG. 24-4A). Within the great basilica itself, he erected a gigantic bronze *baldacchino* (FIG. 24-5) directly beneath Giacomo della Porta's dome (FIG. 22-25). Completed between 1624 and 1633, the canopy-like structure (*baldacco* is Italian for "silk from Baghdad," such as for a cloth canopy) stands almost 100 feet high (the height of an average eight-story building) and serves both functional and symbolic purposes. It frames the high altar in the nave and marks the location of the tomb of Saint Peter beneath the basilica, and also provides a dramatic, compelling presence at the crossing, visually bridging the marble floor and the lofty vaults and dome above. Its 66-foot-tall columns also serve as a frame for the elaborate sculpture representing the throne of Saint Peter (the Cathedra Petri) at the far end of the nave (FIG. 24-5, *rear*).

24-4A BERNINI, Scala Regia, Vatican, 1663–1666.

On a symbolic level, the baldacchino's decorative elements speak to the power of the Catholic Church and of Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623–1644). Partially fluted and wreathed with laurel, the structure's four spiral columns are Baroque versions of the comparable columns (said to have been brought to Rome by Constantine from Solomon's temple in Jerusalem) of the ancient baldacchino over the same spot in Old Saint Peter's, thereby invoking the past to reinforce the primacy of the Church of Rome in the 17th century. At the top of Bernini's bronze columns, four colossal angels stand guard at the upper corners of the canopy. Forming the canopy's

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24-5 Gian Lorenzo Bernini, baldacchino (looking west) inside Saint Peter's (fig. 24-4), Vatican City, Rome, Italy, 1624–1633. Bronze columns, 66′ high.

Bernini's baldacchino serves both functional and symbolic purposes. It marks Saint Peter's tomb and the high altar, and it visually bridges the marble floor and the lofty vaults and dome above.

apex are four serpentine brackets that elevate the orb and the cross. Since the time of Constantine (fig. 7-79, *right*; compare fig. 9-2), the orb and the cross had served as symbols of the Church's triumph. The baldacchino also features numerous bees, symbols of Urban VIII's family, the Barberini. Bernini's design thus effectively gives visual form to the triumph of Christianity and to the papal claim to supremacy in formulating Church doctrine.

The construction of the baldacchino was itself a remarkable feat. Each of the bronze columns consists of five sections cast from wood models using the lost-wax process (see "Hollow-Casting," page 129). Although Bernini did some of the work himself, including cleaning and repairing the wax molds and doing the final cleaning and *chasing* (engraving and embossing) of the bronze casts, he contracted out much of the project to experienced bronze-casters and sculptors. The superstructure is predominantly cast bronze, although some of the sculptural elements are brass or wood. The enormous scale of the baldacchino required a considerable amount of bronze. On Urban VIII's orders, workmen dismantled the portico of the ancient Roman temple of all gods, the Pantheon (fig. 7-49), to acquire the bronze for the baldacchino—an ideologically appropriate act highlighting the Church's rejection of polytheism.

The concepts of triumph and grandeur permeate every aspect of the 17th-century design of Saint Peter's. Suggesting a great and solemn procession, the main axis of the complex traverses the piazza (marked by the central obelisk; fig. 24-4) and enters Maderno's nave. It comes to a temporary halt at the altar beneath Bernini's baldacchino (fig. 24-5), but it continues on toward its climactic destination at another great altar in the apse.

***David*.** Bernini's baldacchino is a masterpiece of the sculptor's craft even more than the architect's. In fact, although Bernini achieved an international reputation as an architect, his fame rests primarily on sculptural commissions, such as his *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* (fig. 24-1). The biographer Filippo Baldinucci (1625–1696) observed: "[T]here was perhaps never anyone who manipulated marble with more facility and boldness. He gave his works a marvelous softness . . . making the marble, so to say, flexible."[1] Bernini's sculpture is expansive and theatrical, and the element of time usually plays an important role in it, as in his *David* (fig. 24-6), which predates both his Saint Teresa in Santa Maria della Vittoria and the baldacchino in Saint Peter's.

24-6 Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *David,* from the Villa Borghese, Rome, Italy, 1623. Marble, 5′ 7″ high. Galleria Borghese, Rome.

Bernini's sculptures are expansive and theatrical, and the element of time plays an important role in them. His emotion-packed *David* seems to be moving through both time and space.

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Bernini surely knew the Renaissance statues of the biblical hero fashioned by Donatello (FIG. 21-11), Verrocchio (FIG. 21-12), and Michelangelo (FIG. 22-13). His *David* differs fundamentally from all of them, however. Michelangelo portrayed David before his encounter with his larger-than-life adversary, and Donatello and Verrocchio depicted David after his triumph over Goliath. Bernini chose to represent the combat itself and aimed to capture the split-second of maximum action. Bernini's David has his muscular legs firmly planted, straddling his lyre. (David is here psalmist as well as hero.) The body armor at David's feet is the protection that King Saul offered him but that David rejected because he placed his faith in the Lord.

In Bernini's statue, David begins the violent, pivoting motion that will launch the stone from his sling. (A bag full of stones is at David's left hip, suggesting that he thought the fight would be tough and long.) Unlike Myron, the fifth-century BCE Greek sculptor who froze his discus thrower (FIG. 5-40) at a fleeting moment of inaction, Bernini selected the most dramatic of an implied sequence of poses, requiring the viewer to think simultaneously of the continuum and of this tiny fraction of it. The suggested series of movements imparts a dynamic quality to the statue. The energy that is confined in Michelangelo's figures (FIGS. 22-14 and 22-15) bursts forth in Bernini's *David*. The Baroque statue seems to be moving through time and through space. This kind of sculpture cannot be inscribed in a cylinder or confined in a niche. Its unrestrained action demands space around it. Nor is it self-sufficient in the Renaissance sense, as its pose and attitude direct attention beyond it to the unseen Goliath. Bernini's *David* moves out into the space surrounding it, as do Apollo and Daphne in the marble group (FIG. 24-6A) he carved for the same patron, Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1576–1633). Further, the expression of intense concentration on David's face contrasts vividly with the classically placid visages of Donatello's and Verrocchio's versions and is more emotionally charged even than Michelangelo's. The tension in David's face augments the dramatic impact of Bernini's sculpture.

24-6A BERNINI, *Apollo and Daphne*, 1623–1624.

Four Rivers Fountain. Today, one of the most popular tourist attractions in Rome is Bernini's Fountain of the Four Rivers (FIG. 24-7), but the fountain's patron, Pope Innocent X (r. 1644–1655), did not want to employ Bernini. The extraordinarily gifted artist had been the favorite sculptor of the Pamphili pope's predecessor, Urban VIII, who spent so extravagantly on art—for example, Saint Peter's baldacchino (FIG. 24-5)—and on himself and his family that he nearly bankrupted the Vatican treasury. Innocent emphatically opposed the excesses of the Barberini pope and shunned Bernini, awarding new papal commissions to other sculptors and architects. Bernini was also in disgrace at the time because of his failed attempt to erect bell towers for the new facade (FIG. 24-3) of Saint Peter's. When Innocent announced a competition for a fountain in Piazza Navona (MAP 22-1), site of the Pamphili family's palace and parish church, Sant'Agnese in Agone (FIG. 24-7, *rear*), he pointedly did not invite Bernini to submit a design. However, the renowned sculptor succeeded in having a model of his proposed fountain placed where the pope would see it. When Innocent examined it, he was so captivated that he declared that the only way anyone could avoid employing Bernini was not to look at his work.

24-7 GIAN LORENZO BERNINI, Fountain of the Four Rivers (*top:* general view, looking southwest; *bottom:* detail of grotto, looking east), Piazza Navona, Rome, Italy, 1648–1651. In the background: FRANCESCO BORROMINI, Sant'Agnese in Agone, 1653–1657.

As water flows into the fountain from a travertine grotto supporting an ancient Egyptian obelisk, Bernini's marble personifications of major rivers of four continents twist and gesticulate emphatically.

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PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Rethinking the Church Facade

Although Carlo Maderno incorporated sculptural elements in his designs for the facades of Santa Susanna (FIG. 24-2) and Saint Peter's (FIG. 24-3), those church fronts still develop along relatively lateral planes, the traditional approach to facade design. By contrast, Francesco Borromini rethought the very nature of a church facade. In his design for San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (FIG. 24-8) in Rome, he set the building's front in undulating motion, creating a dynamic counterpoint of concave and convex elements on two levels (for example, the sway of the cornices). He enhanced the three-dimensional effect with deeply recessed niches. Borromini's facade therefore stands in sharp opposition to the idea, which has its roots in antiquity, that a facade should be a flat frontispiece that defines a building's outer limits. In Borromini's hands, the church facade became a pulsating, engaging screen inserted between interior and exterior space, designed not to separate but to provide a fluid transition between the two.

In fact, San Carlo has not one but two facades, underscoring the functional interrelation of the building and its environment. The second facade (FIG. 24-8, *left*), a narrow bay crowned with its own small tower, turns away from the main facade (FIG. 24-8, *right*) and, following the curve of the street, faces an intersection.

24-8 FRANCESCO BORROMINI, two views of the facade of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (*left:* looking south; *right:* looking southeast), Rome, Italy, 1638–1641.

Borromini rejected the notion that a church should have a flat frontispiece. He set San Carlo's facade in undulating motion, creating a dynamic counterpoint of concave and convex elements.

Bernini's bold design, executed in large part by his assistants, called for a sculptured travertine grotto supporting an ancient obelisk that Innocent had transferred to Piazza Navona from the *circus* (chariot racecourse) of the Roman emperor Maxentius (r. 306–312) on the Via Appia. The piazza was once the site of the *stadium* of Domitian (r. 81–96), a long and narrow theater-like structure for footraces and other athletic contests, which explains the piazza's unusual shape and the church's name (*agone* means "contest" in Italian). Water rushes from the artificial grotto into a basin filled with marble statues personifying major rivers of four continents—the Danube (Europe), Nile (Africa), Ganges (Asia), and Plata (Americas). The reclining figures, as is typical of Bernini's statues, twist and gesticulate emphatically. The Nile covers his face—Bernini's way of acknowledging that the Nile's source was unknown at the time. The Rio de la Plata has a hoard of coins, signifying the wealth of the New World. The Ganges, easily navigable, holds an oar. The Danube, awestruck, reaches up to the papal coat of arms. A second reference to Innocent X is at the apex of the obelisk, where the Pamphili dove also symbolizes the Holy Spirit and the triumph of Christianity in all parts of the then-known world. The scenic effect

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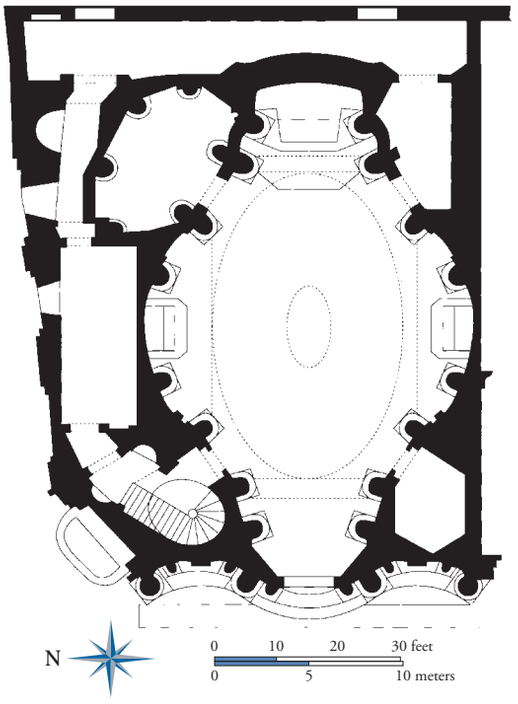

24-9 Francesco Borromini, interior looking northwest (*left*) and plan (*right*) of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (fig. 24-8), Rome, Italy, 1638–1641.

The plan of San Carlo is a hybrid of a Greek cross and an oval. The walls pulsate in a way that reverses the facade's movement. The molded, dramatically lit space flows from entrance to altar.

of the cascading water would have been heightened whenever Piazza Navona was flooded for festival pageants.

San Carlo Alle Quattro Fontane. As accomplished as Bernini was as an architect, Francesco Borromini (1599–1667) took Italian Baroque architecture to even greater dramatic heights. In the little church of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (Saint Charles at the Four Fountains; fig. 24-8), Borromini went much further than any of his predecessors or contemporaries in emphasizing a building's sculptural qualities, both inside and out (see "Rethinking the Church Facade," page 717). His innovative style had an enormous influence on later Baroque architects throughout Italy and beyond (fig. 24-14A).

The interior (fig. 24-9) of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane is as remarkable as its exterior. The radical design is in part Borromini's ingenious response to an awkward site, but it is also a provocative variation on the theme of the centrally planned church. In plan, San Carlo is a hybrid of a Greek cross and an oval, with a long axis between entrance and apse. The side walls move in an undulating flow that reverses the facade's motion. Vigorously projecting columns define the space into which they protrude just as much as they accent the walls to which they are attached. Capping this molded interior space is a deeply coffered oval dome (fig. 24-10) that seems to float on the light entering through windows hidden in its base. Rich variations on the basic theme of the oval—dynamic curves relative to the static circle—create an interior that flows from entrance to altar, unimpeded by the segmentation so characteristic of Renaissance buildings.

Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza. Borromini carried the unification of interior space even further in Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza (fig. 24-11), the little church dedicated to Saint Ives, the patron saint of jurists, at the east end of the courtyard of the "Sapienza," the 17th-century seat of the University of Rome (*sapienza* means "wisdom" or "learning" in Italian). In his characteristic manner, Borromini played concave against convex forms on the upper level of the chapel's exterior. The arcaded courtyard, which frames the lower levels of the chapel's facade, had already been constructed when Borromini began work, and he adjusted his design to achieve a harmonious merging of the new and older parts of the college. Above the concave lower two stories of the church rises a convex drumlike structure that supports the dome's lower parts. Clusters of pilasters restrain the forces

24-10 Francesco Borromini, dome (seen from below) of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (fig. 24-9), Rome, Italy, 1638–1641.

Instead of using a traditional round dome, Borromini capped the interior of San Carlo with a deeply coffered oval dome that seems to float on the light entering through windows hidden in its base.

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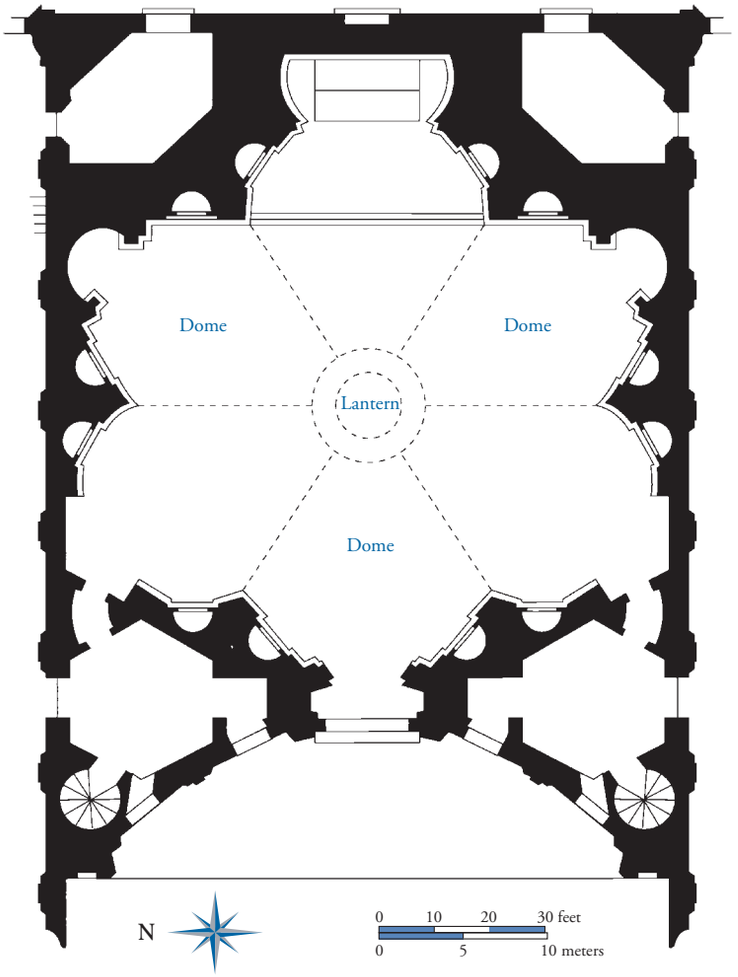
24-11 Francesco Borromini, facade of Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza (looking east), Rome, Italy, begun 1642.

In characteristic fashion, Borromini played concave against convex forms on the upper level of the Roman church of Saint Ives. Pilasters restrain the forces that seem to push the bulging forms outward.



24-12 Francesco Borromini, plan of Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza, Rome, Italy, begun 1642.

The interior elevation of Borromini's church dedicated to Saint Ives fully reflects all the elements of its highly complex plan, which is star-shaped with rounded points and apses on all sides.

that seem to push the bulging forms outward. Buttresses above the pilasters curve upward to brace a tall, ornate *lantern* topped by a spiral that, screwlike, seems to fasten the structure to the sky.

The centralized plan (FIG. 24-12) of the interior of Sant'Ivo is that of a hexagonal star with rounded points and apses on all sides. Indentations and projections along the angled, curving walls create a highly complex plan, with all the elements fully reflected in the interior elevation. From floor to lantern, the wall panels rise in a continuously tapering sweep halted only momentarily by a single horizontal cornice (FIG. 24-13). Thus the dome is not a separate unit placed on a supporting block, as in Renaissance buildings. It is an organic part that evolves out of and shares the qualities of the supporting walls, and it cannot be separated from them. This

24-13 Francesco Borromini, dome (seen from below) of Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza, Rome, Italy, begun 1642.

Unlike Renaissance domes, Borromini's Baroque dome of Sant'Ivo is an organic form that evolves out of and shares the qualities of the supporting walls, and it cannot be separated from them.

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carefully designed progression up through the lantern creates a dynamic and cohesive shell that encloses and energetically molds a scalloped fragment of space. Few architects have matched Borromini's ability to translate extremely complicated designs into masterfully unified structures.

Guarino Guarini. The heir to Francesco Borromini's sculpturesque architectural style was Modena-born Guarino Guarini (1624–1683), who studied theology, mathematics, engineering, and philosophy in Rome, and in 1647 became a priest of an important Counter-Reformation order, the Theatine. Guarini published learned treatises on a wide range of subjects, including *Architettura civile,* which did not appear until 1737, long after his death. He taught in Paris from 1662 to 1666 and designed churches there and in Lisbon, Munich, Prague, and several Italian cities. The commissions on which his reputation rests today, however, are all in Turin and date after his appointment in 1666 as the architect of Carlo Emanuele II, duke of Savoy (r. 1638–1675). Guarini was single-handedly responsible for transforming Turin from a provincial outpost into the leading Italian center of architectural innovation during the third quarter of the 17th century.

Shortly after his appointment as the duke's official architect, Guarini took over the design and construction of the Capella della Santissima Sindone (Chapel of the Most Holy Shroud), which another architect had begun. Attached to Turin Cathedral, the chapel housed the treasured relic of the House of Savoy, the shroud miraculously bearing the imprint of Christ's corpse. Although hampered by having to conform to the existing lower story of the central-plan building, Guarini designed one of the most original domes (fig. 24-14) in the history of architecture.

24-14 **Guarino Guarini, dome (seen from below) of the Cappella della Santissima Sindone (Chapel of the Holy Shroud), Turin, Italy, 1667–1694.**

Guarini rejected the surface solidity of Renaissance and earlier Baroque domes in this kaleidoscopic design in which the dome seems much taller than it is because of the architect's mastery of perspective.

Guarini's dome rests on pendentives, an unusual choice because architects normally used pendentives only to provide a circular base for a dome covering a cubical space (see "Placing a Dome over a Square," page 270, and fig. 21-34). The lower story of the Turin chapel is circular in plan. Moreover, Guarini's dome rests on only three pendentives, not the standard four, a radical formal innovation probably intended to symbolize the Trinity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, whose dove appears in a burst of light at the apex of the dome.

The conical dome itself is an extraordinarily complex design. It produces a kaleidoscopic effect when seen from below, as in the photograph reproduced here. The design reveals Guarini's expertise in mathematics. Thirty-six arches (six rows of six) framing pairs of windows form a spider's web ascending to the lantern that houses the painting of the dove of the Holy Spirit. The arches are wide and short, and, in fact, the dome proper is not as tall as the drum below it. But in a masterful application of perspective, Guarini made the dome seem much taller than it is by rapidly reducing the size of the arched ribs from the lowest to the uppermost tier of the dome. Even Borromini's most adventurous domes (fig. 24-13) retain the surface solidity of Renaissance domes and do not incorporate this kind of prismatic effect or trompe l'oeil illusionism, a staple of Italian Baroque ceiling painting (figs. 24-22, 24-23, and 24-24).

One source of inspiration for Guarini's interlocking-ribs design may have been the domes of Islamic Spain—for example, the one in front of the mihrab (fig. 10-14) of the Great Mosque at Córdoba. It is not known whether Guarini traveled in Spain, but in 1656 he did provide the plans for the church of Santa Maria Divina Providencia in Lisbon, Portugal.

A later project of Guarini's, which underscores the strong influence of Borromini well beyond his own lifetime, is the Palazzo Carignano (fig. 24-14A) in Turin.

24-14A Guarini, Palazzo Carignano, Turin, 1679–1692.

Painting

Although architecture and sculpture provided the most obvious vehicles for manipulating space and creating theatrical effects, painting continued to be an important art form in 17th-century Italy. Among the most noted Italian Baroque painters were Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio, whose styles, although quite different, were both thoroughly in accord with the period.

Annibale Carracci. A native of Bologna, Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) received much of his training at an art academy founded there by several members of his family, among them his cousin Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619) and brother Agostino Carracci (1557–1602). The Bolognese academy was the first significant institution of its kind in the history of Western art. The Carracci established it on the premises that art can be taught—the basis of any academic philosophy of art—and that art instruction must include the classical and Renaissance traditions in addition to the study of anatomy and life drawing.

In *Flight into Egypt* (fig. 24-15), based on the biblical narrative from Matt. 2:13–14, Annibale Carracci created the "ideal" or

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24-15 Annibale Carracci, *Flight into Egypt,* 1603–1604. Oil on canvas, 4′ × 7′ 6″. Galleria Doria Pamphili, Rome.

Carracci's landscapes idealize antiquity and the idyllic life. Here, the pastoral setting takes precedence over the narrative of Mary, the Christ Child, and Saint Joseph wending their way slowly to Egypt.

"classical" landscape, in which nature appears ordered by divine law and human reason. Tranquil hills and fields, quietly gliding streams, serene skies, unruffled foliage, shepherds with their flocks—all the props of the pastoral scene and mood familiar in Venetian Renaissance paintings (FIG. 22-32)—expand to fill the picture space in *Flight into Egypt* and similar paintings. Carracci regularly included screens of trees in the foreground, dark against the sky's even light. In contrast to many Renaissance artists, he did not create the sense of deep space through linear perspective but rather by varying light and shadow to suggest expansive atmosphere. In *Flight into Egypt,* streams or terraces, carefully placed one above the other and narrowed, zigzag through the terrain, leading the viewer's eyes back to the middle ground. As in many Venetian Renaissance paintings, the background of Carracci's *Flight into Egypt* is filled with walled towns or citadels, towers, temples, tombs, and villas. These constructed environments captured idealized antiquity and the idyllic life. Although the artists often took the subjects for these classically rendered scenes from religious or heroic stories, they favored pastoral landscapes over narratives. Here, Annibale greatly diminished the size of Mary, the Christ Child, and Saint Joseph, who simply become part of the landscape as they wend their way slowly to Egypt after having been ferried across a stream.

Loves of the Gods. Carracci's most notable works are his frescoes (FIG. 24-16) in the Palazzo Farnese (FIGS. 22-26 and 22-27) in Rome. Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626)—a wealthy descendant of Pope Paul III, who built the palace in the 16th century—commissioned Annibale to decorate the ceiling of the palace's

24-16 Annibale Carracci, *Loves of the Gods,* ceiling frescoes in the gallery, Palazzo Farnese (FIG. 22-26), Rome, Italy, 1597–1601.

On the shallow curved vault of this large gallery in the Palazzo Farnese, Annibale Carracci arranged the mythological scenes in a quadro riportato format resembling easel paintings on a wall.

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WRITTEN SOURCES

Giovanni Pietro Bellori on Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio

The written sources to which art historians turn as aids in understanding the art of the past are invaluable, but they reflect the personal preferences and prejudices of the writers. Pliny the Elder, for example, claimed in the first century CE that "art ceased" after the death of Alexander the Great—a remark usually interpreted as expressing his disapproval of Hellenistic art in contrast to Classical art.* Giorgio Vasari, the biographer and champion of Italian Renaissance artists (see "Giorgio Vasari's *Lives,*" page 648), condemned Gothic art as "monstrous and barbarous," and considered medieval art in general a distortion of the noble art of the Greeks and Romans.† Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696), the leading biographer of Baroque artists, similarly recorded his admiration for Renaissance classicism as well as his distaste for Mannerism and realism in his opposing evaluations of Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio.

In the opening lines of his *Vita* (*Life*) of Carracci, Bellori praised "the divine Raphael . . . [whose art] raised its beauty to the summit, restoring it to the ancient majesty of . . . the Greeks and the Romans" and lamented that soon after, "artists, abandoning the study of nature, corrupted art with the *maniera,* that is to say, with the fantastic idea based on practice and not on imitation." But fortunately, Bellori observed, just "when painting was drawing to its end," Annibale Carracci rescued "the declining and extinguished art."‡

Bellori especially lauded Carracci's Palazzo Farnese frescoes (FIG. 24-16):

> No one could imagine seeing anywhere else a more noble and magnificent style of ornamentation, obtaining supreme excellence in the compartmentalization and in the figures and executed with the grandest manner in the design with the just proportion and the great strength of chiaroscuro. . . . Among modern works they have no comparison.§

By contrast, Bellori characterized Caravaggio as talented and widely imitated but misguided in his rejection of classicism in favor of realism.

> [Caravaggio] began to paint according to his own inclinations; not only ignoring but even despising the superb statuary of antiquity and the famous paintings of Raphael, he considered nature to be the only subject fit for his brush. As a result, when he was shown the most famous statues of [the ancient sculptors] Phidias [FIG. 5-46] and Glykon [FIG. 5-66] in order that he might use them as models, his only answer was to point toward a crowd of people, saying that nature had given him an abundance of masters. . . . [W]hen he came upon someone in town who pleased him he made no attempt to improve on the creations of nature.**

> [Caravaggio] claimed that he imitated his models so closely that he never made a single brushstroke that he called his own, but said rather that it was nature's. Repudiating all other rules, he considered the highest achievement not to be bound to art. For this innovation he was greatly acclaimed, and many talented and educated artists seemed compelled to follow him . . . Nevertheless he lacked *invenzione,* decorum, *disegno,* or any knowledge of the science of painting. The moment the model was taken from him, his hand and his mind became empty. . . . Thus, as Caravaggio suppressed the dignity of art, everybody did as he pleased, and what followed was contempt for beautiful things, the authority of antiquity and Raphael destroyed. . . . Now began the imitation of common and vulgar things, seeking out filth and deformity.††

*Pliny, *Natural History,* 25.52.
†Giorgio Vasari, *Introduzione alle tre arti del disegno* (1550), ch. 3.
‡Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni* (Rome, 1672). Translated by Catherine Enggass, *The Lives of Annibale and Agostino Carracci by Giovanni Pietro Bellori* (University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1968), 5–6.
§Ibid., 33.
**Translated by Howard Hibbard, *Caravaggio* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 362.
††Ibid., 371–372.

gallery to celebrate the wedding of the cardinal's brother. Appropriately, the title of the iconographic program is *Loves of the Gods*—interpretations of the varieties of earthly and divine love, based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*

Carracci arranged the scenes in a format resembling framed easel paintings on a wall, but in the Farnese gallery, the paintings are frescoes, not oils, and they cover a shallow curved vault. The term for this type of simulation of easel painting for ceiling design is *quadro riportato* ("transferred framed panel"). Many other Italian artists emulated Annibale's innovation in succeeding decades.

Flanking the framed pictures are polychrome seated nude youths, who turn their heads to gaze at the scenes around them, and standing Atlas figures painted to resemble marble statues. Carracci derived these motifs from the Sistine Chapel ceiling (FIG. 22-17), but he did not copy Michelangelo's figures. Notably, the chiaroscuro of the Farnese gallery frescoes differs for the pictures and the figures surrounding them. Carracci modeled the figures inside the panels in an even light. By contrast, light from beneath illuminates the outside figures, as if they were tangible three-dimensional beings or statues lit by torches in the gallery below. This interest in illusion, already manifest in the Renaissance, continued in the grand ceiling compositions of the mature Baroque (see "How to Make a Ceiling Disappear," page 728). In the crown of the vault, the long panel, *Triumph of Bacchus,* is an ingenious mixture of Raphael's drawing style and lighting and Titian's more sensuous and animated figures. Carracci succeeded in adjusting their authoritative styles to create something of his own—no easy achievement.

Caravaggio. Michelangelo Merisi, known as CARAVAGGIO (1573–1610) after his northern Italian birthplace, developed a distinctive personal style that had tremendous influence throughout Europe. His outspoken disdain for the classical masters (probably more rhetorical than real) drew bitter criticism from many painters, one of whom denounced him as the "anti-Christ of painting." Giovanni Pietro Bellori, the most influential critic of the age and an admirer of Annibale Carracci, believed that Caravaggio's refusal to emulate the models of his distinguished predecessors threatened the whole classical tradition of Italian painting that had reached its zenith in Raphael's work (see "Giovanni Pietro Bellori on Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio," above). Yet despite this criticism and the problems

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in Caravaggio's troubled life (police records are an important source of information about the artist), Caravaggio received many commissions, both public and private, and numerous painters paid him the supreme compliment of borrowing from his innovations. His influence on later artists, as much outside Italy as within, was immense.

One of Caravaggio's earliest major works is *Musicians* (FIG. 24-16A), painted while the young artist was living in the household of Francesco Maria Bourbon Del Monte (1549–1627), whom Sixtus V appointed cardinal in 1588. Del Monte was a lover of art and music who headed a papal committee to study the reform of liturgical music and who oversaw the Sistine Choir, at that time an all-male ensemble of soprano singers. Caravaggio moved into Del Monte's home in the Palazzo Madama and drew a salary from the cardinal in return for producing an unspecified number of paintings while in his employ. This arrangement assured the gifted young painter a steady income for the first time and enabled him to hire a servant, who also lived in the cardinal's palace. Contemporaneous accounts describe Caravaggio at that time as a frequenter of taverns who always carried a sword, an illegal act for which he was arrested at least twice. (The police dropped the charges each time upon learning of his relationship to Del Monte.)

24-16A CARAVAGGIO, *Musicians,* ca. 1595.

Calling of Saint Matthew. Del Monte's home in Rome was next to the church of San Luigi dei Francesi (Saint Louis of the French), and the cardinal was instrumental in obtaining for Caravaggio the commission to provide paintings honoring Saint Matthew for the Contarelli chapel in the left aisle near the apse of the church. *Calling of Saint Matthew* (FIG. 24-17) is one of them. The painting is characteristic of Caravaggio's mature style and displays all the qualities for which he became famous—and for which he received scathing criticism (see "Giovanni Pietro Bellori," page 722).

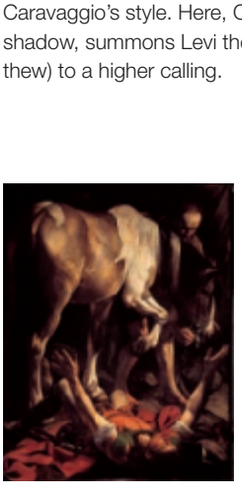
In *Calling of Saint Matthew* and his other religious paintings (FIGS. 24-17A, 24-17B, and 24-18)—Caravaggio injected naturalism into the representation of sacred subjects, reducing them to human dramas played out in the harsh and dingy settings of his time and place. The unidealized figures that he selected from the fields and the streets of Italy, however, were effective precisely because of their familiarity. The commonplace setting of *Calling of Saint Matthew*—a tavern with unadorned walls—is typical of Caravaggio's mature canvases. Into this mundane environment, cloaked in mysterious shadow and almost unseen, Christ, identifiable initially only by his indistinct halo, enters from the right. With a commanding gesture, he summons Levi, the Roman tax collector, to a higher calling (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247). The astonished Levi—his face highlighted for the viewer by the beam of light emanating from an unspecified source above Christ's head and outside the picture—points to himself in disbelief. Although Christ's extended arm is reminiscent of the Lord's in Michelangelo's *Creation of Adam* (FIG. 22-18), the position of his hand and wrist is similar to Adam's. This reference was highly appropriate, because the Church considered Christ to be the second Adam. Whereas Adam was responsible for the fall of humankind, Christ is the vehicle of its redemption. The conversion of Levi (who became Matthew) brought his salvation.

Tenebrism. In Caravaggio's many paintings of religious scenes, the figures are still heroic, with powerful bodies and clearly delineated contours in the Renaissance tradition, but the stark and dramatic contrast of light and dark, which at first shocked and then fascinated his contemporaries, obscures the more traditional aspects of his style. Art historians call Caravaggio's use of dark settings that envelop their occupants—which profoundly influenced

1 ft.

24-17 **CARAVAGGIO, *Calling of Saint Matthew,* ca. 1597–1601. Oil on canvas, 11′ 1″ × 11′ 5″. Contarelli chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.**

The stark contrast of light and dark is a key feature of Caravaggio's style. Here, Christ, cloaked in mysterious shadow, summons Levi the tax collector (Saint Matthew) to a higher calling.



24-17A CARAVAGGIO, *Conversion of Saint Paul,* ca. 1601.

24-17B CARAVAGGIO, *Entombment,* ca. 1603.

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24-18 Caravaggio, *The Taking of Christ,* from the Palazzo Mattei, Rome, Italy, 1602. Oil on canvas, 4′ $4\frac{5}{8}$″ × 5′ $8\frac{3}{4}$″. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (on indefinite loan from the Jesuit Community, Dublin).

In contrast to earlier artists who painted the same subject, Caravaggio tightly framed a half dozen thigh-length figures and used light to draw attention to Jesus, Judas, John the Evangelist—and his self-portrait.

European art, especially in Spain and the Netherlands—*tenebrism,* from the Italian word *tenebroso,* or "shadowy" manner. In Caravaggio's work, tenebrism also contributed greatly to the essential meaning of his pictures. In *Calling of Saint Matthew,* the beam of light directing the viewer's attention to the seated tax collector is the divine light beckoning him to join the Son of God in his earthly mission.

The Taking of Christ. In 1602, Caravaggio received a commission to paint *The Taking of Christ* (fig. 24-18) for Ciriaco Mattei (d. 1614), a wealthy collector from a prominent Roman family who had earlier acquired two other Caravaggio canvases. The subject, which is recounted in all four Gospels, was a venerable one, but, characteristically, the young Baroque painter's rendition of the theme broke with tradition and differs sharply from earlier treatments of the same subject by, for example, Giotto (fig. 14-10A) and Duccio (fig. 14-12). In place of a crowd of full-length figures (including Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus) seen against a blue sky (Giotto) or heavenly gold (Duccio), Caravaggio's canvas presents only a half dozen tightly cropped thigh-length figures enveloped by the dark of night. Light from a lantern held high by a bearded young man at the far right (a self-portrait of the artist) draws the viewer's attention to Judas lunging at and kissing Jesus (left of center) and, at the far left and cut off in part by the frame, John the Evangelist screaming and gesticulating wildly. The compression of the composition and the stark contrasts of light and dark enhance the emotionalism of the moment.

Artemisia Gentileschi. Caravaggio's revolutionary combination of naturalism and drama appealed to other artists as well as his patrons, and he had many followers. Among them was the most celebrated woman artist of the era, Artemisia Gentileschi (ca. 1593–1653), whose father, Orazio (1563–1639), her teacher, was himself strongly influenced by Caravaggio. The daughter's successful career, pursued in Florence, Venice, Naples, and Rome, helped disseminate Caravaggio's style throughout the peninsula.

In *Judith Slaying Holofernes* (fig. 24-19), Gentileschi adopted the tenebrism and what might be called the "dark" subject matter that Caravaggio favored. Significantly, she chose a narrative involving a heroic woman, a favorite theme of hers. The story, from the book of Judith, relates the delivery of Israel from the Assyrians. Having succumbed to Judith's charms, the Assyrian general Holofernes invited her to his tent for the night, but having drunk too much, he soon fell asleep, whereupon Judith beheads him. In this version of the scene (Gentileschi produced more than one painting of the subject), Judith's maidservant helps hold down the awakened Holofernes, while Judith steadies his head as she wields a long sword. Blood spurts everywhere, and the tension and strain are palpable. The controlled highlights on the action in the foreground recall Caravaggio's work (compare fig. 24-18) and heighten the drama here as well.

24-19 Artemisia Gentileschi, *Judith Slaying Holofernes,* ca. 1614–1620. Oil on canvas, 6′ $6\frac{1}{3}$″ × 5′ 4″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Narratives involving heroic women were a favorite theme of Gentileschi. In *Judith Slaying Holofernes,* the dramatic lighting of the action in the foreground emulates Caravaggio's tenebrism.

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ARTISTS ON ART

The Letters of Artemisia Gentileschi

Artemisia Gentileschi (FIG. 24-20) was the most renowned—although by no means the only—woman painter in 17th-century Europe (see "Women in the Renaissance Art World," page 666). Among the others who had highly successful careers was perhaps most notably Gentileschi's younger contemporary Elisabetta Sirani (1638–1665) of Bologna. Famed for the speed with which she completed paintings, Sirani produced some 200 canvases and prints during her short-lived career and took over the direction of her father's workshop when he became ill.

Gentileschi was the first woman ever admitted to membership in Florence's Accademia del Disegno (Academy of Design). Like Sirani and other women who could not become apprentices in all-male studios (see "The Artist's Profession," page 580), she learned her craft from her father. Never forgotten in subsequent centuries, Artemisia owes her modern fame to the seminal 1976 exhibition catalogue *Women Artists: 1550–1950,** which brought to the fore many other notable artists and opened a new chapter in feminist art history.

In addition to scores of paintings created for wealthy patrons, among them the king of England and the grand duke of Tuscany, Gentileschi left behind 28 letters, some of which reveal that she believed that patrons treated her differently because of her gender. Three 1649 letters written in Naples to Don Antonio Ruffo (1610–1678) in Messina make her feelings explicit.

> I fear that before you saw the painting you must have thought me arrogant and presumptuous. . . . [I]f it were not for Your Most Illustrious Lordship . . . I would not have been induced to give it for one hundred and sixty, because everywhere else I have been I was paid one hundred *scudi* per figure. . . . You think me pitiful, because a woman's name raises doubts until her work is seen.†

> I was mortified to hear that you want to deduct one third from the already very low price that I had asked. . . . It must be that in your heart Your Most Illustrious Lordship finds little merit in me.‡

> As for my doing a drawing and sending it, [tell the gentleman who wishes to know the price for a painting that] I have made a solemn vow never to send my drawings because people have cheated me. In particular, just today I found myself [in the situation] that, having done a drawing of souls in Purgatory for the Bishop of St. Gata, he, in order to spend less, commissioned another painter to do the painting using my work. If I were a man, I can't imagine it would have turned out this way, because when the concept has been realized and defined with lights and darks, and established by means of planes, the rest is a trifle.§

24-20 ARTEMISIA GENTILESCHI, *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting,* ca. 1638–1639. Oil on canvas, 3′ 2 7/8″ × 2′ 5 5/8″. Royal Collection, Kensington Palace, London.

Gentileschi here portrayed herself in the guise of La Pittura (Painting) with brush and palette. To paint a self-portrait from the side, Gentileschi had to set up a pair of mirrors to record her features.

*Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, *Women Artists: 1550–1950* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1976), 118–124.
†Letter dated January 30, 1649. Translated by Mary D. Garrard, *Artemisia Gentileschi: The Image of the Female Hero in Italian Baroque Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989), 390.
‡Letter dated October 23, 1649. Ibid., 395–396.
§Letter dated November 13, 1649. Ibid., 397–398.

***La Pittura*.** During the brief period that Orazio Gentileschi was the official painter of the English king Charles I (r. 1625–1649), Artemisia painted perhaps her most unusual work, an allegory of Painting (*La Pittura*; FIG. 24-20). Most art historians believe that the painting, which was in the collection of the king at the time of his execution in 1649, is a self-portrait.

Gentileschi's personified image of Painting as a woman closely follows the prescription for representing La Pittura set forth by Cesare Ripa (d. 1622) in his widely circulated handbook called *Iconologia,* published in 1593. Until the 16th century, only Poetry and Music had a fixed iconography. The inclusion of Painting in *Iconologia* reflects the newly elevated status that painters held during the Renaissance. Ripa described La Pittura as a beautiful woman with disheveled hair painting with her brush in one hand and holding her palette in the other. She wears a gold chain with a pendant in the form of a mask, because masks imitate faces and painting is the art of imitation. The chain symbolizes the continuous linkage of master to pupil from generation to generation. Gentileschi incorporated all of these attributes into her painting, but instead of representing La Pittura as a frontal, emblematic figure, she portrayed her

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24-21 Guido Reni, *Aurora,* ceiling fresco in the Casino Rospigliosi, Rome, Italy, 1613–1614.

The "divine Guido" conceived *Aurora* as a quadro riportato, reflecting his training in the Bolognese art academy. The scene of Dawn leading Apollo's chariot derives from ancient Roman reliefs.

as actively engaged in her craft, seen from her left side. The viewer's eye follows the line of her left arm through the curve of her shoulders and right arm to her right hand, the instrument of artistic genius. It is noteworthy that the canvas in this painting is blank. This is not a self-portrait of the artist at work on a specific painting (compare figs. 23-16, 25-11, 26-15, and 26-16) but a portrait of Gentileschi as Painting herself.

In almost all Renaissance and Baroque self-portraits, the artist gazes at the viewer. The frontal view not only provides the fullest view of the artist's features but also is the easiest to paint because the artist needs only to look in a mirror in order to record his or her features (fig. 22-40). To create this self-portrait, however, Gentileschi had to set up two mirrors in order to paint her likeness from an angle, a highly original break from tradition and an assertion of her supreme skill in a field dominated by men (see "The Letters of Artemisia Gentileschi," page 725).

Guido Reni. Caravaggio was not the only early-17th-century painter to win a devoted following. Guido Reni (1575–1642), known to his many admirers as "the divine Guido," trained in the Bolognese art academy founded by the Carracci family. The influence of Annibale Carracci

24-22 Pietro da Cortona, *Triumph of the Barberini,* ceiling of the Gran Salone, Palazzo Barberini, Rome, Italy, 1633–1639. Fresco, 78′ × 46′.

In this dramatic ceiling fresco, Divine Providence appears in a halo of radiant light directing Immortality, holding a crown of stars, to bestow eternal life on the family of Pope Urban VIII.

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and Raphael is evident in *Aurora* (FIG. 24-21), a ceiling fresco in the Casino Rospigliosi in Rome. Aurora (Dawn) leads Apollo's chariot, while the Hours dance about it. Guido conceived *Aurora* as a quadro riportato, following the format of the paintings in Carraci's *Loves of the Gods* (FIG. 24-16), but in the Casino Rospigliosi, the frame is real gilded stucco, not fresco painting. The composition exhibits a fluid motion and soft modeling, and is an intelligent interpretation of Raphael's style, but without the Renaissance master's sculpturesque strength. Consistent with the precepts of the Bolognese academy, Guido also looked to antiquity for models. The ultimate sources for the *Aurora* composition were Roman reliefs (for example, FIG. 7-42) and coins depicting emperors in triumphal chariots accompanied by flying Victories and other personifications.

Pietro da Cortona. Looking up at a painting is different from viewing a painting hanging on a wall, even in the case of quadro riportato ceiling designs (FIG. 24-16). The considerable height and expansive scale of most ceiling frescoes induce a feeling of awe. Patrons who wanted to burnish their public image or control their legacy found grandiose ceiling frescoes to be perfect vehicles. In 1633, the nephews of Pope Urban VIII commissioned a ceiling fresco for the Gran Salone (the main reception hall) of the family's palatial private residence in Rome, the Palazzo Barberini. The most important decorative commission of the 1630s, the lucrative assignment went to PIETRO DA CORTONA (1596–1669), a Tuscan architect and painter who had moved to Rome two decades before. The immense (78-by-46-foot) *Triumph of the Barberini* (FIG. 24-22) overwhelms spectators with the glory of the Barberini family (and Urban VIII in particular). The iconographic program for this fresco, designed by the poet Francesco Bracciolini (1566–1645), centered on the accomplishments of the Barberini. Divine Providence appears in a halo of radiant light directing Immortality, holding a crown of stars, to bestow eternal life on the family. The virtues Faith, Hope, and Charity hold aloft a gigantic laurel wreath (also a symbol of immortality), which frames three bees (the Barberini family's symbols, which also appeared in Bernini's baldacchino, FIG. 24-5). Also present are the papal tiara and keys announcing the personal triumphs of Urban VIII.

Giovanni Battista Gaulli. *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* (FIG. 24-23) in the nave of Il Gesù (FIG. 22-59, *left*) vividly demonstrates the dramatic impact that Baroque ceiling frescoes could have in ecclesiastical contexts. As the mother church of the Jesuit order, Il Gesù played a prominent role in Counter-Reformation efforts. In this gigantic fresco by GIOVANNI BATTISTA GAULLI (1639–1709), gilded architecture opens up in the center of the ceiling to offer the faithful a stunning glimpse of Heaven. Gaulli represented Jesus as a barely visible monogram (IHS) floating heavenward in a blinding radiant light. By contrast, sinners experience a violent descent back to Earth. The painter glazed the gilded architecture to suggest shadows, thereby enhancing the scene's illusionistic quality. To further heighten the illusion, Gaulli painted many of the sinners on three-dimensional stucco extensions projecting outside the painting's frame.

24-23 GIOVANNI BATTISTA GAULLI, *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*, ceiling fresco with stucco figures on the nave vault of Il Gesù (FIG. 22-59, *left*), Rome, Italy, 1676–1679.

In the nave of Il Gesù, gilded architecture opens up to offer the faithful a glimpse of Heaven. To heighten the illusion, Gaulli painted figures on stucco extensions that project outside the painting's frame.

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How to Make a Ceiling Disappear

The effectiveness of Italian Baroque religious art depended on the drama and theatricality of individual images, as well as on the interaction and fusion of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Sound enhanced this experience. Architects designed churches with acoustical effects in mind, and in an Italian Baroque church filled with music, the power of both image and sound must have been very moving. (It is no coincidence that the 17th century also saw the flowering of opera and oratorio.) Through simultaneous stimulation of the senses of both sight and hearing, the faithful might well have been transported into a trancelike state that would, indeed, as the great English poet John Milton (1608–1674) eloquently stated in *Il Penseroso* (1631), "bring all Heaven before [their] eyes."*

Seventeenth-century ecclesiastical officials keenly realized that spectacular paintings high above the ground offered perfect opportunities to impress on worshipers the glory and power of the Catholic Church. In conjunction with the theatricality of Italian Baroque architecture and sculpture, grandiose frescoes on church ceilings contributed to creating transcendent spiritual environments well suited to the needs of the Catholic Church in Counter-Reformation Rome.

As Giovanni Battista Gaulli did in his *Triumph of the Name of Jesus* (FIG. 24-23) for Il Gesù, Fra Andrea Pozzo, in his fresco (FIG. **24-24**) for the ceiling of the nave of the Roman church honoring Saint Ignatius, created the illusion of Heaven opening up above the congregation. To accomplish this, in addition to employing standard pictorial devices such as perspective and foreshortening, Pozzo painted an extension of the church's architecture into the vault so that the roof seems to be lifted off. As Heaven and Earth commingle, Christ receives Saint Ignatius in the presence of figures personifying the four corners of the world. A disk in the nave floor marks the spot where the viewer should stand to gain the whole perspective illusion. For worshipers looking up from this point, the vision is complete. They find themselves in the presence of the heavenly and spiritual, the ultimate goal of Italian Baroque ecclesiastical art and architecture.

*John Milton, *Il Penseroso* (1631, published 1645), 166.

24-24 Fra Andrea Pozzo, *Glorification of Saint Ignatius,* ceiling fresco in the nave of Sant'Ignazio, Rome, Italy, 1691–1694.

By merging real and painted architecture, Pozzo created the illusion that the vaulted ceiling of Sant'Ignazio has been lifted off and that the nave opens to Heaven above the worshipers' heads.

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Fra Andrea Pozzo. Another master of ceiling decoration was Fra Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709), a lay brother of the Jesuit order and a master of perspective, on which he wrote an influential treatise. Pozzo designed and executed the vast ceiling fresco *Glorification of Saint Ignatius* (fig. 24-24) for the church of Sant'Ignazio in Rome (see "How to Make a Ceiling Disappear," page 728). Like Il Gesù, Sant'Ignazio was a prominent Counter-Reformation church because of its dedication to the founder of the Jesuit order. The Jesuits played a major role in Catholic education and sent legions of missionaries to the New World and Asia.

SPAIN AND NEW SPAIN

During the 16th century, Spain had established itself as an international power. The Habsburg kings had built a dynastic state encompassing Portugal, part of Italy, the Netherlands, and extensive areas of the New World. By the beginning of the 17th century, however, the Habsburg Empire was in decline, and although Spain mounted an aggressive effort during the Thirty Years' War, by 1660 the imperial age of the Spanish Habsburgs was over. In part, the demise of the Habsburg Empire was due to economic woes. The military campaigns that Philip III (r. 1598–1621) and his son Philip IV (r. 1621–1665) waged during the Thirty Years' War were costly and led to the imposition of higher taxes. The increasing tax burden placed on Spanish subjects in turn incited revolts and civil war in Catalonia and Portugal in the 1640s, further straining an already fragile economy.

Painting and Sculpture

Although the dawn of the Baroque period found the Spanish kings struggling to maintain control of their dwindling empire, both Philip III and Philip IV understood the prestige that great artworks brought and the value of visual imagery in communicating effectively with a wide audience. Thus both kings continued to spend lavishly on art.

Juan Sánchez Cotán. One painter who made a major contribution to the development of Spanish art, although he did not receive any royal commissions, was Juan Sánchez Cotán (1560–1627). Born in Orgaz, outside Toledo, Sánchez Cotán moved to Granada and became a Carthusian monk in 1603. Although he painted religious subjects, his greatest works are the *still lifes* (paintings of artfully arranged inanimate objects) that he produced before entering monastic life (and never thereafter). Few in number, they nonetheless established still-life painting as an important genre in 17th-century Spain.

Still Life with Game Fowl (fig. 24-25) is one of Sánchez Cotán's most ambitious compositions, but it conforms to the pattern he adopted for all of his still lifes. A niche or a window—the artist clearly wished the setting to be indeterminate—fills the entire surface of the canvas. At the bottom, fruits and vegetables, including a melon—cut open with a slice removed—rest on a ledge. Above, suspended on strings from a nail or hook outside the frame, are a quince and four game fowl. All are meticulously rendered and brightly illuminated, enhancing the viewer's sense of each texture, color, and shape, yet the background is impenetrable shadow. The sharp and unnatural contrast between light and dark imbues the still life with a sense of mystery that is absent, for example, in Dutch still-life paintings (figs. 25-1, 25-22, and 25-23).

There may, in fact, be a religious reference. Sánchez Cotán once described his 11 paintings of fruits, vegetables, and birds as "offerings to the Virgin"—probably a reference to the Virgin as the *fenestra coeli* ("window to Heaven") and the source of spiritual food for the faithful.

24-25 Juan Sánchez Cotán, *Still Life with Game Fowl,* ca. 1600–1603. Oil on canvas, 2′ $2\frac{3}{4}$″ × 2′ $10\frac{7}{8}$″. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Leigh B. Block).

Sánchez Cotán established still life as an important genre in Spain. His compositions feature brightly illuminated fruits, vegetables, and birds, hanging or on a ledge, against a dark background.

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1 ft.

24-26 José de Ribera, *Martyrdom of Saint Philip,* ca. 1639. Oil on canvas, 7′ 8″ × 7′ 8″. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Martyrdom scenes were popular in Counter-Reformation Spain. Scorning idealization of any kind, Ribera represented Philip's executioners hoisting him into position to die on a cross.

José de Ribera. In the 17th century, Spain maintained its passionate commitment to Catholic orthodoxy, and, as in Counter-Reformation Italy, Spanish Baroque artists sought ways to move viewers and encourage greater devotion and piety. Scenes of death and martyrdom had great appeal in Spain. They provided artists with opportunities both to depict extreme emotion and to elicit passionate feelings. Spain prided itself on its saints—Saint Teresa of Ávila (FIG. 24-1) and Saint Ignatius Loyola (FIG. 24-24) were both Spanish-born—and martyrdom scenes appear frequently in Spanish Baroque art.

As a young man, José (Jusepe) de Ribera (1591–1652) emigrated to Naples and fell under the spell of Caravaggio, whose innovative style he introduced to Spain. Emulating Caravaggio, Ribera made naturalism and compelling drama primary ingredients of his paintings, which often embraced brutal themes, reflecting the harsh times of the Counter-Reformation and the Spanish taste for stories showcasing courage and devotion. Ribera's *Martyrdom of Saint Philip* (FIG. 24-26) is grim and dark in both subject and form. Scorning idealization of any kind, Ribera represented Philip's executioners hoisting him into position after tying him to a cross, the instrument of Christ's own martyrdom. The saint's rough, heavy body and swarthy features express a kinship between him and his tormentors, who are similar to the types of figures found in Caravaggio's paintings. The patron of this painting is unknown, but it is possible that Philip IV commissioned the work, because Saint Philip was the king's patron saint.

Francisco de Zurbarán. Another prominent Spanish painter of dramatic works was Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664), whose primary patrons throughout his career were rich Spanish monastic

1 ft.

24-27 Francisco de Zurbarán, *Saint Serapion,* 1628. Oil on canvas, 3′ $11\frac{1}{2}$″ × 3′ $4\frac{3}{4}$″. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford (The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin Sumner Collection Fund).

The light shining on Serapion calls attention to his tragic death and increases the painting's dramatic impact. The monk has a peasant's coarse features, which must have evoked empathy from a wide audience.

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orders. Many of his paintings are quiet and contemplative, appropriate for prayer and devotional purposes. Zurbarán painted *Saint Serapion* (FIG. 24-27) as a devotional image for the funerary chapel of the monastic Order of Mercy in Seville, which was founded to aid Christians who had been taken prisoner by the Moors. The saint, who participated in the Third Crusade of 1196, suffered martyrdom while preaching the Gospel to Muslims. According to one account, the monk's captors tied him to a tree and then tortured and decapitated him. The Order of Mercy dedicated itself to self-sacrifice, and Serapion's membership in this order amplified the resonance of Zurbarán's painting. In *Saint Serapion,* the monk emerges from a dark background and fills the foreground. The bright light shining on him calls attention to the saint's tragic death and increases the dramatic impact of the image. In the background are two barely visible tree limbs to which his arms are tied at the wrists. A small note next to the saint identifies him for viewers. Like Ribera's Saint Philip, the features of Zurbarán's Spanish monk are coarse, not idealized (Serapion had not yet been declared a saint at the time Zurbarán portrayed him), no doubt evoking empathy from a wide audience.

Juan Martínez Montañés. The drama and fervor of Spanish Baroque religious painting have parallels in 17th-century Spanish sculpture. Especially noteworthy is the work of JUAN MARTÍNEZ MONTAÑÉS (1568–1649), the leading sculptor of Seville. Variously called by his contemporaries "the Sevillian Phidias" and "the Andalusian Lysippos," references to two of the most famous ancient Greek sculptors, Montañés was primarily known as "the god of wood" because of his mastery of the art of *polychrome* (multicolored) painted and gilded wood sculptures.

One of the major commissions that Montañés received during his long career (he died at age 81 during the 1649 plague outbreak in Seville) was to provide relief sculptures for the enormous multistory *retablo* (Spanish, "altarpiece") that fills the apse of the church of San Miguel (Saint Michael) at Jerez de la Frontera in southern Spain (MAP 25-1). The retablo is the work of several sculptors and took decades to complete. The main panel (FIG. 24-28), by Montañés, celebrates the victory of the archangel Michael, the church's namesake, over the rebel angels. Contemporaries viewed the biblical story as an allegory of the triumph of Catholicism over Protestantism. In the Spanish sculptor's conception of the theme (compare Domenico Beccafumi's *Fall of the Rebel Angels,* FIG. 22-39A), Michael and his angels are handsome and beautifully proportioned, classically inspired figures who attack from above (that is, from Heaven) the ugly, writhing agents of the Devil. The

24-28 JUAN MARTÍNEZ MONTAÑÉS, *Battle of Demons and Angels,* main panel of the retablo in the apse of San Miguel, Jerez de la Frontera, Spain, ca. 1609–1613. Painted and gilded wood.

Montañés was the leading Spanish Baroque sculptor. This polychrome and gilded wood retablo panel of the archangel Michael defeating the rebel angels may be an allegory of Catholicism's triumph over Protestantism.

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1 ft.

24-29 Diego Velázquez, *Water Carrier of Seville*, ca. 1619. Oil on canvas, 3′ 5½″ × 2′ 7½″. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

In this early work—a genre scene that seems to convey a deeper significance—the contrast of darks and lights and the commonplace characters reveal Velázquez's debt to Caravaggio.

24-29A Velázquez, *Christ on the Cross*, ca. 1631–1632.

arrangement of the demons from Hell owes a debt to the universally admired *Laocoön* (fig. 5-89) statuary group discovered in Rome in 1506. Although stylistically related to Baroque sculpture in Italy, Spanish Baroque sculpture is a distinct regional variation. Compared to the pure white marble statues of Bernini and his Italian contemporaries, the lifelike polychrome wood statues and reliefs of 17th-century Spain elicit a very different reaction from the viewer.

Diego Velázquez. The foremost Spanish painter of the Baroque age—and the greatest beneficiary of royal patronage—was Diego Velázquez (1599–1660). An early work, *Water Carrier of Seville* (fig. 24-29), reveals Velázquez's impressive command of the painter's craft when he was only about 20 years old. In this genre scene that seems to convey a deeper significance, Velázquez rendered the figures with clarity and dignity. His careful depiction of the water jugs in the foreground, complete with droplets of water, is especially convincing. The commonplace characters and the contrast of darks and lights again reveal the influence of Caravaggio, whose work Velázquez had studied.

Like many other Spanish artists, Velázquez produced religious pictures—for example, *Christ on the Cross* (fig. 24-29A)—as well as genre scenes, but his renown in his day rested primarily on the works he painted for King Philip IV (see "Velázquez and Philip IV," page 733). After the king appointed Velázquez court painter, the artist largely abandoned both religious and genre subjects in favor of royal portraits (fig. 24-30A) and canvases recording historical events.

***Las Meninas*.** After an extended visit to Rome from 1648 to 1651, Velázquez returned to Spain. In 1656, he painted his greatest work, *Las Meninas* (*The Maids of Honor*; fig. 24-31). The setting is the artist's studio in the palace of the Alcázar, the official royal residence in Madrid. After the death of Prince Baltasar Carlos in 1646, Philip IV ordered part of the prince's chambers converted into a studio for Velázquez. The painter represented himself standing before a large canvas. The young Infanta (Princess) Margarita appears in the foreground with her two maids-in-waiting, her favorite dwarfs, and a large dog. In the middle ground are a woman in widow's attire and a male escort. In the background, a chamberlain stands in a brightly lit open doorway. Scholars have been able to identify everyone in the room, including the two meninas and the dwarfs, but they have yet to agree on any particular reading or interpretation of the painting (see "Diego Veláquez's *Las Meninas*," page 734).

Las Meninas is extraordinarily complex visually. Velázquez's optical report of the event, authentic in every detail, pictorially summarizes the various kinds of images in their different levels and degrees of reality. He portrayed the realities of image on canvas, of mirror image, of optical image, and of the two painted images above the doorway. This work—with its cunning contrasts of real spaces, mirrored spaces, picture spaces, and pictures within pictures—itself appears to have been taken from a large mirror reflecting the entire scene. This would mean that the artist did not paint the princess and her suite as the main subjects of *Las Meninas* but himself in the process of painting them. *Las Meninas* is a pictorial summary and a commentary on the essential mystery of the visual world, as well as on the ambiguity that results when different states or levels interact or are juxtaposed.

Velázquez employed several devices in order to achieve this visual complexity. For example, the extension of the composition's pictorial depth in both directions is noteworthy. The open doorway

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Velázquez and Philip IV

Trained in Seville, Diego Velázquez was quite young when he came to the attention of Philip IV. The painter's immense talent impressed the king, and Philip named him chief court artist and palace chamberlain, a position that also involved overseeing the rapidly growing royal art collection and advising the king on acquisitions and display. Among the works in Philip IV's possession were paintings by Titian, Annibale Carracci, Guido Reni, Albrecht Dürer, and Velázquez's famous Flemish contemporary, Peter Paul Rubens (FIGS. 25-2, 25-3, 25-4, and 25-4A).

With the exception of two extended trips to Italy and a few excursions, Velázquez remained in Madrid for the rest of his life. His close relationship with Philip IV and his high office as chamberlain gave him prestige and a rare guaranteed income. But, like most artists before the modern era, Velázquez above all had to please his patron and consequently had little opportunity to choose his own subjects. One indication of Velázquez's fertile imagination as well as his mastery of the brush is that he, like Michelangelo (see "Michelangelo, Pope Julius II, and the Sistine Chapel," page 635), was able to create timeless artworks from the official assignments he received.

A case in point is the painting Velázquez produced on the king's orders to commemorate the Spanish victory over the Dutch in 1625. Painted a decade later, *Surrender of Breda* (FIG. 24-30) was part of an extensive program of decoration for the Hall of Realms in Philip IV's new secondary pleasure palace in Madrid, the Palacio del Buen Retiro. The huge canvas (more than 12 feet long and almost as tall) was one of 10 paintings celebrating recent Spanish military successes, not only in Europe but in the New World as well. Among the most troublesome situations for Spain was the conflict in the Netherlands. Determined to escape Spanish control, the northern Netherlands broke from the Habsburg Empire in the late 16th century. Skirmishes continued to flare up along the border between the northern (Dutch) and southern (Spanish) Netherlands, and in 1625, Philip IV sent General Ambrogio di Spínola to Breda to reclaim the town for Spain.

Velázquez depicted the victorious Spanish troops, organized and well armed, on the right side of the painting. In sharp contrast, the defeated Dutch on the left appear bedraggled and disorganized. In the center foreground, the mayor of Breda, Justinus of Nassau, hands the city's keys to the Spanish general—although no encounter of this kind ever occurred. Velázquez's fictional record of the event glorifies not only the strength of the Spanish military (at a time of declining influence in Europe) but also the benevolence of Spínola. Velázquez did not portray the Spanish general astride his horse, lording over the vanquished Dutch mayor, but rather painted him standing and magnanimously stopping Justinus from kneeling. Indeed, the terms of surrender were notably lenient, and Spínola allowed the Dutch to retain their arms—which they used to recapture the city in 1637.

Velázquez also painted dozens of portraits of Philip IV (FIG. 24-30A) and his family and retinue, including *Las Meninas* (FIG. 24-31), one of the greatest paintings in the history of Western art, a work that Philip admired so much that he displayed it in his personal office.

1 ft.

24-30 Diego Velázquez, *Surrender of Breda,* 1634–1635. Oil on canvas, 10′ 1″ × 12′ ½″. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

As Philip IV's court artist, Velázquez produced many history paintings, including fictional representations such as this one depicting the Dutch mayor of Breda surrendering to a Spanish general.

24-30A Velázquez, *Philip IV,* 1644.

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A SECOND OPINION

Diego Veláquez's *Las Meninas*

A central issue preoccupying scholars has been what, exactly, is taking place in *Las Meninas* (FIG. 24-31), the painting that is universally considered to be Diego Velázquez's best, if also his most enigmatic. What is the artist depicting on the huge canvas in front of him? He may be painting this very picture—an informal image of the infanta and her entourage. Alternately, Velázquez may be painting a portrait of King Philip IV and Queen Mariana, whose reflections appear in the mirror on the far wall. If so, that would suggest the presence of the king and queen in the viewer's space, outside the confines of the picture. Other scholars have proposed that the mirror image is not a reflection of the royal couple standing in Velázquez's studio but a reflection of the portrait that the artist is in the process of painting on the canvas before him. This question will probably never be definitively resolved.

More generally, *Las Meninas* is Velázquez's attempt to elevate both himself and his profession. As first painter to the king and as chamberlain of the palace, Velázquez was conscious not only of the importance of his court office but also of the honor and dignity belonging to his profession as a painter. Throughout his career, Velázquez hoped to be ennobled by royal appointment to membership in the ancient and illustrious Order of Santiago (Saint James). Because he lacked a sufficiently noble lineage, he gained entrance only with difficulty at the very end of his life, and then only through the pope's dispensation. In the painting, Velázquez wears the order's red cross on his doublet, painted there, legend says, by Philip IV. In all likelihood, Velázquez painted it. In the artist's mind, *Las Meninas* might have embodied the idea of the great king visiting his studio, as Alexander the Great visited the studio of the painter Apelles in ancient times. The figures in the painting all appear to acknowledge the royal presence. Placed among them in equal dignity is Velázquez, face-to-face with his sovereign.

The location of the completed painting reinforced this act of looking—of seeing and being seen. *Las Meninas* hung in Philip IV's personal office in another part of the palace. Thus, although occasional visitors admitted to the king's private quarters may have seen this painting, Philip was the primary audience. Each time he stood before the canvas, he again participated in the work as the probable subject of Velázquez's painting within the painting and as the object of the figures' gazes. In *Las Meninas,* Velázquez elevated the art of painting, in the person of the painter, to the highest status. The king's presence enhanced this status—either in person as the viewer of *Las Meninas* or as a reflected image in the painting itself.

The paintings that appear in *Las Meninas* further reinforce this celebration of the painter's craft. On the wall above the doorway and the mirror, two faintly recognizable pictures are copies made by Velázquez's son-in-law, Juan del Mazo (ca. 1612–1667), of paintings by Peter Paul Rubens. The paintings depict the immortal gods as the source of art. Ultimately, Velázquez sought ennoblement not for himself alone but for his art as well.

1 ft.

24-31 Diego Velázquez, *Las Meninas* (*The Maids of Honor*), 1656. Oil on canvas, 10′ 5″ × 9′. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Although interpretations vary, Velázquez clearly intended this complex work, with its real, mirrored, and picture spaces, to elevate both himself and the profession of painting in the eyes of Philip IV.

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1 ft.

24-32 Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Immaculate Conception of the Escorial,* ca. 1661–1670. Oil on canvas, 6′ 9 1/8″ × 4′ 8 5/8″. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Murillo established the canonical image of the Immaculate Virgin—a beautiful young praying woman ascending to Heaven on clouds, accompanied by angels bearing symbols of her purity.

and its ascending staircase lead the eye beyond the artist's studio, and the mirror and the outward glances of several of the figures incorporate the viewer's space into the picture as well. (Compare how the mirror in Jan van Eyck's *Giovanni Arnolfini and His Wife* [fig. 20-11] similarly incorporates the area in front of the canvas into the picture, although less obviously and without a comparable extension of space beyond the rear wall of the room.) Velázquez also masterfully observed and represented form and shadow. Instead of putting lights abruptly beside darks, following Caravaggio, Velázquez allowed a great number of intermediate values of gray to come between the two extremes. His matching of tonal gradations approached effects later discovered in the age of photography.

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. No Spanish painter of the second half of the 17th century could challenge Velázquez in stature or quality, but one painter, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617–1682), had an influence on later painters that was in some ways more pervasive than Velázquez's. Murillo was born in Seville, where in 1645 he received his first important commission—a series of paintings of the life of Saint Francis for the cloister of San Francisco el Grande. His most famous works, however, depict the Immaculate Virgin (for example, fig. 24-32), an immensely popular theme in fervently Catholic Spain. For centuries, the Spanish Church had lobbied the popes in Rome to certify that the Virgin, like Christ, had been conceived without sin, a position supported by the Franciscan order. The Dominicans, in contrast, insisted that the Virgin had not been miraculously conceived but was purified while in her mother's womb. In 1661, Pope Alexander VII officially decreed that Mary was free of Original Sin, causing great celebration in Spain and putting an end to the controversy.

Many Spanish painters received commissions to paint Mary's immaculate conception in accord with the standard Counter-Reformation iconography, but Murillo's many Virgin of the Immaculate Conception paintings set the standard for representations of this subject. The *Immaculate Conception of the Escorial* (fig. 24-32) is probably his best. In Murillo's painting, the Virgin, wearing a white gown and a blue cloak, rises heavenward on clouds, riding on a crescent moon (as described in the Apocalypse) and accompanied by angels carrying attributes referring to her purity (roses, lilies, a mirror) and her suffering (palm fronds).

The Escorial *Immaculate Conception* has fewer angels and attributes than Murillo's earlier versions. The Spanish master represented Mary as a beautiful, humble young woman, her hands clasped in prayer, slowly ascending to Heaven. By using light colors and making the angels in the upper half of the canvas almost disappear in the clouds, Murillo imbued the scene with a sense of weightlessness. His formulation of the theme became canonical, not only in Spain but in the Spanish colonies in the New World.

Architecture

The Baroque architecture of Spain and its colonies in the Western Hemisphere has closer affinities to the lavish surface decoration of the Plateresque style of the late 15th and 16th centuries (figs. 23-24 and 23-24A) than to the more severe style of El Escorial (fig. 23-25). The important Romanesque church of Saint James at Santiago de Compostela (fig. 12-6B), for example, received a new Baroque-style facade in the 17th century, and Baroque taste also determined the look of the churches the Spanish conquerors erected in the New World. As in Rome at the same time, the richest and most influential architectural patron in Latin America was the Catholic Church.

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24-33 Claudio de Arciniega and others, Metropolitan Cathedral of the Assumption of Mary (looking northeast), Mexico City, Mexico, 1573–1817.

The largest building in colonial Latin America is Mexico City's Metropolitan Cathedral, built on the site of the religious center of the conquered Aztec capital. The design reflects Roman Baroque church exteriors.

Mexico City. The largest building constructed anywhere in New Spain during the colonial period was Metropolitan Cathedral of the Assumption of Mary (fig. 24-33) in Mexico City. The project began shortly after the victory of Hernàn Cortès over the Aztec Empire on the site of the Templo Mayor (fig. 36-3), the ceremonial and religious center of the Aztec capital city of Tenochtitlán (map 36-1). The cathedral building campaign lasted nearly three centuries, completed only in 1817. Most of the present enormous (360-foot-long and 179-foot-wide) structure dates to the 17th century and follows the plan drawn by Claudio de Arciniega (ca. 1520–1593) in 1569. Construction commenced in 1573, using stones from the Aztec pyramid-temple of Huitzilopochtli. Dominating the wide facade are twin cupola-capped towers dating to the 18th century. The articulation of the lower facade, erected during the second half of the 17th century, reflects the style of the churches of Baroque Rome.

Cuzco. A purer example of Baroque style in New Spain is the Church of the Society of Jesus (fig. 24-34) in Cuzco, Peru (map 36-2), erected during a concentrated period of 18 years, after an earthquake in 1650 destroyed an earlier church at the heart of the former Inka capital. Designed either by the Flemish Jesuit architect-priest Jean-Baptiste Gilles (1596–1675) or the Spanish retablo master Martinez de Oviedo (d. 1670), the church's facade, which resembles a grandiose retablo framed by comparatively plain twin bell towers, is a distinctive colonial variation of Baroque architecture without close parallels in Europe. The design captures the dynamic projecting and receding elements of the facades of contemporaneous Roman churches without copying any of them. The predominantly curvilinear motifs rise in waves to a crescendo in the richly carved upper cornice, which also unites the towers with the center of the facade.

The churches of New Spain are eloquent symbols of the ascendance of Christianity, and specifically of the Catholic Church, in the Western Hemisphere, and, more generally, of the subjugation of the native populations and their cultural values by the kings of Spain and their armies, priests, and artists.

24-34 Jean-Baptiste Gilles or Martinez de Oviedo, west facade of the Iglesia La Compañía de Jesús (Church of the Society of Jesus), Cuzco, Peru, 1650–1668.

The Baroque facade of the Jesuits' church in the former capital of the Inka Empire is a distinctive colonial variation without close parallels in Europe. The design resembles a grandiose Spanish retablo.

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THE BIG PICTURE

The Baroque in Italy and Spain

Italy

- Art historians call the art of 17th-century Italy and Spain "Baroque," a term that may derive from the Portuguese word for an irregularly shaped pearl. Baroque art is dynamic and theatrical, in vivid contrast to the precision and orderly rationality of Renaissance classicism.
- Baroque architects emphatically rejected the classical style. Gian Lorenzo Bernini's colonnade framing the piazza in front of Saint Peter's is not a traditional rectangular atrium but two curving arms welcoming worshipers.
- Francesco Borromini emphasized the sculptural qualities of buildings. The facades of his churches—for example, San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane—are not flat frontispieces but undulating surfaces that provide a fluid transition from exterior to interior space. The interiors of his buildings pulsate with energy and feature complex domes that grow organically from curving walls. Guarino Guarini brought Borromini's innovative architectural style to Turin.
- Bernini achieved even greater renown as a sculptor. His *David* represents the biblical hero in action, hurling stones at Goliath. In *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa,* Bernini marshaled the full capabilities of architecture, sculpture, and painting to create an intensely emotional experience for worshipers, consistent with the Counter-Reformation principle of using artworks to inspire devotion and piety.
- In painting, Caravaggio broke new ground by employing stark and dramatic contrasts of light and dark (tenebrism) and by setting religious scenes in everyday locales filled with rough-looking common people. Caravaggio's combination of drama and realism attracted both admiring followers—including Artemisia Gentileschi, the leading woman painter of the 17th century—and harsh critics. The biographer Giovanni Pietro Bellori, for example, deplored Caravaggio's abandonment of the noble style of Raphael and the ancients and his "suppression of the dignity of art." Bellori preferred the more classical style of Annibale Carracci and the Bolognese art academy.
- Illusionistic ceiling paintings were very popular in Baroque Italy. The major ceiling painters were Pietro da Cortona, Giovanni Battista Gaulli, and Fra Andrea Pozzo. In Sant'Ignazio in Rome, by merging the church's architecture with the painted nave vault, Pozzo created the illusion that Heaven is opening up above worshipers' heads.

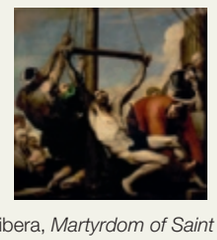
Borromini, Sant'Ivo alla Sapienza, Rome, begun 1642

Bernini, *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa,* Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome, 1647–1652

Caravaggio, *The Taking of Christ,* 1602

Spain and New Spain

- Although the power of the Habsburg kings declined during the 17th century, the royal family, which was devoutly Catholic, continued to spend lavishly on art.
- Spanish artists eagerly embraced the drama and emotionalism of Italian Baroque art. Scenes of death and martyrdom were popular in Counter-Reformation Spain. Painters such as José de Ribera and Francisco de Zurbarán adopted Caravaggio's lighting and realism to produce moving images of Christian martyrs.
- The greatest Spanish Baroque artist was Diego Velázquez, court painter to Philip IV. Velázquez depicted themes ranging from genre and religious subjects to royal portraits and historical events, such as *Surrender of Breda*. His masterwork, *Las Meninas,* is extraordinarily complex and mixes real spaces, mirrored spaces, picture spaces, and pictures within pictures. It is a celebration of the art of painting itself.
- The leading Spanish Baroque sculptor was Juan Martínez Montañés, a master of polychrome and gilded wood sculpture, especially church retables.
- The paintings, sculptures, and buildings of 17th-century Spain profoundly influenced the art and architecture of the Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere, but the buildings of New Spain—for example, the Church of the Jesuits in Cuzco—have no close parallels in Europe.



Ribera, *Martyrdom of Saint Philip,* ca. 1639

Montañés, *Battle of Demons and Angels,* ca. 1609–1613

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▲**25-1a** Claesz's mastery of the oil medium is evident in details such as the glass ball on the left side of the table, in which the viewer sees the reflected image of the artist painting this still life.

▲**25-1b** In the 17th century, an important new class of patrons emerged in the Dutch Republic: successful merchants who took pride in their material possessions, the fruit of worldwide trade.

1 in.

25-1 **Pieter Claesz, *Vanitas Still Life,* 1630s. Oil on panel, 1′ 2″ × 1′ 11½″. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.**

▶**25-1c** Calvinist morality tempered Dutch citizens' delight in their accumulated wealth. In Claesz's vanitas still life, the skull and timepiece are *mementi mori,* reminders of life's transience.

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THE BAROQUE IN NORTHERN EUROPE 25

FRAMING THE ERA

International Trade and Art Patronage in the Dutch Republic

In 1648, after decades of continuous border skirmishes with the Spaniards, the northern Netherlands achieved official recognition as the United Provinces of the Netherlands (the Dutch Republic; MAP 25-1). The new independent republic owed its ascendance largely to its success in international trade. Dutch ships laden with goods roamed the world, sailing as far as North and South America, western Africa, China, Japan, and the Pacific islands.

Peter Mundy, a widely traveled Englishman, commented in 1640 on the irony that the Dutch Republic produced almost nothing on its own land yet enjoyed great wealth and could afford rare commodities from around the world:

> For although the land (and that with much labor) is brought only to pasture . . . yet by means of their shipping they are plentifully supplied with what the earth affords for the use of man . . . from any part of the world . . . Europe, Asia, Africa or America . . . with the most precious and rich commodities of those parts.[1]

The prosperous Dutch were justifiably proud of their accomplishments, and the popularity of still-life paintings—particularly images of accumulated goods—reflected this pride. These paintings of worldly possessions marked the emergence of an important new class of art patrons—wealthy merchants—who had tastes distinctly different from those of the leading patrons elsewhere in Baroque Europe, namely royalty and the Catholic Church. Dutch still lifes, which were well suited to the Protestant ethic rejecting most religious art, are among the finest ever painted. They are meticulously crafted images both scientific in their optical accuracy and poetic in their beauty and lyricism.

One of the best Dutch paintings of this genre is *Vanitas Still Life* (FIG. 25-1) by PIETER CLAESZ (1597–1660), in which the painter presented a prosperous household's material possessions strewn across a tabletop or dresser. The ever-present morality and humility central to the Calvinist faith tempered Dutch pride in worldly goods, however. Thus, although Claesz fostered the appreciation and enjoyment of the beauty and value of the objects he depicted, he also reminded viewers of life's transience by incorporating references to death. Art historians call works of this type *vanitas* (vanity) paintings, and each of its symbolic elements a *memento mori* (reminder of death). In Claesz's *Vanitas Still Life,* references to mortality include the skull, timepiece, tipped glass, and cracked walnut. All suggest the passage of time or something or someone that was here but now is gone. Claesz emphasized this element of time (and demonstrated his technical virtuosity) by including a self-portrait reflected in the glass ball on the left side of the table. He appears to be painting this still life. But in an apparent challenge to the message of inevitable mortality that vanitas paintings convey, the portrait serves to immortalize the artist.

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WAR AND TRADE IN NORTHERN EUROPE

During the 17th and early 18th centuries, numerous geopolitical shifts occurred in Europe as the fortunes of individual countries rose and fell. Pronounced political and religious friction resulted in widespread unrest and warfare. Indeed, between 1562 and 1721, all of Europe was at peace for a mere four years. The major conflict of this period was the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which ensnared Spain, France, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Poland, the Ottoman Empire, and the Holy Roman Empire. Although the outbreak of the war had its roots in the conflict between militant Catholics and militant Protestants, the driving force quickly shifted to secular, dynastic, and nationalistic concerns. Among the major political entities vying for expanded power and authority in Europe were the Bourbon dynasty of France and the Habsburg dynasties of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire. The war, which concluded with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, was largely responsible for the political restructuring of Europe (MAP 25-1). As a result, the United Provinces of the Netherlands

MAP 25-1 **Europe in 1648 after the Peace of Westphalia.**

THE BAROQUE IN NORTHERN EUROPE

1600–1625

- Peter Paul Rubens is the leading painter in Catholic Flanders
- The founding of the Bank of Amsterdam in 1609 initiates an era of Dutch preeminence in international trade
- In the northern Netherlands, Calvinist patrons favor genre scenes, portraits, and still lifes over religious subjects

1625–1650

- Frans Hals achieves renown for his group portraits of Dutch citizens
- Rembrandt is the foremost Dutch Baroque painter and printmaker
- The Peace of Westphalia concludes the Thirty Years' War in 1648

1650–1675

- Jacob van Ruisdael and other Dutch artists specialize in landscape painting
- Johannes Vermeer uses a camera obscura as an aid in painting domestic interiors
- Nicolas Poussin champions classical "grand manner" painting in Rome

1675–1700

- Louis XIV, the Sun King, builds a grandiose palace and garden complex at Versailles
- Christopher Wren designs Saint Paul's Cathedral in London

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(the Dutch Republic), Sweden, and France expanded their authority. Spanish and Danish power diminished. In addition to reconfiguring territorial boundaries, the Peace of Westphalia in essence granted freedom of religious choice throughout Europe. This agreement thus marked the abandonment of the idea of a united Christian Europe, and accepted the practical realities of secular political systems. The building of today's nation-states was emphatically under way.

The 17th century also brought heightened economic competition to Europe. Much of the foundation for worldwide mercantilism—extensive voyaging and geographic exploration, improved mapmaking, and advances in shipbuilding—had been laid in the previous century. In the 17th century, however, changes in financial systems, lifestyles, and trading patterns, along with expanding colonialism, fueled the creation of a worldwide marketplace. In 1609, the Dutch founded the Bank of Amsterdam, which eventually became the center of European transfer banking, with Amsterdam usurping Antwerp as the richest center of commerce in Europe. By establishing a system in which merchant firms held money on account, the bank relieved traders of having to transport precious metals as payment. Trading practices became more complex. Rather than simple reciprocal trading, triangular trade (trade among three parties) facilitated access to a larger pool of desirable goods. Exposure to an ever-growing array of goods affected European diets and lifestyles. Tea (from China) and, later, coffee (from island colonies) became popular beverages over the course of the 17th century. Equally explosive was the growth of sugar use. Sugar, tobacco, and rice were slave crops, and the slave trade expanded to meet the demand for these goods. Traders captured and enslaved Africans and shipped them to European colonies and the Americas to provide the requisite labor force for producing these commodities.

The resulting worldwide mercantile system permanently changed the face of Europe. The prosperity generated by international trade affected social and political relationships, necessitating new rules of etiquette and careful diplomacy. With increased disposable income, more of the newly wealthy spent money on art, significantly expanding the market for artworks, especially small-scale paintings for private homes (see "The Art Market in the Dutch Republic," page 747).

FLANDERS

In the 16th century, the Netherlands had come under the crown of Habsburg Spain when Emperor Charles V retired, leaving the Spanish kingdoms, their Italian and American possessions, and the Netherlandish provinces to his only legitimate son, Philip II (r. 1556–1598). (Charles bestowed his imperial title and German lands on his brother.) Philip's repressive measures against the Protestants led the northern provinces to break from Spain and establish the Dutch Republic. The southern provinces remained under Spanish control and retained Catholicism as their official religion. The political distinction between modern Holland and Belgium more or less reflects this original separation, which in the 17th century signaled not only religious but also artistic differences.

Painting

The major artistic media of 17th-century Flanders (the Spanish Netherlands) were prints and illustrated books and oil paintings. Flemish Baroque painters retained close connections to the Baroque art of Catholic Europe. By contrast, the Dutch schools of painting developed their own subjects and styles, consistent with their reformed religion and the new political, social, and economic structure of the Dutch Republic.

Peter Paul Rubens. The greatest 17th-century Flemish painter was Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), a towering figure in the history of Western art. Rubens built on the innovations of the Italian Renaissance and Baroque masters to formulate the first truly pan-European painting style. Rubens's art is an original and powerful synthesis of the manners of many masters, especially Michelangelo, Titian, Carracci, and Caravaggio. His style had wide appeal, and his influence was international. Among the most learned individuals of his time, Rubens possessed an aristocratic education and a courtier's manner, diplomacy, and tact, which, with his facility for language, made him the associate of princes and scholars. He became court painter to the dukes of Mantua (descended from Mantegna's patrons); friend of King Philip IV (r. 1621–1665) of Spain and his adviser on collecting art; painter to Charles I (r. 1625–1649) of England and Marie de' Medici (1573–1642) of France; and permanent court painter to the Spanish governors of Flanders. Rubens also won the confidence of his royal patrons in matters of state. They often entrusted him with diplomatic missions of the highest importance.

25-1A Brueghel and Rubens, *Allegory of Sight,* ca. 1617–1618.

To produce a steady stream of paintings for a rich and powerful international clientele, Rubens employed scores of assistants. He also became a highly successful art dealer, buying and selling contemporary artworks and classical antiquities for royal and aristocratic clients throughout Europe, who competed with each other in amassing vast collections of paintings and sculptures. One of those collections became the subject of a painting by Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625): *Allegory of Sight* (fig. 25-1A). Rubens's many enterprises made him a rich man, able to afford a magnificent townhouse in Antwerp and a castle in the countryside. Rubens, like Raphael, was a successful and renowned artist, a consort of kings, a shrewd man of the world, and a learned philosopher.

Elevation of the Cross. When he was 23 years old, Rubens departed Flanders for Italy and remained there from 1600 until 1608. During these years, he studied the works of Italian Renaissance and Baroque masters and laid the foundations of his mature style. Shortly after returning home, he painted *Elevation of the Cross* (fig. 25-2) for the church of Saint Walburga in Antwerp. Later moved to the city's cathedral, the altarpiece in the form of a triptych is one of numerous commissions for religious works that Rubens received at this time. By investing in sacred art, Flemish churches sought to affirm their allegiance to Catholicism and Spanish Habsburg rule after a period of Protestant iconoclastic fervor in the region.

Rubens's interest in Italian art, especially the works of Michelangelo and Caravaggio, is evident in the Saint Walburga triptych. The choice of this episode from the passion cycle provided Rubens with the opportunity to depict heavily muscled men in unusual poses straining to lift the heavy cross with Christ's body nailed to it. Here, as in his *Lion Hunt* (fig. I-14), Rubens, deeply impressed by Michelangelo's heroic twisting sculpted and painted nude male

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25-2 Peter Paul Rubens, *Elevation of the Cross,* from Saint Walburga, Antwerp, 1610. Oil on wood, center panel 15′ $1\frac{7}{8}$″ × 11′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″, each wing 15′ $1\frac{7}{8}$″ × 4′ 11″. Antwerp Cathedral, Antwerp.

In this triptych, Rubens explored foreshortened anatomy and violent action. The whole composition seethes with a power that comes from heroic exertion. The tension is emotional as well as physical.

figures, showed his prowess in representing foreshortened anatomy and the contortions of violent action. Rubens placed the body of Christ on the cross as a diagonal that cuts dynamically across the picture while inclining back into it. The whole composition seethes with a power that comes from strenuous exertion, from powerful muscles taut with effort. The tension is emotional as well as physical, as reflected not only in Christ's face but also in the features of his followers. Bright highlights and areas of deep shadow inspired by Caravaggio's tenebrism (figs. 24-17, 24-17A, 24-17B, and 24-18), hallmarks of Rubens's work at this stage of his career, enhance the drama.

The human body in action, draped or undraped, male or female, would remain the focus of Rubens's art throughout his long career. This interest, combined with his voracious intellect, led Rubens to copy the works of classical antiquity and of the Italian masters. During his last two years in Rome, Rubens made many black-chalk drawings of great artworks, including figures in Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel frescoes (fig. 22-17) and the ancient marble group (fig. 5-89) of Laocoön and his two sons. In *De imitatione statuarum* (*On the Imitation of Statues*), a treatise Rubens wrote in Latin, the artist stated: "I am convinced that in order to achieve the highest perfection one needs a full understanding of the [ancient] statues, indeed a complete absorption in them; but one must make judicious use of them and before all avoid the effect of stone."[2]

Consequences of War. Once Rubens established his reputation, commissions from kings, queens, dukes, and other elite patrons throughout Europe soon followed. One of these commissions was *Consequences of War* (fig. 25-3), which Rubens painted in 1638 for Ferdinando II de' Medici, the grand duke of Tuscany (r. 1621–1670). Like *Elevation of the Cross* (fig. 25-2), *Consequences of War* is a chaotic scene filled with twisting, straining, foreshortened male and female bodies, but Rubens used the commission from the Medici duke as an opportunity to express his desire—as a diplomat as well as a citizen-painter—for peace in an age when war was constant. *Consequences of War* is a commentary on the Thirty Years' War (see "Rubens on *Consequences of War,*" page 743).

Marie de' Medici. Rubens's interaction with royalty and aristocracy provided the Flemish master with an understanding of the ostentation and spectacle of Baroque (particularly Italian) art that appealed to the wealthy and privileged. Rubens, the born courtier, reveled in the pomp and majesty of royalty. Likewise, those in power embraced the lavish spectacle that served the Catholic Church so well in Italy. The magnificence and splendor of Baroque imagery reinforced the authority and right to rule of the highborn. Among Rubens's royal patrons was Marie de' Medici, a member of the famous Florentine banking family and widow of Henry IV (r. 1589–1610), the first Bourbon king of France. She commissioned Rubens to paint a series of huge canvases memorializing and glorifying her career. Between 1622 and 1626, Rubens, working with amazing creative energy, produced with the aid of his many assistants 21 historical-allegorical pictures and three portraits designed to hang in the queen's new palace, the Luxembourg, in Paris. (Today, they are on display in a huge exhibition hall in the Louvre, the former palace of the kings of France.) Remarkably, each of the paintings, although conceived as an instrument of royal propaganda to flatter the queen and impress her subjects and foreign envoys, is also a great work of art—a supreme testimony to Rubens's skill and the talents of his small army of assistants.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Rubens on *Consequences of War*

In the ancient and medieval worlds, artists rarely wrote commentaries on the works they produced. (The Greek sculptor Polykleitos is a notable exception; see "Polykleitos's Prescription for the Perfect Statue," page 131). Beginning with the Renaissance, however, the increased celebrity that artists enjoyed and the ready availability of paper encouraged artists to record their intentions in letters to friends and patrons.

In March 1638, Peter Paul Rubens wrote a letter to Justus Sustermans (1597–1681), court painter of Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici of Tuscany, explaining his *Consequences of War* (FIG. 25-3) and his attitude toward the European military conflicts of his day.

> The principal figure is Mars, who has left the open temple of Janus (which in time of peace, according to Roman custom, remained closed) and rushes forth with shield and blood-stained sword, threatening the people with great disaster. He pays little heed to Venus, his mistress, who, accompanied by Amors and Cupids, strives with caresses and embraces to hold him. From the other side, Mars is dragged forward by the Fury Alekto, with a torch in her hand. Near by are monsters personifying Pestilence and Famine, those inseparable partners of War. On the ground, turning her back, lies a woman with a broken lute, representing Harmony, which is incompatible with the discord of War. There is also a mother with her child in her arms, indicating that fecundity, procreation and charity are thwarted by War, which corrupts and destroys everything. In addition, one sees an architect thrown on his back, with his instruments in his hand, to show that which in time of peace is constructed for the use and ornamentation of the City, is hurled to the ground by the force of arms and falls to ruin. I believe, if I remember rightly, that you will find on the ground, under the feet of Mars, a book and a drawing on paper, to imply that he treads underfoot all the arts and letters. There ought also to be a bundle of darts or arrows, with the band which held them together undone; these when bound form the symbol of Concord. Beside them is the caduceus and an olive branch, attribute of Peace; these are also cast aside. That grief-stricken woman clothed in black, with torn veil, robbed of all her jewels and other ornaments, is the unfortunate Europe who, for so many years now, has suffered plunder, outrage, and misery, which are so injurious to everyone that it is unnecessary to go into detail. Europe's attribute is the globe, borne by a small angel or genius, and surmounted by the cross, to symbolize the Christian world.*

Given the allegorical complexity of *Consequences of War,* the compositional unity and unbridled energy of the personified figures in the painting are all the more remarkable.

*Translated by Kristin Lohse Belkin, *Rubens* (London: Phaidon, 1998), 288–289.

25-3 Peter Paul Rubens, *Consequences of War,* 1638–1639. Oil on canvas, 6′ 9″ × 11′ 3 7/8″. Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

Since the Renaissance, artists have left behind many letters shedding light on their lives and work. In a 1638 letter, Rubens explained the meaning of each figure in this allegorical painting.

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25-4 Peter Paul Rubens, *Arrival of Marie de' Medici at Marseilles,* from the Luxembourg Palace, Paris, France, 1622–1625. Oil on canvas, 12′ $11\frac{1}{2}$″ × 9′ 7″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Rubens painted a large series of canvases glorifying Marie de' Medici. In this historical-allegorical picture filled with his typically robust figures, the sea and sky rejoice at the queen's arrival in France.

In *Arrival of Marie de' Medici at Marseilles* (FIG. 25-4), a 13-foot-tall tableau that may be the best of the series, Marie disembarks at that southern French port after her sea voyage from Italy. An allegorical personification of France, draped in a cloak decorated with the *fleur-de-lis* (the floral symbol of French royalty; compare FIG. 25-24), welcomes her. The sea and sky rejoice at the queen's safe arrival. Neptune and the Nereids (daughters of the sea god Nereus) salute her, and the winged and trumpeting personified Fame swoops overhead. Conspicuous in the galley's opulently carved stern-castle, under the Medici coat of arms, stands the commander of the vessel, the only immobile figure in the composition. In black and silver, this figure makes a sharp accent amid the swirling ivory, gold, and red brushstrokes. Rubens enriched the surfaces with a decorative splendor that pulls the whole composition together. The vigorous motion that customarily enlivens the painter's typically robust figures, beginning with the muscle-bound twisting sea creatures, vibrates through the entire design.

As noted, the success Rubens enjoyed made him a wealthy man, and that in turn afforded him the opportunity late in life to choose his own subjects instead of only painting those specified by his patrons. Perhaps the best example is Rubens's *Garden of Love* (FIG. 25-4A), which also highlights the artist's much subtler coloristic late style.

25-4A Rubens, *Garden of Love,* 1630–1632.

Anthony van Dyck. Most of the leading painters of the next generation in Flanders were at one time trained or employed in Rubens's studio. The master's most famous pupil was Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641). Early on, the younger man, unwilling to be overshadowed by Rubens's undisputed stature, left his native Antwerp for Genoa and then London, where he became court portraitist to Charles I and was awarded a knighthood. Although van Dyck created dramatic compositions of high quality, his specialty became the portrait. He developed a courtly manner of great elegance that influenced many artists throughout Europe and resounded in English portrait painting well into the 19th century.

In one of his finest works, *Charles I at the Hunt* (FIG. 25-5), the ill-fated English king stands on a hillock with the Thames River in the background. An equerry and a page attend him. The portrait is a stylish image of relaxed authority, as if the king is out for a casual ride in his park, but no one can mistake the regal poise and the

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1 ft.

25-5 Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I at the Hunt,* ca. 1635. Oil on canvas, 8′ 11″ × 6′ 11½″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Van Dyck specialized in court portraiture. In this painting, he depicted the absolutist monarch Charles I at a sharp angle so that the king, a short man, appears to be looking down at the viewer.

air of absolute authority that Charles's Parliament resented and was soon to rise against. Here, the king turns his back on his attendants as he surveys his domain. Van Dyck's placement of the monarch is exceedingly artful. He stands off center, but as the sole figure seen against the sky and with the branches of the trees pointing to him, he is the immediate focus of the viewer's attention, whose gaze the king returns. In this masterful composition, van Dyck also managed to make Charles I, who was of short stature, seem taller than his attendants and even his horse. The painter also portrayed the king looking down on the observer, befitting his exalted position.

Clara Peeters. Some 17th-century Flemish artists specialized in still-life painting, as did Sánchez Cotán (FIG. 24-25) in Spain. A pioneer of this genre was Clara Peeters (1594–ca. 1657), a native of Antwerp who spent time in Holland and laid the groundwork for Pieter Claesz (FIG. 25-1), Willem Kalf (FIG. 25-22), Rachel Ruysch (FIG. 25-23), and other Dutch masters of still-life painting. Peeters won renown for her depictions of food and flowers together, and for still lifes featuring bread and fruit, known as *breakfast pieces.* In *Still Life with Flowers, Goblet, Dried Fruit, and Pretzels* (FIG. 25-6), Peeters's considerable skills are evident. One of a series of four paintings, each of which depicts a typical early-17th-century meal, this breakfast piece reveals Peeters's virtuosity in depicting a wide variety of objects convincingly, from the smooth, reflective surfaces of the glass and silver goblets to the soft petals of the blooms in the vase. Peeters often painted the objects in her still lifes against a dark background, thereby negating any sense of deep space (compare FIG. 24-25). In this breakfast piece, she enhanced the sense of depth in the foreground by placing the leaves of the flower on the stone ledge as though they were encroaching into the viewer's space.

1 in.

25-6 Clara Peeters, *Still Life with Flowers, Goblet, Dried Fruit, and Pretzels,* 1611. Oil on panel, 1′ 7¾″ × 2′ 1¼″. Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Peeters was a pioneer of still-life painting. In this breakfast piece, she reveals her virtuosity in depicting a variety of objects. She laid the groundwork for many Dutch still-life painters.

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DUTCH REPUBLIC

With the founding of the Bank of Amsterdam in 1609, Amsterdam emerged as the financial center of the Continent. In the 17th century, the city had the highest per capita income in Europe. The Dutch economy also benefited enormously from the country's expertise on the open seas, which facilitated the establishment of lucrative trade routes to ports as far away as Japan, Africa, and South America (see "International Trade," page 739). Due to this prosperity and in the absence of an absolute ruler, political power increasingly passed into the hands of a wealthy class of merchants and manufacturers, especially in cities such as Amsterdam, Haarlem, and Delft (MAP 25-1). All of these bustling cities were located in Holland (the largest of the seven United Provinces), which explains why historians informally use the name "Holland" to refer to the entire country.

Ter Brugghen and van Honthorst

Religious differences were a major consideration during the northern Netherlands' insistent quest for independence in the 16th and early 17th centuries. Whereas Spain and the southern Netherlands were Catholic, the people of the northern Netherlands were predominantly Protestant. The prevailing Calvinism demanded a puritanical rejection of art in churches, and thus artists produced relatively little religious art in the Dutch Republic at this time (especially compared with the volume of commissions created in the wake of the Counter-Reformation in areas dominated by Catholicism; see "The Council of Trent," page 654), and all of it was intended for display in private settings instead of churches.

Hendrick ter Brugghen. One artist in the Dutch Republic who did produce a large number of religious paintings was HENDRICK TER BRUGGHEN (1588–1629) of Utrecht. He painted *Calling of Saint Matthew* (FIG. 25-7) in 1621 after returning from a trip to Italy, selecting as his subject a theme Caravaggio had painted (FIG. 24-17) for the church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome. The moment of the narrative that ter Brugghen chose and his naturalistic depiction of the figures echo Caravaggio's work. But although ter Brugghen was an admirer of the Italian master, he dispensed with Caravaggio's stark contrasts of dark and light and instead presented the viewer with a more colorful palette of soft tints. Further, the Dutch painter compressed the figures into a small but well-lit space, creating an intimate effect compared with Caravaggio's more spacious setting, as was appropriate for a work displayed in a home instead of the grandiose chapel of a Catholic church.

Mercantilist Patronage. Given the absence of an authoritative ruler and the Calvinist concern for the potential misuse of religious art, commissions from royalty or the Catholic Church, prominent in the art of other European countries, were uncommon in the United Provinces. With the new prosperity, however, an expanding class of merchants with different tastes emerged as art patrons. In contrast to Italian, Spanish, and Flemish Baroque art, most 17th-century Dutch paintings were genre scenes, landscapes, portraits of middle-class men and women, and still lifes, all of which appealed to the newly prosperous Dutch merchants (see "The Art Market in the Dutch Republic," page 747).

Gerrit van Honthorst. Typical of 17th-century Dutch genre scenes is *Supper Party* (FIG. 25-8) by GERRIT VAN HONTHORST (1590–1656). In this painting, van Honthorst presented an informal gathering of unidealized figures. While a musician serenades the group, his companions delight in watching a young woman feeding a piece of chicken to a man whose hands are both occupied—one holds a jug and the other a glass. Van Honthorst spent several years in Italy, and while there he carefully studied Caravaggio's work, as did fellow Utrecht painter Hendrick ter Brugghen. The Italian artist's influence surfaces in the mundane tavern setting and the nocturnal lighting of *Supper Party.* Fascinated by nighttime effects, van Honthorst frequently placed a hidden light source in his pictures and used it as a pretext to work with dramatic and starkly contrasting dark and light effects.

Seemingly lighthearted genre scenes were popular in Baroque Holland, but Dutch viewers could also interpret them moralistically. For example, *Supper Party* can be read as a warning against the sins of gluttony (represented by the man on the right) and lust (the woman feeding the glutton is, in all likelihood, a prostitute with her aged procuress at her side). Or perhaps the painting represents the loose companions of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:13; see FIG. 25-14)—panderers and prostitutes drinking, singing, strumming, and laughing. Strict Dutch Calvinists no doubt approved of such interpretations. Others simply took delight in the immediacy of the scenes or the skill of artists such as van Honthorst.

25-7 HENDRICK TER BRUGGHEN, *Calling of Saint Matthew,* 1621. Oil on canvas, 3′ 4″ × 4′ 6″. Centraal Museum, Utrecht.

One Dutch artist who produced many religious paintings was Hendrick ter Brugghen, who was influenced by Caravaggio. Ter Brugghen's paintings were displayed in private homes, not grandiose Catholic churches.

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ART AND SOCIETY

The Art Market in the Dutch Republic

Throughout history, the wealthy have been the most avid art collectors. Indeed, the amount of money necessary to commission major artworks from leading artists can be considerable. During the 17th century in the Dutch Republic, however, the prosperity that a large proportion of the population enjoyed expanded the range of art patrons significantly. As a result, one distinguishing hallmark of Dutch art production during this period was that it catered to the tastes of a middle-class audience, broadly defined. An aristocracy and an upper class of shipowners, rich businesspeople, high-ranking officers, and directors of large companies still existed, and these groups continued to be major patrons of the arts. But as the Dutch economy expanded, new patrons—traders, craftspeople, bureaucrats, and soldiers—also commissioned and collected art.

Although the financial success that the middle class increasingly enjoyed resulted in sharply higher investment in home furnishings and art, the Calvinist disdain for excessive ostentation led these new Dutch collectors to favor small, low-key works: portraits of bourgeois men and women (FIGS. 25-9, 25-10, 25-12, and 25-13), still lifes (FIGS. 25-1, 25-22, and 25-23), genre scenes (FIGS. 25-8, 25-19, and 25-20), and landscapes (FIGS. 25-17, 25-18, 25-18A, and 25-18B). This focus contrasted with the Italian Baroque penchant for gigantic ceiling frescoes and oil paintings with religious subjects. The art of 17th-century Northern Europe, although also called "Baroque" by art historians on chronological grounds, differs markedly in style from Italian Baroque art.

It is risky to generalize about the spending and collecting habits of the Dutch middle class, but probate records, contracts, and archived inventories reveal some interesting facts. These records suggest that an individual earning between 1,500 and 3,000 guilders a year could live quite comfortably. A house could be purchased for 1,000 guilders. Another 1,000 guilders could buy all the necessary furnishings for a middle-class home, including a significant amount of art, particularly paintings. Although there was, of course, considerable variation in prices, many artworks were very affordable. Prints, for example, were extremely cheap because of the high number of copies that artists produced of each picture. Paintings of interior and genre scenes were relatively inexpensive in 17th-century Holland, perhaps costing one or two guilders each. Small landscapes fetched between three and four guilders. Commissioned portraits were the most costly.* The size of the work and quality of the frame (see "Framed Paintings," page 578), as well as the reputation of the artist, were other factors in determining the price of a painting, regardless of the subject.

With the exception of portraits, Dutch artists produced most of their paintings for an anonymous market, hoping to appeal to a wide audience. To ensure success, artists in the United Provinces adapted to the changed conditions of art production and sales. They marketed their paintings in many ways, selling their works directly to buyers who visited their studios and through art dealers, exhibitions, fairs, auctions, and even lotteries. Because of the uncertainty of these sales mechanisms (as opposed to the certainty of an ironclad contract for a commission from a church, king, or duke), artists became more responsive to market demands. Specialization became common among Dutch artists. For example, painters might limit their practice to portraits, still lifes, or landscapes—the most popular genres among middle-class patrons.

Artists did not always sell their paintings. Frequently they used their work to pay off loans or debts. Tavern debts, in particular, could be settled with paintings, which may explain why many art dealers, including Johannes Vermeer and his father before him, were also innkeepers. This connection between art dealing and other businesses eventually solidified, and innkeepers, for example, often would have art exhibitions in their taverns in hopes of making a sale. The institutions of today's open art market—dealers, galleries, auctions, and estate sales—owe their establishment to the emergence in the 17th century of a prosperous middle class in the Dutch Republic.

*Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 315–319.

25-8 Gerrit van Honthorst, *Supper Party,* 1620. Oil on canvas, 4′ 8″ × 7′. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Genre scenes were popular subjects among middle-class Dutch patrons. Gerrit van Honthorst's *Supper Party* may also have served as a Calvinist warning against the sins of gluttony and lust.

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Frans Hals's Group Portraits

Portrait artists traditionally relied heavily on convention—for example, specific poses, settings, attire, and furnishings—to convey a sense of the sitter. Because the subject was usually someone of status or note, such as a pope, king, duchess, condottiere, or wealthy banker, the artist's goal was to produce an image appropriate to the subject's station in life. With the increasing number of Dutch middle-class patrons, portrait painting became more challenging. The Calvinists shunned ostentation, instead wearing subdued and dark clothing with little variation or decoration (FIG. 25-10), and the traditional conventions became inappropriate and thus unusable. Despite these difficulties, or perhaps because of them, Frans Hals produced lively portraits that seem far more relaxed than traditional formulaic portraiture. He injected an engaging spontaneity into his images and conveyed the individuality of his sitters as well. His manner of execution, using light and rapid brushstrokes, intensified the casualness, immediacy, and intimacy in his paintings. The poses of his figures, the highlights on their clothing, and their facial expressions all seem instantaneously created.

Hals's most ambitious portraits reflect the widespread popularity in the Dutch Republic of very large canvases commemorating the participation of Dutch citizens in civic organizations. These commissions presented greater difficulties to the painter than requests to depict a single sitter. Hals rose to the challenge and achieved great success with this new portrait genre. His *Archers of Saint Hadrian* (FIG. 25-9) is typical in that the subject is one of the many Dutch civic militia groups that claimed credit for liberating the Dutch Republic from Spain. As did other companies, each year the Archers met in dress uniform for a grand banquet on their saint's feast day. The celebrations sometimes lasted an entire week, prompting an ordinance limiting them to three or four days. These events often included sitting for a group portrait.

In *Archers of Saint Hadrian,* Hals attacked the problem of how to represent each militia member satisfactorily yet retain action and variety in the composition. Whereas earlier group portraits in the Netherlands were rather ordered and regimented images, Hals sought to enliven the depictions. In his portrait of the Saint Hadrian militiamen, each member is both part of the troop and an individual with unique features. The sitters' movements and moods vary markedly. Some engage the viewer directly. Others look away or at a companion. Some are stern, others animated. Each archer is equally visible and clearly recognizable. The uniformity of attire—black military dress, white ruffs, and sashes—did not deter Hals from injecting spontaneity into the work. Indeed, he used those elements to create a lively rhythm extending throughout the composition and energizing the portrait. The impromptu effect—the preservation of every detail and fleeting facial expression—is, of course, the result of careful planning. Yet Hals's energetic brush appears to have moved instinctively, directed by a plan in his mind but not traceable in any preparatory scheme on the canvas. The result is a portrait that is less a record of "sitters posing for the painter" than it is a snapshot of a social gathering.

25-9 FRANS HALS, *Archers of Saint Hadrian,* ca. 1633. Oil on canvas, 6′ 9″ × 11′. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

In this brilliant composition, Hals succeeded in solving the problem of portraying each individual in a group portrait while retaining action and variety in the painting as a whole.

Hals and Leyster

Many artists, including FRANS HALS (ca. 1581–1666), the leading painter in Haarlem, and Judith Leyster, excelled in painting portraits, which were in high demand among the new class of art patrons in the 17th-century Dutch Republic.

Frans Hals. Those patrons included not only individuals of means, as in the past. Groups of Dutch citizens also often asked Hals to paint portraits of them. Representing the members of a group, such as the Saint Hadrian militia (FIG. 25-9) or the regents of a Haarlem old men's house (FIG. 25-10), rather than

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separate individuals, presented a special problem for the painter, but Hals quickly became a master of the new genre of group portraiture (see "Frans Hals's Group Portraits," page 748).

Hals's *The Women Regents of the Old Men's Home at Haarlem* (FIG. 25-10) is the finest of his group portraits of Calvinist women engaged in charitable work. Although Dutch women had primary responsibility for the welfare of the family and the orderly operation of the home, they also populated the labor force in the cities. Among the more prominent roles that educated Dutch women played in public life were as regents of orphanages, hospitals, old age homes, and prisons. In Hals's portrait, the Haarlem regents sit quietly in a manner becoming devout Calvinists. Unlike the more relaxed, seemingly informal character of his other group portraits, a stern, puritanical, and composed sensibility suffuses Hals's portrayal of these regents. The women—all carefully distinguished as individuals—gaze out from the painting with expressions ranging from dour disinterest to kindly concern. The somber and virtually *monochromatic* (one-color) palette, punctuated only by the white accents of the clothing, contributes to the painting's restraint. Both the coloration and the mood of Hals's portrait are appropriate for this commission. Recording the likenesses of the Haarlem regents called for a very different kind of portrait than those Hals made of men at festive militia banquets (FIG. 25-9).

25-10 FRANS HALS, *The Women Regents of the Old Men's Home at Haarlem,* 1664. Oil on canvas, 5′ 7″ × 8′ 2″. Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem.

Dutch women played a major role in public life as regents of charitable institutions. A stern puritanical sensibility suffuses Hals's group portrait of the regents of Haarlem's old men's home.

Judith Leyster. Some of Hals's followers developed thriving careers of their own as portraitists. One was JUDITH LEYSTER (1609–1660), who may not have been Hals's pupil, but was a close associate who fully absorbed the master's innovations in technique and composition. In fact, Leyster's *Self-Portrait* (FIG. 25-11) was once thought to have been painted by Hals himself. The canvas is detailed, precise, and accurate, but also exhibits the spontaneity found in Hals's works. In her self-portrait, Leyster succeeded at communicating a great deal about herself. She depicted herself as an artist, seated in front of a painting on an easel. The palette in her left hand and brush in her right announce the painting as her creation. She thus invites the viewer to evaluate her skill, which both the fiddler on the canvas and the image of herself demonstrate as considerable. Although she produced a wide range of paintings, including still lifes and floral pieces, her specialty was genre scenes such as the comic image seen on the easel. Leyster's quick smile and relaxed pose as she stops her work to meet the viewer's gaze reveal her self-assurance. Although presenting herself as an artist, Leyster did not paint herself wearing the traditional artist's smock, as her more famous contemporary Rembrandt did in his 1659–1660 self-portrait (FIG. 25-15). Her elegant attire distinguishes her socially as a member of a well-to-do family, another important aspect of Leyster's identity.

25-11 JUDITH LEYSTER, *Self-Portrait,* ca. 1630. Oil on canvas, 2′ 5 3/8″ × 2′ 1 5/8″. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss).

Although presenting herself as an artist specializing in genre scenes, Leyster wears elegant attire instead of a painter's smock, placing her socially as a member of a well-to-do family.

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Rembrandt

Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), Hals's younger contemporary and the leading Dutch painter of his time, was an undisputed genius—an artist of great versatility, a master of light and shadow, and a unique interpreter of the Protestant conception of holy scripture. Born in Leiden, he moved to Amsterdam around 1631, where he could attract a more extensive clientele than possible in his native city. Rembrandt had trained as a history painter in Leiden, but in Amsterdam he immediately entered the lucrative market for portraiture and soon became renowned for that genre.

Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp. In a painting he completed shortly after he arrived in Amsterdam, *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* (fig. 25-12), Rembrandt deviated even further from the traditional staid group portrait than Hals did. Despite Hals's determination to enliven his portraits, he still evenly spread his subjects across the canvas. By contrast, Rembrandt chose to portray the members of the surgeons' guild (who commissioned this group portrait) clustered on the painting's left side. In the foreground appears the corpse that Dr. Tulp, a noted physician, is in the act of dissecting. Rembrandt diagonally placed and foreshortened the corpse, activating the space by disrupting the strict horizontal, planar orientation typical of traditional portraiture. He depicted each of the "students" specifically, and although they wear virtually identical attire, their poses and facial expressions suggest the varying degrees of intensity with which they watch Dr. Tulp's demonstration—or ignore it. One, at the apex of Rembrandt's triangular composition of bodies, gazes at the viewer instead of at the operating table. Another directs his attention to the open book (an anatomy manual) at the cadaver's feet. Rembrandt produced this painting when he was 26 and just beginning his career. His innovative approach to group portraiture is therefore all the more noteworthy.

Night Watch. Rembrandt amplified the complexity and energy of the group portrait in *The Company of Captain Frans Banning Cocq* (fig. 25-13), better known as *Night Watch*. This more commonly used title is a misnomer, however. The painting is not a nocturnal scene, nor are the figures portrayed posted on a watch in defense of their city. It features dramatic lighting, but the painting's darkness (which explains in part the commonly used title) is the result of the varnish

25-12 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp,* 1632. Oil on canvas, 5′ 3¾″ × 7′ 1¼″. Mauritshuis, The Hague.

In this early work, Rembrandt used an unusual composition, arranging members of Amsterdam's surgeons' guild clustered on one side of the painting as they watch Dr. Tulp dissect a corpse.

25-13 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Company of Captain Frans Banning Cocq* (*Night Watch*), from the Musketeers Hall, Amsterdam, Netherlands, 1642. Oil on canvas, 11′ 11″ × 14′ 4″ (trimmed from original size). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Rembrandt's dramatic use of light contributes to the animation of this militia group portrait in which the artist showed the company members rushing to organize themselves for a parade.

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the artist used, which darkened considerably over time. It was not the painter's intention to portray his subjects moving about at night.

N*ight Watch* was one of six paintings by different artists commissioned by various groups around 1640 for the assembly and banquet room of Amsterdam's new Musketeers Hall, the largest and most prestigious interior space in the city. From the limited information available about the commission, it appears that two officers, Captain Frans Banning Cocq and Lieutenant Willem van Ruytenburch, along with 16 members of their militia, contributed to Rembrandt's fee. The canvas also includes 16 additional figures, among them a girl just to the left of center, whom scholars have never been able to identify, despite her prominence in the composition.

Unfortunately, in 1715, when city officials moved Rembrandt's painting to Amsterdam's town hall, they trimmed it on all sides (by as much as 2 feet). Even in its truncated form, *The Company of Captain Frans Banning Cocq* is still a huge canvas (nearly 15 feet wide), but it is an incomplete record of the artist's resolution of the challenge of portraying 18 patrons at once. Rembrandt's apparent goal was to capture the excitement and frenetic activity of men preparing for a parade, and he succeeded brilliantly.

Comparing this militia group portrait to Hals's *Archers of Saint Hadrian* (FIG. 25-9) reveals Rembrandt's inventiveness in enlivening what was, by then, becoming a conventional format for Dutch group portraits. Rather than present assembled men posed in orderly fashion, the younger artist chose to portray the company members rushing about in the act of organizing themselves, thereby animating the image considerably. At the same time, he managed to record the three most important stages of using a musket—loading, firing, and readying the weapon for reloading—details that must have pleased his 18 patrons.

Return of the Prodigal Son. The Calvinist injunction against religious art did not prevent Rembrandt from making a series of religious paintings and prints. In the Dutch Republic, paintings depicting biblical themes were not objects of devotion, but they still brought great prestige, and Rembrandt and other artists vied to demonstrate their ability to represent in dramatic new ways the stories narrated in holy scripture. One of Rembrandt's earliest biblical paintings, *Blinding of Samson* (FIG. 25-13A), reveals the young artist's debt to Rubens and Caravaggio. His mature works, however, differ markedly from the religious art of Baroque Italy and Flanders. Rembrandt had a

25-13A REMBRANDT, *Blinding of Samson,* 1636.

MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Rembrandt's Use of Light and Shade

Among the hallmarks of the style of Rembrandt van Rijn, the leading painter in the 17th-century Dutch Republic, is his masterful use of light and shade. Rembrandt's pictorial method involved refining light and shade into finer and finer nuances until they blended with one another. Earlier painters' use of abrupt lights and darks gave way, in the work of artists such as Rembrandt and Velázquez (FIGS. 24-29, 24-30, and 24-31), to gradation.

Although these later artists sacrificed some of the dramatic effects of sharp chiaroscuro, a greater fidelity to appearances more than offsets those sacrifices. In fact, the recording of light in small gradations is closer to reality because the eye perceives light and dark not as static but as always subtly changing.

In general, Renaissance artists represented forms and faces in a flat, neutral modeling light (even Leonardo's shading is of a standard kind). They represented the *idea* of light, rather than showing how humans perceive light.

Artists such as Rembrandt discovered gradations of light and dark as well as degrees of differences in pose, in the movements of facial features, and in psychic states. They arrived at these differences optically, not conceptually or in terms of some ideal. Rembrandt found that by manipulating the direction, intensity, and distance of light and shadow, and by varying the surface texture with tactile brushstrokes, he could render subtle nuances of character and mood, in both individuals and whole scenes, as in his touching portrayal of the prodigal son's return (FIG. 25-14). He discovered for the modern world that variations of light and shade, subtly modulated, can be read as emotional differences. In the visible world, light, dark, and the wide spectrum of values between the two are charged with meanings and feelings that sometimes are independent of the shapes and figures they modify. The theater and the photographic arts have used these discoveries to great dramatic effect.

25-14 **REMBRANDT VAN RIJN, *Return of the Prodigal Son,* ca. 1665. Oil on canvas, 8′ 8″ × 6′ 9″. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.**

In Rembrandt's moving representation of this biblical parable, light mingled with shadow directs the viewer's attention by illuminating the father and son while largely veiling the witnesses.

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1 ft.

25-15 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-Portrait,* ca. 1659–1660. Oil on canvas, 3′ $8\frac{3}{4}$″ × 3′ 1″. Kenwood House, London (Iveagh Bequest).

In this late self-portrait, Rembrandt's interest in revealing the soul is evident in the attention given to his expressive face. The controlled use of light and the nonspecific setting contribute to this focus.

special interest in probing the states of the human soul. The spiritual stillness of his later religious paintings is that of inward-turning contemplation, far from the choirs and trumpets and the heavenly tumult of Bernini (fig. 24-1) or Pozzo (fig. 24-24).

The Dutch artist's psychological insight and his profound sympathy for human affliction produced, at the end of his life, one of the most moving pictures in the history of biblical art, *Return of the Prodigal Son* (fig. 25-14). In this Old Testament parable, the younger of two sons leaves his home and squanders his wealth on a life of sin. When he becomes poor and hungry and sees the error of his ways, he returns home. In Rembrandt's painting, the forgiving father tenderly embraces his lost son, who crouches before him in weeping contrition, while three figures, immersed to varying degrees in the soft shadows, note the lesson of mercy. The light, everywhere mingled with shadow, directs the viewer's attention by illuminating the father and son and largely veiling the witnesses (see "Rembrandt's Use of Light and Shade," page 751). Its focus is the beautiful, spiritual face of the old man. Secondarily, the light touches the contrasting stern face of the foremost witness. The painting demonstrates the degree to which Rembrandt developed a personal style completely in tune with the simple eloquence of the biblical passage.

Self-Portraits. Rembrandt carried over the spiritual quality of his religious works into his later portraits (figs. 25-15 and 25-15A) using the same means—what could be called the "psychology of light." Light and dark are not in conflict in his portraits. They are reconciled, merging softly and subtly to produce the visual equivalent of quietness. Their prevailing mood is one of tranquil meditation, of philosophical resignation, of musing recollection—indeed, a whole cluster of emotional tones heard only in silence.

25-15A Rembrandt, *Self-Portrait,* 1658.

In his self-portrait now in Kenwood House (fig. 25-15), the light source outside the upper left of the painting bathes the painter's face in soft highlights, leaving the lower part of his body in shadow. The artist depicted himself as possessing dignity and strength, and the portrait serves as a summary of the many stylistic and professional concerns that occupied him throughout his career. Rembrandt's distinctive use of light is evident, as is the assertive brushwork suggestive of his confidence and self-assurance. He here presented himself as a working artist holding his brushes, palette, and maulstick (compare fig. 23-16) and wearing his studio garb—a smock and painter's turban. The circles on the wall behind him (the subject of much scholarly debate) may allude to a legendary sign of artistic virtuosity—the ability to draw a perfect circle freehand. Rembrandt's abiding interest in revealing the human soul emerges here in his careful focus on his expressive visage. His controlled use of light and the nonspecific setting contribute to this focus.

X-rays of the painting have revealed that Rembrandt originally depicted himself in the act of painting. His final resolution, with the viewer's attention drawn to his face, produced a portrait not just of the artist but of the man as well. Indeed, Rembrandt's nearly 70 self-portraits in various media have no parallel in sheer quantity. They reflect the artist's deeply personal connection to his craft.

Etchings. Rembrandt's virtuosity also extended to the graphic media, especially etching (see "Engraving and Etching," page 590). Many printmakers adopted etching after its perfection early in the 17th century, because the technique affords greater freedom in drawing the design than engraving does. The etcher covers a copper plate with a layer of wax or varnish and then incises the design into this surface with a pointed tool, exposing the metal below but not cutting into its surface. Next, the artist immerses the plate in acid, which etches, or eats away, the exposed parts of the metal, acting in the same way the burin does in engraving. The wax's softness gives etchers greater carving freedom than woodcutters and engravers have working directly in more resistant wood and metal. If Rembrandt had never painted, he still would be acclaimed, as he principally was in his lifetime, for his prints. Prints were a major source of income for Rembrandt, as they were for Albrecht Dürer, and he often reworked the plates so that they could be used to produce a new issue or edition. This constant reworking was unusual within the context of 17th-century printmaking practices.

Hundred-Guilder Print. One of Rembrandt's most celebrated graphic works is *Christ with the Sick around Him* (fig. 25-16). Indeed, the title by which this print has been known since the early 18th century—the *Hundred-Guilder Print*—refers to the high price it brought during the artist's lifetime. (As noted, a comfortable house could be purchased for 1,000 guilders.) Rembrandt worked on the print throughout the 1640s, and prints exist of each of the major stages of its evolution. The version illustrated here is the final stage, probably completed in 1649.

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1 in.

25-16 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Christ with the Sick around Him* (*Hundred-Guilder Print*), ca. 1649. Etching and engraving, 11″ × 1′ 3 1/4″. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Rembrandt's mastery of the newly perfected medium of etching is evident in his expert use of light and dark to draw attention to Christ as he preaches compassionately to the blind and lame.

Christ with the Sick demonstrates Rembrandt's mastery of all aspects of the printmaker's craft, for he used both engraving and etching to depict the figures and the setting. As in his other religious works, Rembrandt suffused this print with a deep and abiding piety, presenting the viewer not the celestial triumph of the Catholic Church but the humanity and humility of Jesus.

Rembrandt's composition expertly weaves together several episodes in Matthew's account of Christ's ministry (see "The Life of Jesus," pages 244–245), which is why it is known by various titles in addition to the one given here—for example, *Christ Preaching* and *Christ Receiving the Children*. Christ appears in the center preaching compassionately to, and simultaneously blessing, the blind, the lame, and the young, who are spread throughout the print in a dazzling array of standing, kneeling, and lying positions. Also present is a young man in elegant garments with his head in his hand, lamenting Christ's insistence that the wealthy need to give their possessions to the poor in order to gain entrance to Heaven. The tonal range of the print is remarkable. At the right, the figures near the city gate are in deep shadow. At the left, the figures, some rendered almost exclusively in outline, are in bright light—not the light of day but the illumination radiating from Christ himself. A second, unseen source of light comes from the right and casts the shadow of the praying man's arms and head onto Christ's tunic. Technically, compositionally, and in terms of its humanity, Rembrandt's *Hundred-Guilder Print* is his supreme achievement as a printmaker.

Cuyp and Ruisdael

After gaining independence from Spain, the Dutch undertook an extensive land reclamation project lasting almost a century. Dikes and drainage systems cropped up across the countryside, affecting Dutch social and economic life. The marshy and swampy nature of much of the terrain made it less desirable for large-scale exploitation, so the extensive feudal landowning system elsewhere in Europe never developed in the United Provinces. Most Dutch families owned and worked their own farms, cultivating a feeling of closeness to the land. Consequently, landscape scenes abound in 17th-century Dutch art.

1 ft.

25-17 Aelbert Cuyp, *Distant View of Dordrecht, with a Milkmaid and Four Cows, and Other Figures*, late 1640s. Oil on canvas, 5′ 1″ × 6′ 4 7/8″. National Gallery, London.

Unlike idealized Italian Renaissance landscapes, Cuyp's painting portrays a particular locale. The cows, shepherds, and milkmaid reflect the importance of the Dutch Republic's dairy industry.

Aelbert Cuyp. One Dutch artist who established his reputation as a specialist in landscape painting was Aelbert Cuyp (ca. 1620–1691). His works were the products of careful observation and a deep respect for and understanding of Dutch topography. *Distant View of Dordrecht, with a Milkmaid and Four Cows, and Other Figures* (fig. 25-17) reveals Cuyp's skillful use of the oil medium to record nature, but as was the norm at the time, Cuyp painted his canvases in his studio, not outdoors. Unlike the idealized classical landscapes in many Italian Renaissance paintings, Cuyp's Dordrecht

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25-18 **Jacob van Ruisdael,** ***View of Haarlem from the Dunes at Overveen,*** **ca. 1670. Oil on canvas, 1′ 10″ × 2′ 1″. Mauritshuis, The Hague.**

In this painting, Ruisdael succeeded in capturing a specific, realistic view of Haarlem, its windmills, and Saint Bavo church, but he also imbued the landscape with a quiet serenity approaching the spiritual.

landscape is particularized. The church in the background, for example, is a faithful representation of the city's Grote Kerk (Great Church). The dairy cows, shepherds, and milkmaid in the foreground refer to a cornerstone of the Dutch economy—dairy products such as butter and cheese, the demand for which increased with the development of urban centers. The credibility of this and similar paintings rests on Cuyp's pristine rendering of each detail.

Jacob van Ruisdael. Depicting the Dutch landscape with precision and sensitivity was also a specialty of Jacob van Ruisdael (ca. 1628–1682). In *View of Haarlem from the Dunes at Overveen* (fig. 25-18), Ruisdael provided an overarching view of this major Dutch city. The specificity of the artist's image—the Saint Bavo church in the background, the numerous windmills that refer to the land reclamation efforts, and the figures in the foreground stretching linen to be bleached (a major industry in Haarlem)—reflects the pride that Dutch painters took in recording their homeland and the activities of their fellow citizens. Nonetheless, in this painting the inhabitants and dwellings are so small that they blend into the land itself, unlike the figures in Cuyp's view of Dordrecht. Moreover, the horizon line is low, so the sky fills almost three-quarters of the canvas surface, and the sun illuminates the landscape only in patches, where it has broken through the clouds above. In *View of Haarlem,* Ruisdael not only captured the appearance of a specific locale but also succeeded in imbuing the work with a quiet serenity that is almost spiritual. Less typical of his work, but also one of the great landscape paintings of the 17th century, is Ruisdael's allegorical *Jewish Cemetery* (fig. 25-18A).

25-18A Ruisdael, *Jewish Cemetery,* ca. 1653–1655.

Vermeer

Although he also painted landscapes, such as *View of Delft* (fig. 25-18B), Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675) made his reputation as a painter of interior scenes, another popular subject among middle-class patrons. These paintings offer the viewer glimpses into the private lives of prosperous, responsible, and cultured citizens of the United Provinces. Despite

25-18B Vermeer, *View of Delft,* ca. 1661.

25-19 **Johannes Vermeer,** ***Woman Holding a Balance,*** **ca. 1664. Oil on canvas, 1′ $3\frac{7}{8}$″ × 1′ 2″. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Widener Collection).**

Vermeer's woman holding empty scales in perfect balance, ignoring pearls and gold on the table, is probably an allegory of the temperate life. On the wall behind her is a depiction of the Last Judgment.

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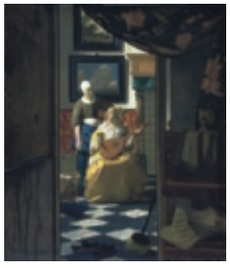
his fame as a painter today, Vermeer derived much of his income from his work as an innkeeper and art dealer in Delft (see "The Art Market in the Dutch Republic," page 747). He completed no more than 35 paintings that can be definitively attributed to him, and most of them were created for the same private patron. Vermeer began his career as a painter of biblical and historical themes, but soon abandoned those traditional subjects in favor of domestic scenes. Flemish artists of the 15th century also had painted domestic interiors, but sacred personages often occupied those scenes (for example, FIGS. 20-1 and 20-8). By contrast, Vermeer and his contemporaries composed neat, quietly opulent interiors of Dutch middle-class dwellings featuring women especially but also men and occasionally children engaging in household tasks or at leisure.



25-19A VERMEER, *The Letter,* 1666.

Woman Holding a Balance. In two of Vermeer's finest paintings—*Woman Holding a Balance* (FIG. 25-19) and *The Letter* (FIG. 25-19A)—women are the primary occupants of the Dutch homes. Both paintings are highly idealized depictions of the social values of his day. In *Woman Holding a Balance,* a beautiful young woman wearing a veil and a fur-trimmed jacket stands in a room in her home. Light coming from a window illuminates the scene, as in many of the artist's paintings (compare FIG. 25-20). The woman stands before a table on which are spread her most precious possessions—pearl necklaces, gold chains, and gold coins, which reflect the sunlight that also shines on the woman's face and the fingers of her right hand. In fact, the perspective orthogonals direct the viewer's attention neither to the woman's head nor to her treasures but to the hand in which she holds a balance for weighing gold. The scales, however, are empty—in perfect balance, the way Ignatius of Loyola advised Catholics (Vermeer was a Catholic convert in the Protestant Dutch Republic) to lead a temperate, self-aware life and to balance one's sins with virtuous behavior. The mirror on the wall may refer to self-knowledge, but it may also symbolize, as do the pearls and gold, the sin of vanity. Bolstering that interpretation is the large framed Last Judgment painting on the back wall in which Christ, weigher of souls, appears in a golden aureole directly above the young woman's head. Therefore, this serene domestic scene is pregnant with hidden meaning. The woman holds the scales in balance and contemplates the kind of life (one free from the temptations of worldly riches) that she must lead in order to be judged favorably on Judgment Day.

A SECOND OPINION

Johannes Vermeer's *Allegory of the Art of Painting*

In *Allegory of the Art of Painting* (FIG. 25-20), the work that Vermeer considered his most important (it is one of his largest and he never sold it, retaining it as a display piece in his studio), the artist himself appears with his back to the viewer. Dressed in clothing reminiscent of historical Burgundian attire, he is hard at work on a painting of the model standing before him. She wears a laurel wreath and holds a trumpet and book, traditional attributes of Clio, the muse of history. The map of the provinces (an increasingly common feature of Dutch homes) on the back wall serves as yet another reference to history.

As in many of Vermeer's domestic scenes, the viewer is outside the space of the action, looking in through the drawn curtain, which also separates the artist in his studio from the rest of the house. Some art historians have suggested that the light radiating from an unseen window on the left, illuminating both the model and the canvas being painted, alludes to the light of artistic inspiration. Accordingly, many scholars have interpreted this painting as an allegory—a reference to painting inspired by history. More likely, especially given the character of Vermeer's known paintings, which do not have historical subjects, the intended message is that art (and artists) transcend history and time. That the painting is certainly an allegorical work and not a simple genre scene is confirmed by a legal claim to the painting filed by Vermeer's mother-in-law in 1677. When, after Vermeer's death, 26 of his works were scheduled for sale to pay his widow's debts, his mother-in-law argued that she had the right to withhold from auction "the piece . . . wherein the Art of Painting is portrayed."*

*Albert Blankert, *Johannes Vermeer van Delft 1632–1675* (Utrecht: Spectrum, 1975), 133, no. 51. Translated by Bob Haak, *The Golden Age: Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Abrams, 1984), 450.

25-20 JOHANNES VERMEER, *Allegory of the Art of Painting,* 1670–1675. Oil on canvas, 4′ 4″ × 3′ 8″. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

Vermeer's model wears a laurel wreath and holds a trumpet and book, traditional attributes of Clio, the muse of history. The light illuminating her may allude to the light of artistic inspiration.

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Allegory of the Art of Painting. Vermeer, like Rembrandt, was a master of pictorial light and used it with immense virtuosity, as he did in his most complex and intriguing painting, *Allegory of the Art of Painting* (see "Johannes Vermeer's *Allegory of the Art of Painting,*" page 755). He could render space so convincingly through his depiction of light that in his works, the picture surface functions as an invisible glass pane through which the viewer looks into the constructed illusion. Art historians believe that Vermeer used as tools both mirrors and the *camera obscura,* an ancestor of the modern camera based on passing light through a tiny pinhole or lens to project an image on a screen or the wall of a room. (In later versions, artists projected the image on a ground-glass wall of a box the opposite wall of which contained the pinhole or lens.) Vermeer did not simply copy the camera's image, however. Instead, the camera obscura and the mirrors helped him obtain results that he reworked compositionally, enabling him to achieve, for example, a beautiful stability of rectilinear shapes by carefully positioning the figures and furniture in a room. Vermeer's compositions evoke a matchless classical serenity.

Enhancing this quality are colors so true to the optical facts and so subtly modulated that they suggest that Vermeer was far ahead of his time in color science. For example, Vermeer realized that shadows are not colorless and dark, that adjoining colors affect each other, and that light is composed of colors. Thus he painted reflections off of surfaces in colors modified by others nearby. Some scholars have suggested that Vermeer also perceived the phenomenon that modern photographers call "circles of confusion," which appear on out-of-focus negatives. Vermeer could have seen them in images projected by the camera obscura's primitive lens. He approximated these effects with light dabs that, in close view, give the impression of an image slightly "out of focus." When the observer draws back a step, however, as if adjusting the lens, the color spots cohere, giving an astonishingly accurate illusion of the third dimension.

25-21 Jan Steen, *Feast of Saint Nicholas,* ca. 1660–1665. Oil on canvas, 2′ $8\frac{1}{4}$″ × 2′ $3\frac{3}{4}$″. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Steen's lively scene of Dutch children discovering their Christmas gifts may also have an allegorical dimension. *Feast of Saint Nicholas* probably alludes to selfishness, pettiness, and jealousy.

Steen

Whereas Vermeer's paintings reveal the charm and beauty of Dutch domesticity, the works of Jan Steen (ca. 1625–1679) provide a counterpoint. In *Feast of Saint Nicholas* (fig. 25-21), instead of depicting a tidy, calm Dutch household, Steen opted for a scene of chaos and disruption. Saint Nicholas has just visited this residence, and the children are in an uproar as they search their shoes for the Christmas gifts he has left. Steen masterfully recorded the children's personalities. Some of them are delighted. The little girl in the center clutches her gifts, clearly unwilling to share with the other children despite her mother's pleas. Others are disappointed. The boy on the left is in tears because he received only a birch rod. An appropriately festive atmosphere reigns, which contrasts sharply with the decorum prevailing in Vermeer's works. Like the paintings of other Dutch artists, Steen's lively scenes often take on an allegorical dimension and moralistic tone. Steen frequently used children's activities as satirical comments on foolish adult behavior. *Feast of Saint Nicholas* is not his only allusion to selfishness, pettiness, and jealousy.

Kalf and Ruysch

As already discussed (see "The Art Market," page 747), the rise of a new class of art patrons in the Dutch Republic prompted artists to focus on a new range of subjects. Still-life painting was one of the most popular. The leading Dutch practitioners of this genre were Pieter Claesz, Willem Kalf (fig. 25-22), and Rachel Ruysch (fig. 25-23). Often, these still-life paintings had a double appeal to Dutch patrons as celebrations of their prosperity and as reminders of the transience of life. Claesz's *Vanitas Still Life* (fig. 25-1) is a prime example.

Willem Kalf. As Dutch prosperity increased, precious objects and luxury items made their way into still-life paintings in great numbers. *Still Life with a Late Ming Ginger Jar* (fig. 25-22) by Willem Kalf (1619–1693) reflects both the wealth that Dutch citizens had accrued and the painter's exquisite skills, both technical and aesthetic. Kalf highlighted the breadth of Dutch maritime trade through his depiction of the Persian floral carpet, the Chinese jar used to store ginger (a luxury item), and the Mediterranean orange and peeled lemon (see "International Trade," page 739). He delighted in recording the lustrous sheen of fabric and the light glinting off reflective surfaces. As is evident in this image, Kalf's works present an array of ornamental objects, such as the Venetian and Dutch glassware and the silver plate. The inclusion of the watch suggests that this work, like Claesz's *Vanitas Still Life* (fig. 25-1), may also be a vanitas painting, if less obviously so.

Rachel Ruysch. As living objects that soon die, flowers, particularly cut blossoms, appeared frequently in vanitas paintings. However, floral painting as a distinct genre also enjoyed great popularity in the Dutch Republic because the Dutch were the leading growers and exporters of flowers in 17th-century Europe. One of the major practitioners of flower painting was Rachel Ruysch (1664–1750), who from 1708 to 1716 served as court painter to the elector

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25-22 **Willem Kalf, *Still Life with a Late Ming Ginger Jar,* 1669. Oil on canvas, 2′ 6″ × 2′ $1\frac{3}{4}$″. Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis (gift in commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the Art Association of Indianapolis, in memory of Daniel W. and Elizabeth C. Marmon).**

The opulent objects, especially the Persian carpet and Chinese jar, attest to the prosperous Dutch maritime trade. Kalf's inclusion of a watch suggests that this painting may be a vanitas still life.

25-23 **Rachel Ruysch, *Flower Still Life,* after 1700. Oil on canvas, 2′ $5\frac{3}{4}$″ × 1′ $11\frac{7}{8}$″. Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo (purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, gift of Edward Drummond Libbey).**

Flower paintings were very popular in the Dutch Republic. Ruysch achieved international renown for her lush paintings of floral arrangements, noted also for their careful compositions.

Palatine (the ruler of the Palatinate, a former division of Bavaria) in Düsseldorf, Germany. Ruysch's father was a professor of botany and anatomy, which may account for her interest in and knowledge of plants and insects. She acquired an international reputation for her lush paintings, and was able to charge very high prices for her work. *Flower Still Life* (fig. 25-23) is one of her finest paintings. In this canvas, the floral arrangement is so full, many of the blossoms seem to be spilling out of the vase. However, Ruysch's floral still lifes are not pictures of real floral arrangements, but idealized groupings of individually studied flowers, often combining perfect specimens of flowers that bloomed at different times of the year and could never be placed on a table at the same time. Her careful composition of the individual elements in the illustrated example is evident in her arrangement of the flowers to create a diagonal running from the lower left to the upper right corner of the canvas, offsetting the opposing diagonal of the table edge.

FRANCE

In France, monarchical authority had been increasing for centuries, culminating in the reign of Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715), who sought to determine the direction of French society and culture. Although its economy was not as expansive as the Dutch Republic's, France became Europe's largest and most powerful nation in the 17th century. Against this backdrop, the arts flourished.

Louis XIV

The preeminent French art patron of the 17th century was King Louis XIV himself. Determined to consolidate and expand his power, Louis was a master of political strategy and propaganda. He established a carefully crafted and nuanced relationship with the nobility, granting them sufficient benefits to keep them pacified but simultaneously maintaining rigorous control to avoid insurrection or rebellion. He also ensured subservience by anchoring his rule in *divine right* (belief in a king's absolute power as God's will), rendering Louis's authority incontestable. So convinced was Louis of his importance and centrality to the French kingdom that he eagerly adopted the title "le Roi Soleil" ("the Sun King"). Like the planets and the sun, all of France revolved around Louis XIV.

The Sun King's desire for control extended to all realms of French life, including art. Louis and his principal adviser, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), strove to organize art and architecture in the service of the state. They fully appreciated the power of art as propaganda and the value of visual imagery for cultivating a public persona, and they spared no expense to raise great monuments celebrating the king's absolute power. Louis and Colbert sought to regularize taste and establish the classical style as the preferred French manner. The founding of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1648 served to advance this goal.

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1 ft.

25-24 Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Louis XIV,* 1701. Oil on canvas, 9′ 2″ × 6′ 3″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

In this portrait set against a stately backdrop, Rigaud portrayed the 5′ 4″ Sun King wearing red high-heeled shoes and with his ermine-lined coronation robes thrown over his left shoulder.

Portraiture. Louis XIV maintained a workshop of painters, each with a specialization—for example, faces, fabric, architecture, landscapes, armor, or fur. Thus many of the king's portraits were a group effort. *Louis XIV* (fig. 25-24) by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743) is probably largely the work of his assistants, but he designed the composition and painted the king's face himself—on paper, affixed to the canvas after the rest of the painting was complete. Rigaud's portrait successfully conveys the image of an absolute monarch. The king, age 63 when he commissioned this portrait, stands with his left hand on his hip and gazes directly at the viewer. His elegant ermine-lined fleur-de-lis coronation robes (compare fig. 25-4) hang loosely from his left shoulder, suggesting an air of haughtiness. Louis also draws his garment back to expose his legs. (The king was a ballet dancer in his youth and was proud of his well-toned legs.) The portrait's majesty derives in large part from the composition. The Sun King is the unmistakable focal point of the image, and Rigaud placed him so that he seems to look down on the viewer. (Louis XIV was only 5 feet, 4 inches tall—a fact that drove him to design the red high-heeled shoes he wears in this painting.) The carefully detailed environment in which the king stands also contributes to the portrait's stateliness and grandiosity, as does the painting's sheer size (more than 9 feet tall).

Rigaud's portrait was originally intended as a gift to Louis's grandson, Philip V of Spain, but the Sun King was so pleased with it that he kept it for his own collection. Only three years later did Louis commission Rigaud to produce a copy for Philip. The image soon became iconic, and Rigaud's studio produced more copies for various European aristocrats.

The Louvre. The first great architectural project that Louis XIV and his adviser Colbert undertook was the closing of the east side of the Louvre's Cour Carrée (fig. 23-23), left incomplete by Pierre Lescot in the 16th century. The king invited the renowned Roman architect and sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini to come to Paris to submit a proposal, but Bernini envisioned an Italian palace on a grandiose scale, which would have involved the demolition of all previous work. His plan rejected, Bernini indignantly returned home. Louis then turned to three French architects—Claude Perrault (1613–1688), Louis Le Vau (1612–1670), and Charles Le Brun (1619–1690)—for the Louvre's east facade (fig. 25-25). The design is a brilliant synthesis of French and Italian classical elements, culminating in a new and definitive formula. The facade has a central section in the form of a Corinthian temple front with a giant colonnade of paired columns on each side. Together, the three sections resemble a classical temple with its sides folded out like wings. At the corners of the facade are projecting units with engaged Corinthian columns and pilasters resting on a stately podium. The designers favored an even roofline, balustraded and broken only by the central pediment, over the traditional French pyramidal roof of the Louvre's west wing (fig. 23-23). The emphatically horizontal sweep of the 17th-century facade brushed aside all memory of Gothic verticality. The stately proportions and monumentality of

25-25 Claude Perrault, Louis Le Vau, and Charles Le Brun, east facade of the Louvre (looking southwest), Paris, France, 1667–1670.

The design of the Louvre's east facade is a brilliant synthesis of French and Italian classical elements, including a central projecting section resembling an ancient temple front with a pediment.

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ART AND SOCIETY

The Sun King's Palace at Versailles

To realize his vision of a grandiose palace worthy of a "Sun King," Louis XIV assembled a veritable army of architects, decorators, sculptors, painters, and landscape designers under the general management of Charles Le Brun to design and construct his new royal residence at Versailles (FIG. 25-26). At the king's direction, Le Brun and his team converted the remodeling of a simple hunting lodge into the greatest architectural project of the age—a defining statement of French Baroque style and a grandiose symbol of Louis XIV's power and ambition.

Planned on a gigantic scale, the project called not only for a large palace flanking a vast park but also for the construction of a satellite city to house court and government officials, military and guard detachments, courtiers, and servants (thereby keeping them all under the king's close supervision). Le Brun laid out this town to the east of the palace along three radial avenues that converge on the palace. Their axes, in a symbolic assertion of the ruler's absolute power over his domains, intersected in the king's spacious bedroom, which served as an official audience chamber. The palace itself, more than a quarter-mile long, is perpendicular to the dominant east–west axis running through the associated city and park.

Every detail of the extremely rich decoration of the palace's interior received careful attention. The architects and decorators designed everything from wall paintings to doorknobs in order to reinforce the splendor of Versailles and to exhibit the very finest sense of artisanship. Of the literally hundreds of rooms within the palace, the most famous is the Galerie des Glaces, or Hall of Mirrors (FIG. 25-27), designed by JULES HARDOUIN-MANSART (1646–1708) and Le Brun. This hall overlooks Le Nôtre's park (FIG. 25-26) from the second floor and extends along most of the width of the central block. Although deprived of its original furniture, which included gold and silver chairs and bejeweled trees, the 240-foot-long Galerie des Glaces retains much of its splendor today. Hundreds of mirrors, set into the wall opposite the windows, alleviate the hall's tunnel-like quality and illusionistically extend the width of the room. The mirror, that ultimate source of illusion, was a favorite element of Baroque interior design. Here, it also enhanced the dazzling extravagance of the great festivals that Louis XIV was so fond of hosting. From the Galerie des Glaces, the king and his guests could enjoy a sweeping vista down the tree-lined central axis of the Versailles park and across terraces, lawns, pools, and lakes toward the horizon.

As a symbol of absolute power, Versailles has no equal. It also expresses, in the grandiose terms of its age, the rationalistic creed—based on scientific advances, such as the physics of Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) and the mathematical philosophy of René Descartes (1596–1650)—that all knowledge must be systematic and all science must be the consequence of the intellect imposed on matter. The majestic and rational design of Versailles proudly proclaims the mastery of human intelligence (and the mastery of Louis XIV) over the disorderliness of nature.

25-26 JULES HARDOUIN-MANSART, CHARLES LE BRUN, and ANDRÉ LE NÔTRE, aerial view of the palace and gardens (looking northwest), Versailles, France, begun 1669.

Louis XIV ordered his architects to convert a royal hunting lodge at Versailles into a gigantic palace and park. The associated satellite city has three radial avenues whose axes intersect in the Sun King's bedroom.

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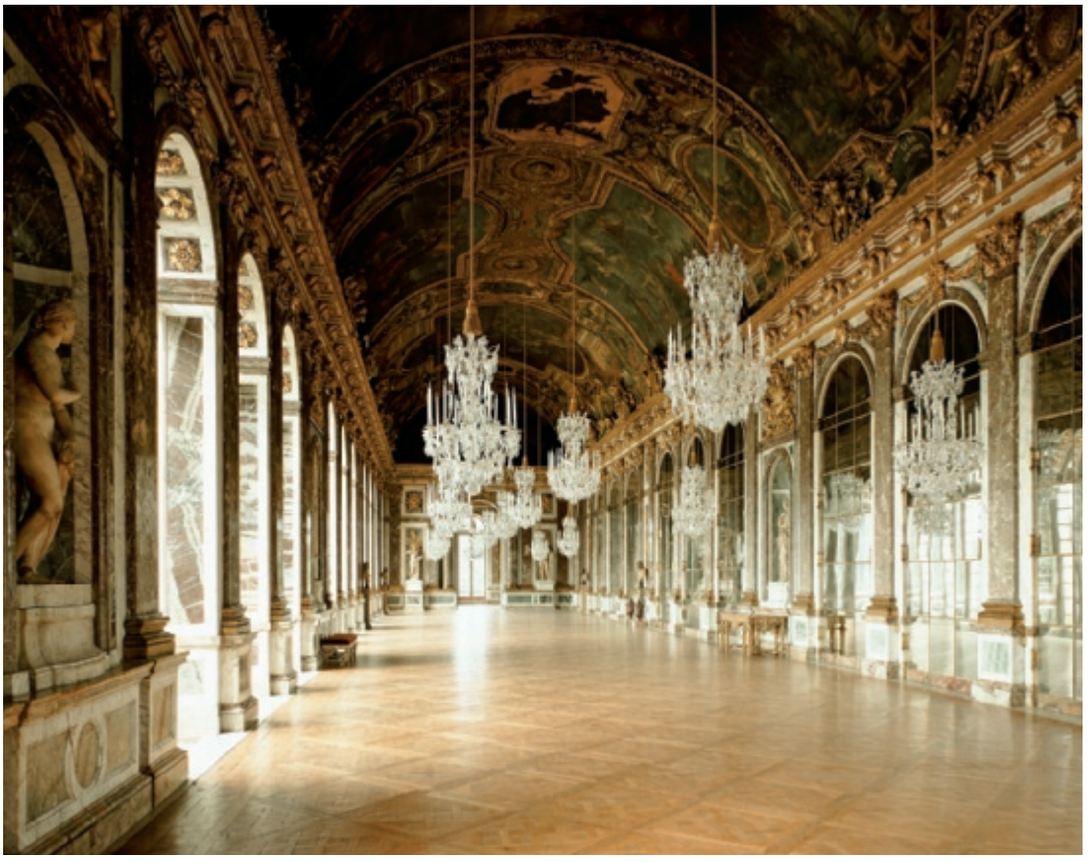

25-27 Jules Hardouin-Mansart and Charles Le Brun, Galerie des Glaces (Hall of Mirrors), palace of Versailles, Versailles, France, ca. 1680.

In this grandiose hall overlooking the park of the Sun King's palace at Versailles, hundreds of mirrors illusionistically extend the room's width and once reflected its gilded and jeweled furnishings.

the Baroque design were both an expression of the new official French taste and a symbol of centrally organized authority.

Versailles. Work on the Louvre had barely begun when Louis XIV decided to convert a royal hunting lodge at Versailles, south of Paris, into a great palace (see "The Sun King's Palace at Versailles," page 759, and figs. 25-26 and 25-27). The enormous palace might appear unbearably ostentatious were it not for its extraordinary setting in a vast park, which makes the palace seem almost an adjunct. The park of Versailles must rank among the world's greatest artworks in both size and concept. Here, André Le Nôtre (1613–1700) transformed an entire forest into a park. Although its geometric plan may appear stiff and formal, the park in fact offers an almost unlimited assortment of vistas, as the French architect used not only the multiplicity of natural forms but also the terrain's slightly rolling contours with stunning effectiveness.

The formal gardens near the palace provide a transition from the frozen architectural forms to the natural living ones. Here, the elegant shapes of trimmed shrubs and hedges define the tightly designed geometric units. Each unit is different from its neighbor and has a focal point in the form of a sculptured group, a pavilion, a reflecting pool, or a fountain. Farther away from the palace, the design loosens as trees, in shadowy masses, screen or frame views of open countryside. Le Nôtre carefully composed all vistas for maximum effect. Light and shadow, formal and informal, dense growth and open meadows—all play against one another in unending combinations and variations. No photograph or series of photographs can reveal the design's full richness. The park unfolds itself only to those walking through it. In this respect, it is a temporal artwork. Its aspects change with the time of day, the seasons, and the relative position of the observer.

25-28 François Girardon and Thomas Regnaudin, *Apollo Attended by the Nymphs of Thetis,* Grotto of Thetis, park of Versailles, Versailles, France, 1664–1670. Marble, life-size.

Girardon's study of ancient sculpture and Poussin's figural compositions influenced the design of this mythological group. Apollo, often equated with the sun, alludes to Louis XIV, the Sun King.

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Grotto of Thetis. Scattered through the vast Versailles park are allegorical references to the Sun King in the form of statues of the Greek god Apollo, who was often identified with the sun (see "The Gods and Goddesses of Mount Olympus," page 107). Perhaps the finest of these is *Apollo Attended by the Nymphs of Thetis* (FIG. 25-28) by FRANÇOIS GIRARDON (1628–1715) with additional statues by THOMAS REGNAUDIN (1622–1706), which in the 18th century were moved by HUBERT ROBERT (1773–1808) to an artificial grotto above a dramatic waterfall (FIG. 25-28A). Both stately and graceful, the nymphs have a compelling charm as they minister to Apollo at the end of the day. Girardon, who also won the commission to make a bronze equestrian statue of the Sun King, had spent time in Rome, and his close study of Greco-Roman sculpture heavily influenced his design of the central group. (Girardon based his Apollo on one of the most famous ancient statues then known, the *Apollo Belvedere* [not illustrated] in the Vatican.) The figural compositions of the most renowned French painter of the era, Nicolas Poussin (FIG. 25-31), inspired Girardon's arrangement of the statues as a group. The sculptor's classical style and mythological symbolism well suited France's glorification of royal majesty.

25-28A ROBERT, Baths of Apollo, Versailles, 1777–1781.

25-29 **JULES HARDOUIN-MANSART, interior of the Royal Chapel, with ceiling decorations by ANTOINE COYPEL, palace of Versailles, Versailles, France, 1698–1710.**

Because the apse is as high as the nave, the central space of the Royal Chapel at Versailles has a curved, Baroque quality. Louis XIV could reach the royal pew directly from his apartments.

Royal Chapel. In 1698, Hardouin-Mansart received the commission to add a Royal Chapel to the Versailles palace complex. The chapel's interior (FIG. 25-29) is essentially rectangular, but because its apse is as high as the nave, the fluid central space takes on a curved, Baroque quality. However, the light entering through the large clerestory windows lacks the directed dramatic effect of the Italian Baroque, instead illuminating the interior's precisely chiseled details brightly and evenly. Pier-supported arcades carry a majestic row of Corinthian columns defining the royal gallery. The royal pew is at the rear, accessible directly from the king's apartments. Amid the restrained decoration, only the illusionistic ceiling paintings, added in 1708 and 1709 by ANTOINE COYPEL (1661–1722), suggest the drama and complexity of Italian Baroque art.

Église du Dôme, Paris. Another of Hardouin-Mansart's masterworks, the Église du Dôme (FIG. 25-30), or Church of the Invalides, in Paris, also marries the Italian Baroque and French classical architectural styles. An intricately composed domed square of great scale, the church adjoins the veterans hospital that Louis XIV established for the disabled soldiers of his many wars. Two firmly

25-30 **JULES HARDOUIN-MANSART, Église du Dôme (looking north), Church of the Invalides, Paris, France, 1676–1706.**

Hardouin-Mansart's church marries the Italian and French architectural styles. The grouping of the orders is similar to the Italian Baroque manner but without the dramatic play of curved surfaces.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Poussin's Notes for a Treatise on Painting

As the leading champion of classical painting in 17th-century Rome, Nicolas Poussin outlined the principles of classicism in notes for an intended treatise on painting, left incomplete at his death. In those notes, Poussin described the essential ingredients necessary to produce a beautiful painting in the "grand manner":

> The grand manner consists of four things: subject-matter or theme, thought, structure, and style. The first thing that, as the foundation of all others, is required, is that the subject-matter shall be grand, as are battles, heroic actions, and divine things. But assuming that the subject on which the painter is laboring is grand, his next consideration is to keep away from minutiae . . . [and paint only] things magnificent and grand . . . Those who elect mean subjects take refuge in them because of the weakness of their talents.*
>
> The idea of beauty does not descend into matter unless this is prepared as carefully as possible. This preparation consists of three things: arrangement, measure, and aspect or form. Arrangement means the relative position of the parts; measure refers to their size; and form consists of lines and colors. Arrangement and relative position of the parts and making every limb of the body hold its natural place are not sufficient unless measure is added, which gives to each limb its correct size, proportionate to that of the whole body [compare "Polykleitos's Prescription for the Perfect Statue," page 131], and unless form joins in, so that the lines will be drawn with grace and with a harmonious juxtaposition of light and shadow.†

Poussin applied these principles in paintings such as *Et in Arcadia Ego* (FIG. 25-31), a work peopled with perfectly proportioned statuesque figures attired in antique garb.

*Translated by Robert Goldwater and Marco Treves, eds., *Artists on Art,* 3d ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), 155.
†Ibid., 156.

25-31 NICOLAS POUSSIN, *Et in Arcadia Ego,* ca. 1655. Oil on canvas, 2′ 10″ × 4′. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Poussin was the leading champion of classicism in 17th-century Rome. His "grand manner" paintings are models of "arrangement and measure" and incorporate figures inspired by ancient statuary.

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25-32 **Nicolas Poussin, *Landscape with Saint John on Patmos,* 1640. Oil on canvas, 3′ 3½″ × 4′ 5⅝″. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (A. A. Munger Collection).**

Poussin placed Saint John in a classical landscape amid broken columns, an obelisk, and a ruined temple, suggesting the decay of great civilizations and the coming of the new Christian era.

separated levels, the upper one capped by a pediment, compose the frontispiece. The grouping of the orders and of the bays they frame is not unlike that in Italian Baroque architecture but without the dramatic play of curved surfaces characteristic of many 17th-century Italian churches—for example, Borromini's San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (FIG. 24-8) in Rome. The compact facade is low and narrow in relation to the vast drum and dome, seeming to serve simply as a base for them. The overpowering dome, conspicuous on the Parisian skyline, is itself expressive of the Baroque love for dramatic magnitude, as is the way its designer aimed for theatrical effects of light and space. The dome consists of three shells, the lowest cut off so that a visitor to the interior looks up through it to the one above, which is filled with light from hidden windows in the third, outermost dome. Charles de La Fosse (1636–1716) painted the second dome in 1705 with an Italian-inspired representation of the heavens opening up to receive Saint Louis, patron of France (see "Louis IX, the Saintly King," page 398).

Poussin and Claude Lorrain

Louis XIV's embrace of classicism enticed many French artists to study Rome's ancient and Renaissance monuments. But even before the Sun King ascended to the throne in 1643, Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) of Normandy had spent most of his life in Rome, where he produced grandly severe paintings modeled on those of Titian and Raphael. He also carefully formulated a theoretical explanation of his method and was ultimately responsible for establishing classical painting as an important ingredient of 17th-century French art (see "Poussin's Notes for a Treatise on Painting," page 762). His classical style presents a striking contrast to the contemporaneous Baroque style of his Italian counterparts in Rome, underscoring the multifaceted character of European art of this era.

Et in Arcadia Ego. Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego* (*Even in Arcadia, I* [am present]; FIG. 25-31) exemplifies the "grand manner" of painting that the artist advocated. It features a lofty subject rooted in the classical world and figures based on antique statuary. Rather than depicting dynamic movement and intense emotions, as his Italian contemporaries in Rome did, Poussin emulated the rational order and stability of Raphael's paintings. Dominating the foreground are three shepherds living in the idyllic land of Arcadia. They study an inscription on a tomb as a statuesque female figure quietly places her hand on the shoulder of one of them. She may be the spirit of death, reminding these mortals, as does the inscription, that death is found even in Arcadia, supposedly a spot of paradisiacal bliss. The countless draped female statues surviving in Italy from Roman times supplied the models for this figure, and the posture of the youth with one foot resting on a boulder derives from Greco-Roman statues of Neptune, the sea god, leaning on his trident. The classically compact and balanced grouping of the figures, the even light, and the thoughtful and reserved mood complement Poussin's classical figure types.

Saint John on Patmos. In *Et in Arcadia Ego,* statuesque figures dominate the landscape setting, but the natural world looms large in many of Poussin's paintings. *Landscape with Saint John on Patmos* (FIG. 25-32) is one of a pair of canvases that Poussin painted for Gian Maria Roscioli (d. 1644), secretary to Pope Urban VIII. The second landscape (not illustrated) represents Saint Matthew, reclining in right profile, who faced Saint John when the two canvases, now in different museums on different continents, hung side by side in Rome. An eagle stands behind John, just as an angel, Matthew's attribute, stands beside the former tax collector (see

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"The Four Evangelists," page 331). John, near the end of his life on the Greek island of Patmos, composed the book of Revelation, his account of the end of the world and the Second Coming of Christ, a prophetic vision of violent destruction and the Last Judgment (see "Early Christian Saints," pages 246–247).

Poussin's setting, however, is a serene classical landscape beneath a sunny sky. (He created a similar setting in *Burial of Phocion* [FIG. 25-32A], which he painted later in the decade.) Saint John reclines in the foreground, posed like a Greco-Roman river god, amid shattered columns and a pedestal for a statue that disappeared long ago. In the middle ground, two oak trees frame the ruins of a classical temple and an Egyptian obelisk, many of which the Romans brought to their capital from the Nile and the popes reused in their building projects—for example, in the piazza in front of Saint Peter's (FIG. 24-4) and in Bernini's Fountain of the Four Rivers (FIG. 24-7). The decaying buildings suggest the decline of great empires—to be replaced by Christianity in a new era. In the distance are hills, sky, and clouds, all of which Poussin represented with pristine clarity, ignoring the rules of atmospheric perspective. His landscapes are not portraits of specific places, as are the Dutch landscapes of Ruisdael (FIG. 25-18) and Vermeer (FIG. 25-18B). Rather, they are imaginary settings constructed according to classical rules of design. Poussin's clouds, for example, echo the contours of his hills.

25-32A POUSSIN, *Burial of Phocion,* 1648.

Claude Lorrain. Claude Gellée, called CLAUDE LORRAIN (1600–1682) after his birthplace in the duchy of Lorraine, which was technically independent from the French monarchy during this period, rivaled Poussin in fame. Claude modulated in a softer style Poussin's disciplined rational art, with its sophisticated revelation of the geometry of landscape. Unlike the figures in Poussin's pictures, those in Claude's landscapes tell no dramatic story, point out no moral, praise no hero, and celebrate no saint. Indeed, the figures in Claude's paintings often appear to be added as mere excuses for the radiant landscape itself. For the French artist, painting involved essentially one theme—the beauty of a broad sky suffused with the golden light of dawn or sunset glowing through a hazy atmosphere and reflecting brilliantly off rippling water.

25-33 CLAUDE LORRAIN, *Landscape with Cattle and Peasants,* 1629. Oil on canvas, 3′ 6″ × 4′ 10 1/2″. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (George W. Elkins Collection).

Claude used atmospheric and linear perspective to transform the rustic Roman countryside filled with peasants and animals into an ideal classical landscape bathed in sunlight in infinite space.

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In *Landscape with Cattle and Peasants* (FIG. 25-33), the figures in the right foreground chat in animated fashion. In the left foreground, cattle relax contentedly. In the middle ground, cattle amble slowly away. The well-defined foreground, distinct middle ground, and dim background recede in serene orderliness, until all form dissolves in a luminous mist. Atmospheric and linear perspective reinforce each other to turn a vista into a typical Claudian vision, an ideal classical world bathed in sunlight in infinite space (compare FIG. I-12).

Claude's formalizing of nature with balanced groups of architectural masses, screens of trees, and sheets of water followed the great tradition of classical landscape. It began with the backgrounds of Venetian paintings (FIGS. 22-30, 22-31, and 22-32) and continued in the art of Annibale Carracci (FIG. 24-15) and Poussin (FIGS. 25-32 and 25-32A). Yet Claude, like the Dutch painters, studied the light and the atmospheric nuances of nature, making an important contribution. He recorded carefully in hundreds of sketches the look of the Roman countryside, its gentle terrain accented by stone-pines, cypresses, and poplars and by the ever-present ruins of ancient aqueducts, tombs, and towers. He made these the fundamental elements of his compositions. Claude's landscapes owe their timeless appeal to the distinctive combination of the natural beauty of the outskirts of Rome and the mystique of the past.

Claude achieved his marvelous effects of light by painstakingly placing on his canvas tiny brushstrokes representing small value gradations, which imitated, though on a very small scale, the range of values of outdoor light and shade. Avoiding the problem of high-noon sunlight overhead, Claude preferred, and convincingly rendered, the sun's rays as they gradually illuminated the morning sky or, with their dying glow, set the pensive mood of evening. Thus he matched the moods of nature with those of human subjects. Claude's infusion of nature with human feeling and his recomposition of nature in a calm equilibrium greatly appealed to many landscape painters of the 18th and early 19th centuries.

Le Nain, Callot, La Tour

Although classicism was an important element of French art during the 17th and early 18th centuries, not all artists embraced the "grand manner." The works of LOUIS LE NAIN (ca. 1593–1648) have more in common with contemporaneous Dutch art than with Renaissance or ancient art. Nevertheless, subjects that in Dutch painting were opportunities for boisterous good humor (FIG. 25-21), Le Nain treated with somber stillness. *Family of Country People* (FIG. 25-34) reflects the thinking of 17th-century French social theorists who celebrated the natural virtue of peasants who worked the soil. Le Nain's painting expresses the grave dignity of one peasant family made stoic and resigned by hardship. These drab country folk surely had little reason for merriment. The peasant's lot, never easy, was miserable during the Thirty Years' War. The anguish and frustration of the peasantry, suffering from the cruelty of unruly armies living off the countryside, often erupted in violent revolts that the same armies savagely suppressed. This family, however, is pious, docile, and calm. Because Le Nain depicted peasants with dignity and quiet resignation, despite their harsh living conditions, some scholars have suggested that he intended his paintings to please wealthy urban patrons, who preferred to think that the peasants were content with their lot.

Jacques Callot. Two other prominent artists from Lorraine were Jacques Callot and Georges de La Tour. JACQUES CALLOT (ca. 1592–1635) conveyed a sense of military life during these troubled times in a series of prints called *Miseries of War.* Callot confined himself almost exclusively to the art of etching and was widely influential. Rembrandt was among those who knew and learned from his work. Callot developed a very hard surface for the copper plate to enable fine and precise delineation with the needle. His quick, vivid touch and faultless drawing produced panoramas sparkling with sharp details of life—and death—despite their small size (roughly

25-34 **LOUIS LE NAIN, *Family of Country People,* ca. 1640. Oil on canvas, 3′ 8″ × 5′ 2″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.**

Le Nain's painting expresses the grave dignity of a peasant family made stoic by hardship. It reflects 17th-century French social theory, which celebrated the natural virtue of those who worked the soil.

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1 in.

25-35 Jacques Callot, *Hanging Tree,* from the *Miseries of War* series, 1629–1633. Etching, $3\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

Callot's *Miseries of War* etchings were among the first realistic pictorial records of the human disaster of military conflict. *Hanging Tree* depicts a mass execution of thieves in the presence of an army.

4 by 7 inches). In the *Miseries of War* series, he observed these details coolly, presenting without comment images based on events that he must have witnessed in the wars in Lorraine.

In *Hanging Tree* (fig. 25-35), Callot depicted a mass execution of thieves (identified in the text at the bottom of the etching). The event takes place in the presence of a disciplined army, drawn up on parade with banners, muskets, and lances, their tents in the background. Hanged men sway in clusters from the branches of a huge cross-shaped tree. A monk climbs a ladder, holding up a crucifix to a man while the executioner adjusts the noose around the man's neck. At the foot of the ladder, another victim kneels to receive absolution. Under the crucifix-tree, men roll dice on a drumhead, hoping to win the belongings of the executed. (This may be an allusion to the soldiers who cast lots for the garments of the crucified Christ.) In the right foreground, a hooded priest consoles a bound man. Callot's *Miseries of War* etchings are among the first realistic pictorial records of the human tragedy of armed conflict.

Georges de La Tour. France, unlike the Dutch Republic, was a Catholic country, and religious themes, although not as common as in Italian and Spanish Baroque art, occupied some 17th-century French painters. Among the French artists who painted biblical subjects was Georges de La Tour (1593–1652). His work, particularly his use of light, suggests a familiarity with Caravaggio's art, which he may have learned about from painters in Utrecht, such as ter Brugghen and van Honthorst (figs. 25-7 and 25-8). Although La Tour used the devices of Caravaggio's Dutch followers, his effects are strikingly different from theirs. His *Adoration of the Shepherds* (fig. 25-36) makes use of the night setting favored by the Utrecht "Caravaggisti," as they are often called, much as van Honthorst portrayed it. But here, the light, its source shaded

1 ft.

25-36 Georges de La Tour, *Adoration of the Shepherds,* 1645–1650. Oil on canvas, 3′ 6″ × 4′ 6″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Without the aid of the title, this candlelit nighttime scene could be a genre painting instead of a biblical narrative. La Tour did not even paint halos around the heads of the holy personages.

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by an old man's hand, falls upon a very different company in a very different mood. A group of humble men and women, coarsely clad, gather in prayerful vigil around a luminous baby Jesus. Without the aid of the title, this work might be construed as a genre piece, a narrative of some event from peasant life. Nothing in the environment, placement, poses, dress, or attributes of the figures distinguishes them as the Virgin Mary, Joseph, Christ Child, or shepherds. The artist did not even give the religious personages halos. The light is not spiritual but material: it comes from a candle.

La Tour's scientific scrutiny of the effects of light as it throws precise shadows on surfaces intercepting it nevertheless had religious intention and consequence. The light illuminates a group of ordinary people held in a mystic trance induced by their witnessing the miracle of the Incarnation. In this timeless tableau of simple people, La Tour eliminated the dogmatic significance and traditional iconography of the birth of the Savior. Still, these people reverently contemplate something they regard as holy. The devout of any religious persuasion can read this painting, regardless of their familiarity with the biblical account.

The supernatural calm pervading *Adoration of the Shepherds* is characteristic of the mood of Georges de La Tour's art. He achieved this by eliminating motion and emotive gesture (only the light is dramatic), by suppressing surface detail, and by simplifying body volumes. These stylistic traits are among those associated with classical and Renaissance art. Thus several apparently contradictory elements meet in the work of La Tour: classical composure, fervent spirituality, and genre realism.

ENGLAND

In England, in sharp distinction to France, the common law and the Parliament kept royal power in check. England also differed from France (and Europe in general) in other significant ways. Although an important part of English life, religion was not the contentious issue that it was on the Continent. The religious affiliations of the English included Catholicism, Anglicanism, Protestantism, and Puritanism (the English version of Calvinism). In the economic realm, England was the one country (other than the Dutch Republic) to take advantage of the opportunities that overseas trade offered. As an island, Britain (which after 1603 consisted of England, Wales, and Scotland), like the Dutch Republic, possessed a large and powerful navy, as well as excellent maritime capabilities.

Jones and Wren

In the 17th century, as during the Renaissance, the leading painters in England were Flemish or Dutch, among them Holbein (FIGS. 23-12 and 23-12A), Teerlinc (FIG. 23-17), and van Dyck (FIG. 25-5). The most significant English artistic achievements during the Baroque era were in the field of architecture, much of it, as in France, incorporating classical elements.

Inigo Jones. The most important English architect of the first half of the 17th century was INIGO JONES (1573–1652), architect to Kings James I (r. 1603–1625) and Charles I (FIG. 25-5). Jones spent considerable time in Italy. He greatly admired the classical authority and restraint of Andrea Palladio's buildings and studied with great care his treatise on architecture. Jones borrowed many motifs from Palladio's villas and palaces, and he adopted Palladio's basic design principles for his own architecture, which transformed the medieval city of London.

The nature of Jones's achievement is evident in the buildings he designed for his royal patrons, among them the Banqueting House (FIG. 25-37) at Whitehall, used, as its name indicates for royal banquets and other festive occasions. (Adorning the ceiling of the grand interior hall is a 1634–1636 painting by Rubens depicting

25-37 **INIGO JONES, Banqueting House (looking northeast), Whitehall, London, England, 1619–1622.**

Jones was a great admirer of the classical architecture of Palladio, and he adopted motifs from the Italian architect's villas and palaces for the buildings he designed for his British royal patrons.

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25-38 Christopher Wren, west facade of Saint Paul's Cathedral, London, England, 1675–1710.

Wren's cathedral replaced an old Gothic church. The facade design owes much to Palladio (FIG. 22-56) and Borromini (FIG. 24-11). The great dome recalls Saint Peter's in Rome (FIGS. 22-25 and 24-4).

the apotheosis of James I—another instance of England importing Continental painters for royal commissions.) For this structure, a symmetrical block of great clarity and dignity, Jones superimposed two orders (Ionic below, Corinthian above), using columns in the center and pilasters near the ends. The balustraded roofline, uninterrupted in its horizontal sweep, predates the Louvre's east facade (FIG. 25-25) by more than 40 years.

Palladio would have recognized and approved all of the design elements, but the building as a whole is not a copy of his work. Although relying on the revered Italian's architectural vocabulary and syntax, Jones retained his independence as a designer. For two centuries, his influence in English architecture was almost as authoritative as Palladio's.

Christopher Wren. London's majestic Saint Paul's Cathedral (FIG. 25-38) is the work of England's most renowned architect, Christopher Wren (1632–1723). A mathematical genius and skilled engineer whose work won Isaac Newton's praise, Wren became professor of astronomy at Gresham College in London at age 25. Mathematics led to architecture, and Charles II (r. 1649–1685) asked Wren to prepare a plan for restoring the old Gothic church dedicated to Saint Paul. Wren proposed remodeling the building based on Roman structures. Within a few months, the Great Fire of London, which destroyed the old structure and many other churches in the city in 1666, gave Wren his opportunity. Although Jones's work strongly influenced him, Wren also traveled in France, where the splendid palaces and state buildings being created in and around Paris at the time of the expansion of the Louvre palace (FIG. 25-25) must have impressed him. Wren also closely studied prints illustrating Baroque architecture in Italy. In Saint Paul's, he harmonized Palladian, French, and Italian Baroque features.

In view of its size, Saint Paul's Cathedral was built with remarkable speed—in little more than 30 years—and Wren lived to see it completed. The building's form underwent constant refinement during construction, and Wren did not determine the final appearance of the towers until after 1700. In the splendid skyline composition, two foreground towers act effectively as foils to the great dome. Wren must have been aware of similar schemes that Italian architects had devised for Saint Peter's (FIG. 24-4) in Rome to solve the problem of the relationship between the facade and dome. Certainly, the influence of Borromini (FIGS. 24-7, *top, rear,* and 24-11) is evident in the upper levels and lanterns of the towers. The lower levels owe a debt to Palladio (FIG. 22-56), and the superposed paired columnar porticos recall the Louvre's east facade (FIG. 25-25). Wren's skillful eclecticism brought all these foreign features into a grand and unified design.

Wren received commissions for many other London churches after the Great Fire. Even today, Wren's towers and domes punctuate the skyline of London. Saint Paul's dome is the tallest of all. Wren's legacy was significant and long lasting, both in England and in colonial America, as examined in the next chapter.

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THE BIG PICTURE

The Baroque in Northern Europe

Flanders

- In the 17th century, Flanders remained Catholic and under Spanish control. Flemish Baroque art was more closely tied to the Baroque art of Italy than was the art of much of the rest of Northern Europe.
- The leading Flemish painter of this era was Peter Paul Rubens, whose work and influence were international in scope. A diplomat as well as an artist, he counted kings and queens among his patrons and friends. His paintings—for example, the series of huge canvases he painted for Marie de' Medici to glorify her career—exhibit Baroque splendor in color and ornament, and feature robust and foreshortened figures in swirling motion.

Rubens, *Marie de' Medici at Marseilles,* 1622–1625

Dutch Republic

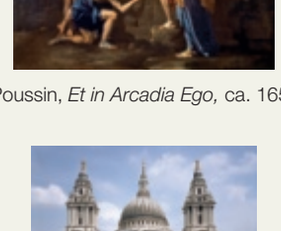
- The Dutch Republic received official recognition of its independence from Spain in the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. Worldwide trade and banking brought prosperity to its predominantly Protestant citizenry, which largely rejected church art in favor of private commissions of portraits, genre scenes, landscapes, and still lifes.
- Frans Hals produced innovative portraits of middle-class patrons in which a lively informality replaced the formulaic patterns of traditional portraiture. Aelbert Cuyp and Jacob van Ruisdael specialized in landscapes depicting specific places, not idealized Renaissance settings. Pieter Claesz, Willem Kalf, and others specialized in still lifes featuring meticulous depictions of worldly goods, sometimes amid reminders of death.
- Rembrandt van Rijn, the greatest Dutch artist of the age, treated a broad range of subjects, including religious themes and portraits. His oil paintings are notable for their dramatic impact and subtle gradations of light and shade as well as the artist's ability to convey human emotions. Rembrandt was also a master printmaker. His *Christ with the Sick* etching sold for an astounding 100 guilders.
- Johannes Vermeer specialized in painting the occupants of serene, comfortable Dutch homes. His convincing representation of interior spaces depended in part on his employment of a camera obscura. Vermeer was also a master of light and color and understood that shadows are not colorless.

Kalf, *Still Life with a Late Ming Ginger Jar,* 1669

Rembrandt, *Christ with the Sick,* ca. 1649

France and England

- The major art patron in 17th-century France was the Sun King, the absolutist monarch Louis XIV, who expanded the Louvre in Paris and built a vast palace and garden complex at nearby Versailles, featuring sumptuous furnishings and sweeping vistas. Among the architects Louis employed were Charles Le Brun and Jules Hardouin-Mansart, who succeeded in marrying Italian Baroque and French classical styles.
- The leading French proponent of classical painting was Nicolas Poussin, who spent most of his life in Rome and championed the "grand manner" of painting. This style called for heroic or divine subjects and classical compositions with figures often modeled on ancient statues.
- Claude Lorrain, whose fame rivaled Poussin's, specialized in classical landscapes rendered in linear and atmospheric perspective. His compositions often incorporated ancient ruins.
- In 17th-century England, architecture was the most important art form. Two architects who achieved international fame were Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren. They harmonized the architectural principles of Andrea Palladio with the Italian Baroque and French classical styles in buildings such as the Banqueting House (Jones) and Saint Paul's Cathedral (Wren) in London.



Poussin, *Et in Arcadia Ego,* ca. 1655

Wren, Saint Paul's, London, 1675–1710

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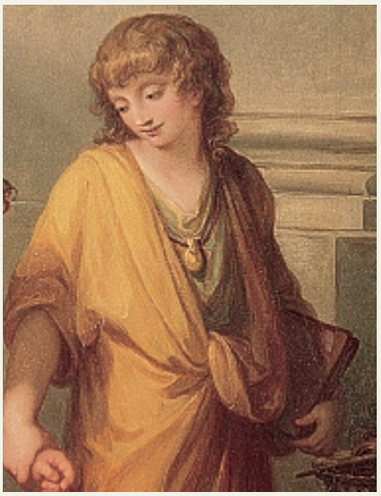

▲**26-1a** The Enlightenment fascination with classical antiquity gave rise to the art movement called Neoclassicism. In this painting, Kauffman chose a classical subject and clothed her figures in Roman garb.

▲**26-1b** Kauffman's heroine is Cornelia, mother of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, political reformers during the Roman Republic. The portraits of the mother and her sons are based on ancient statuary.

▲**26-1c** The painting is an Enlightenment exemplum virtutis ("example of virtue"). When a visitor shows Cornelia her jewelry and asks to see Cornelia's, the mother of the Gracchi presents her children as her jewels.

1 ft.

26-1 **Angelica Kauffman, *Cornelia Presenting Her Children as Her Treasures,* or *Mother of the Gracchi,* ca. 1785. Oil on canvas, 3′ 4″ × 4′ 2″. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund).**

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ROCOCO TO NEOCLASSICISM: THE 18TH CENTURY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

26

FRAMING THE ERA

The Enlightenment, Angelica Kauffman, and Neoclassicism

The dawn of the *Enlightenment* in the 18th century brought a new way of thinking critically about the world and about men and women, independently of religion, myth, or tradition. Enlightenment thinkers rejected unfounded beliefs in favor of empirical evidence and promoted the questioning of all assertions. This new worldview was a major factor in the revolutionary political, social, and economic changes that swept Europe and America in the mid- to late 1700s. Among these were the wars for independence in America and France, the Industrial Revolution in England, and a renewed admiration in both Europe and America for the art and architecture of classical antiquity. The Enlightenment's emphasis on rationality in part explains this classical focus, because the geometric harmony of classical art and architecture embodied Enlightenment ideals. Moreover, Greece and Rome represented the pinnacle of civilized society—paragons of enlightened political organization. With their traditions of liberty, civic virtue, morality, and sacrifice, these cultures were ideal models during a period of political upheaval.

The Enlightenment interest in classical antiquity in turn gave rise to the artistic movement known as *Neoclassicism,* which incorporated the subjects and styles of Greek and Roman art. One of the pioneers of Neoclassical painting was Angelica Kauffman (1741–1807). Born in Switzerland and trained in Italy, Kauffman spent many of her productive years in England. In an era when nearly all successful artists were men, Kauffman enjoyed an enviable reputation and was a founding member of the British Royal Academy of Arts.

Cornelia Presenting Her Children as Her Treasures, or *Mother of the Gracchi* (fig. 26-1), is perhaps Kauffman's best-known work. The theme of the painting is the virtue of Cornelia, mother of the future political leaders Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, who, in the second century bce, attempted to reform the Roman Republic. Cornelia reveals her character in this scene, which takes place after a visitor has shown off her fine jewelry and then insists that Cornelia show hers. Instead of taking out her own precious adornments, Cornelia brings her sons forward, presenting them as her jewels. *Mother of the Gracchi* is a characteristic example of the Enlightenment embrace of the values of the classical world, an *exemplum virtutis* ("example of virtue") drawn from Greek and Roman history and literature.

To give her retelling of the story an authentic air, Kauffman studied ancient statuary and then clothed her actors in ancient Roman garb and posed them in statuesque attitudes within a Roman interior. The architectural setting is severe, and the composition and drawing have the simplicity and firmness of low-relief carving, qualities that became hallmarks of the Neoclassical style.

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A CENTURY OF REVOLUTIONS

In 1700, Louis XIV still ruled France as the Sun King, presiding over his realm and French culture from his palatial residence at Versailles (see "The Sun King's Palace at Versailles," page 759, and FIGS. 25-26 and 25-27). The French king's palace inspired the construction of many other grandiose homes on the Continent and across the English Channel during the early 18th century, including Blenheim Palace (FIG. 26-1A), which SIR JOHN VANBRUGH (1664–1726) and NICHOLAS HAWKSMOOR (1661–1736) designed for the duke of Marlborough. By 1800, however, revolutions had overthrown the monarchy in France and achieved independence for the British colonies in America. The 18th century also gave birth to a revolution of a different kind—the Industrial Revolution, which began in England and soon transformed the economies of continental Europe and North America and eventually the world.

26-1A VANBRUGH and HAWKSMOOR, Blenheim Palace, 1705–1725.

Against this backdrop of revolutionary change—social as well as political, economic, and technological—came major transformations in the arts. Compare, for example, Antoine Watteau's 1717 *Pilgrimage to Cythera* (FIG. 26-7), which unfolds in a lush landscape and celebrates the romantic dalliances of the moneyed elite, with Angelica Kauffman's 1785 *Mother of the Gracchi* (FIG. 26-1), set in an austere home of classical columns and piers and glorifying the maternal virtue of an ancient Roman woman. The two works have little in common other than that both are horizontally oriented oil paintings on canvas. In the 18th century, shifts in style and subject matter were both rapid and significant.

ROCOCO

The death of Louis XIV in 1715 brought many changes in French high society. The elite quickly abandoned the court of Versailles for the pleasures of town life. Although French citizens still owed allegiance to a monarch, the early 18th century brought a resurgence of aristocratic social, political, and economic power. Members of the nobility not only exercised their traditional privileges (for example, exemption from certain taxes and from forced labor on public works) but also sought to expand their power. In the cultural realm, aristocrats reestablished their predominance as art patrons. The *hôtels* (elegant private townhouses) of Paris soon became the centers of a new, softer style called *Rococo.* Associated with the regency (1715–1723) following the death of Louis XIV and with the reign of Louis XV (r. 1723–1774), the Rococo style in art and architecture was the perfect expression of the lighthearted elegance that the wealthy cultivated in their opulent homes (see "Femmes Savantes and Salon Culture," page 773).

Architecture

Rococo appeared in France around 1700, primarily as a style of interior design. The French Rococo exterior was most often simple, or even plain, but Rococo exuberance took over the interior. The term derived from the French word *rocaille* ("pebble"), but it referred especially to the small stones and shells used to decorate grotto interiors. Shells or forms resembling shells were the principal motifs in Rococo ornamentation.

Salon de la Princesse. A typical French Rococo room is the Salon de la Princesse (FIG. 26-2) in the Hôtel de Soubise in Paris, designed by GERMAIN BOFFRAND (1667–1754) in collaboration with the painter CHARLES-JOSEPH NATOIRE (1700–1777) and the sculptor JEAN-BAPTISTE LEMOYNE (1704–1778). Parisian salons such as this one were the center of Rococo social life. They usurped the role that Louis XIV's Versailles palace (FIG. 25-26) played in the 17th century, when the Sun King set the tone for French culture. In the early 18th century, the centralized and grandiose palace-based culture of Baroque France gave way to a much more intimate and decentralized culture based in private homes.

The new architectural style mirrored this social and cultural shift. A comparison between the Salon de la Princesse and the Galerie des Glaces (FIG. 25-27) at Versailles reveals how Boffrand softened the strong architectural lines and panels of the earlier style into flexible, sinuous curves. The walls melt into the vault. Irregular painted shapes, topped by sculpture and separated by rocaille shells, replace the hall's cornices. Painting, architecture, and sculpture combine to form a single ensemble. The profusion of curving tendrils and sprays of foliage blend with the shell forms to give an effect of freely growing nature, suggesting that the designer permanently bedecked the Rococo room for a festival.

French Rococo interiors were lively total works of art. Exquisitely wrought furniture, enchanting small sculptures (FIG. 26-9A), ornamented mirror frames, crystal chandeliers, delightful ceramics and silver plates and goblets, small paintings, and decorative *tapestries* complemented the architecture, relief sculptures, and mural paintings. Unfortunately, the Salon de la Princesse has lost most of the moveable furnishings that once contributed so much to its total ambience. Visitors can nonetheless imagine how this and similar Rococo rooms—with their alternating gilded moldings, vivacious relief sculptures, and daintily colored ornamentation of

ROCOCO TO NEOCLASSICISM: THE 18TH CENTURY IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

1700–1725
- The Rococo style becomes the rage in the opulent townhouses of Paris
- Watteau creates a new painting genre—the fête galante

1725–1750
- Neumann adapts the intimate Rococo domestic style to ecclesiastical architecture
- Chardin rejects the frivolity of Rococo painting in favor of "natural" art
- Canaletto paints views of Venice as souvenirs of the Grand Tour of Italy

1750–1775
- The Enlightenment admiration for Greece and Rome prompts a Neoclassical revival in architecture
- During the Industrial Revolution, Wright celebrates scientific advances in dramatic paintings
- British builders use iron in bridge construction at Coalbrookdale

1775–1800
- Reynolds achieves renown for Grand Manner portraits
- Vigée Le Brun and Labille-Guiard gain admission to the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture
- David becomes the painter-ideologist of the French Revolution
- Jefferson promotes Neoclassicism as the official architectural style of the new American republic

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WRITTEN SOURCES

Femmes Savantes and Salon Culture

The feminine look of the Rococo style reflects the taste and social initiative of women, and to a large extent, women dominated the cultural sphere during the Rococo age. In the 18th century, aristocratic women—including Madame de Pompadour (1721–1764), mistress of Louis XV of France; Maria Theresa (1717–1780), archduchess of Austria and queen of Hungary and Bohemia; and Empresses Elizabeth (r. 1741–1762) and Catherine the Great (r. 1762–1796) of Russia—held some of the most influential positions in Europe. Female taste also was a defining factor in numerous smaller courts as well as in the private sphere.

In the early 1700s, Paris was the social capital of Europe, and the Rococo salon (FIG. 26-2) was the center of Parisian society. Wealthy, ambitious, and clever society hostesses competed to attract the most famous and accomplished people to their salons. These social gatherings centered on conversation spiced with wit and as quick and deft as a fencing match. Artifice reigned supreme, and participants considered enthusiasm and sincerity in bad taste.

The women who hosted these salons, whether in Paris or elsewhere in Europe (FIG. 26-3), referred to themselves as *femmes savantes* ("learned women"). Chief among them was Julie de Lespinasse (1732–1776), one of the most articulate, urbane, and intelligent Frenchwomen of the time. She held daily salons from five o'clock until nine in the evening. The memoirs of Jean-François Marmontel (1723–1799), published in 1827, documented the liveliness of these gatherings and the remarkable nature of this hostess.

> The circle was formed of persons who were not bound together. She [Julie de Lespinasse] had taken them here and there in society, but so well assorted were they that once [in her salon] they fell into harmony like the strings of an instrument touched by an able hand. Following out that comparison, I may say that she played the instrument with an art that came of genius; she seemed to know what tone each string would yield before she touched it; I mean to say that our minds and our natures were so well known to her that in order to bring them into play she had but to say a word. Nowhere was conversation more lively, more brilliant, or better regulated than at her house. It was a rare phenomenon indeed, the degree of tempered, equable heat which she knew so well how to maintain, sometimes by moderating it, sometimes by quickening it. The continual activity of her soul was communicated to our souls, but measurably; her imagination was the mainspring, her reason the regulator. Remark that the brains she stirred at will were neither feeble nor frivolous. . . . Her talent for casting out a thought and giving it for discussion to men of that class, her own talent in discussing it with precision, sometimes with eloquence, her talent for bringing forward new ideas and varying the topic—always with the facility and ease of a fairy . . . these talents, I say, were not those of an ordinary woman. It was not with the follies of fashion and vanity that daily, during four hours of conversation, without languor and without vacuum, she knew how to make herself interesting to a wide circle of strong minds.*
>
> *Jean-François Marmontel, *Memoirs of Marmontel* (1827). Translated by Brigit Patmore (London: Routledge, 1930), 270.

26-2 GERMAIN BOFFRAND, Salon de la Princesse, with paintings by CHARLES-JOSEPH NATOIRE and sculptures by JEAN-BAPTISTE LEMOYNE, Hôtel de Soubise, Paris, France, 1737–1740.

Rococo rooms such as this one, featuring sinuous curves, gilded moldings and mirrors, small sculptures and paintings, and floral ornamentation, were the centers of Parisian social and intellectual life.

flowers and garlands, all visually multiplied by their mirror reflections—must have harmonized with the chamber music played in them, with the elaborate costumes of satin and brocade, and with the equally elegant etiquette and sparkling wit of the people who graced them.

Amalienburg. The French Rococo style quickly spread beyond Paris. The Amalienburg, a small lodge that the French architect FRANÇOIS DE CUVILLIÉS (1695–1768) built in the park of the Nymphenburg Palace in Munich, is a prime example of Germany's adoption of the Parisian style. The most spectacular room in the

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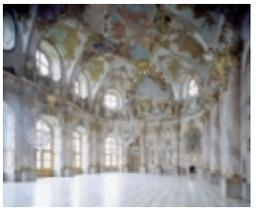
26-3 François de Cuvilliés, Hall of Mirrors, the Amalienburg, Nymphenburg Palace park, Munich, Germany, early 18th century.

Designed by a French architect, this circular hall in a German lodge displays the Rococo architectural style at its height, dazzling the eye with the organic interplay of mirrors, crystal, and stucco relief.

lodge is the circular Hall of Mirrors (fig. 26-3), a silver-and-blue ensemble of architecture, stucco relief, silvered bronze mirrors, and crystal. The hall dazzles the eye and showcases the full ornamental repertoire of the Rococo style at the height of its popularity. Silvery light, reflected and amplified by windows and mirrors, bathes the room and creates shapes and contours that weave rhythmically around the upper walls and the ceiling coves. Everything seems organic, growing, and in motion, an ultimate refinement of illusion with virtuoso flourishes created by the team of architects, artists, and artisans.

Vierzehnheiligen. Although some early-18th-century architects, such as Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723), continued to design churches incorporating Baroque and classical elements—for example, Karlskirche (fig. 26-3A) in Vienna—others, especially in Germany, eagerly adopted the Parisian Rococo style of domestic architecture for ecclesiastical architecture. One of the most splendid examples is the pilgrimage church of Vierzehnheiligen (Fourteen Saints; fig. 26-4) near Bad Staffelstein (map 25-1), which the German architect Balthasar Neumann (1687–1753) began as construction was about to be concluded on the grandiose palace (fig. 26-4A) he had designed in 1719 for the prince-bishops of Würzburg.

26-3A Fischer von Erlach, Karlskirche, Vienna, 1716–1737.



26-4A Neumann, Kaisersaal, Würzburg, 1719–1744.

Vierzehnheiligen's undulating facade (fig. 26-4) and curve-filled plan (fig. 26-5) and interior (fig. 26-6) reveal the influence of the great Italian Baroque architect Francesco Borromini (figs. 24-8, 24-9, 24-11, and 24-12). Neumann's plan, however, is even more complex than the plans of Borromini's churches in Rome. The German architect deliberately banished all straight lines. The composition, made up of tangent ovals and circles, achieves a quite different interior effect within the essential outlines of a traditional rectilinear basilican church with a nave, transept, and apse. Undulating space is in continuous motion, creating unlimited vistas

26-4 Balthasar Neumann, facade of the pilgrimage church of Vierzehnheiligen (looking east), near Bad Staffelstein, Germany, 1743–1772.

The facade of Neumann's pilgrimage church of Vierzehnheiligen (Fourteen Saints) features the undulating surfaces of Italian Baroque architecture, but its Rococo interior (fig. 26-6) lacks Baroque drama.

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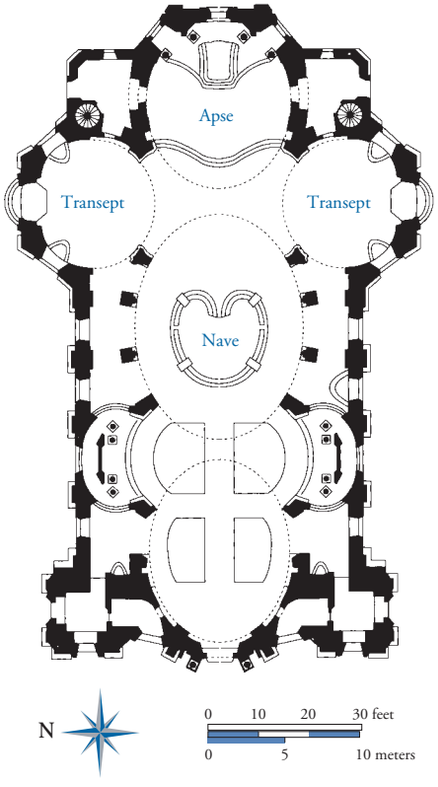

26-5 Balthasar Neumann, plan of the pilgrimage church of Vierzehnheiligen, near Bad Staffelstein, Germany, 1743–1772.

Vierzehnheiligen's plan features undulating lines and a dynamic composition of tangent ovals and circles. It is even more complex than Borromini's influential church plans (figs. 24-9 and 24-12).

26-6 Balthasar Neumann, interior of the pilgrimage church of Vierzehnheiligen (looking east), near Bad Staffelstein, Germany, 1743–1772.

Neumann adapted the intimate Rococo salon style to ecclesiastical architecture. Vierzehnheiligen's interior is light and delicate, whereas Italian Baroque church designs are heavy and dynamic.

that are bewildering in their variety and surprise effects, as is also true of the contemporaneous Wieskirche (Church of the Meadow; fig. 26-6A) by Dominikus Zimmermann (1685–1766). Numerous large windows in Vierzehnheiligen's richly decorated walls flood the interior with an even, bright, and cheerful light. The church's walls and vaults pulse, flow, and commingle as if they were ceaselessly in the process of being molded. The design's fluidity of line, the floating and hovering surfaces, the interwoven spaces, and the dematerialized masses combine to suggest a "frozen" counterpart to the intricacy of voices in a Baroque fugue by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750). The Bad Staffelstein pilgrimage church is a brilliant ensemble of architecture, painting, sculpture, and music that dissolves the boundaries among the arts.

26-6A Zimmermann, Wieskirche, Füssen, 1745–1754.

Painting and Sculpture

The unification of diverse artistic media that characterizes the Rococo style did not preclude the rise to prominence of painters of independent works. Chief among them were Antoine Watteau, François Boucher, and Jean-Honoré Fragonard in France.

Antoine Watteau. The painter whom scholars most closely associate with French Rococo is Antoine Watteau (1684–1721). Watteau was largely responsible for creating a specific type of Rococo painting genre called a *fête galante* ("gallant [outdoor] party"). Fête galante paintings depicted the outdoor entertainment or amusements of French high society. The premier example is Watteau's masterpiece (painted in two versions), *Pilgrimage to Cythera* (fig. 26-7), the painting that was Watteau's entry for admission to the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. In 1717, the fête galante was not an acceptable category for submission, but rather than reject Watteau's candidacy, the Academy created a new category to accommodate his entry.

At the turn of the 18th century, two competing doctrines sharply divided the membership of the French Royal Academy. Many members followed Nicolas Poussin (figs. 25-31, 25-32, and 25-32A) in teaching that form was the most important element in painting, whereas "colors in painting are as allurements for persuading the eyes."[1] Colors, argued Poussin's admirers, were additions for effect and not really essential. The other group took Rubens (figs. I-14, 25-2, 25-3, 25-4, and 25-4A) as its model and proclaimed the natural supremacy of color and the coloristic style as the artist's proper guide. Depending on which doctrine they supported, members of the French Academy were classified either as *Poussinistes* or *Rubénistes*. Watteau was Flemish, and Rubens's coloristic style heavily influenced his work. With Watteau in their ranks, the Rubénistes carried the day, establishing Rococo painting as the preferred style in early-18th-century France.

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26-7 Antoine Watteau, *Pilgrimage to Cythera,* 1717. Oil on canvas, 4′ 3″ × 6′ 4½″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Watteau's fête galante paintings depict the outdoor amusements of French upper-class society. The haze of color suited the new Rococo taste and was the hallmark of the Royal Academy's Rubénistes.

In *Pilgrimage to Cythera* (fig. 26-7), luxuriously costumed lovers make a "pilgrimage" to Cythera, the island of eternal youth and love, sacred to Aphrodite. (Some art historians think that the lovers are returning from Cythera rather than having just arrived. Watteau provided few clues to settle the question definitively.) The elegant figures move gracefully from the protective shade of a woodland park filled with playful cupids and voluptuous statuary. The poses of the figures, which blend elegance and sweetness, are hallmarks of Watteau's style, both in ambitious multifigure compositions such as *Pilgrimage to Cythera* and in single-figure studies such as *L'Indifférent* (fig. 26-7A).

26-7A Watteau, *L'Indifférent,* ca. 1716.

Watteau prepared his paintings using albums of drawings in which he sought to capture slow movement from difficult and unusual angles, searching for the smoothest, most poised, and most refined attitudes. As he experimented with nuances of posture and movement, Watteau also strove for the most exquisite shades of color difference, defining in a single stroke the shimmer of silk at a bent knee or the shine appearing on a glossy surface as it emerges from shadow. The haze of color, the subtly modeled shapes, the gliding motion, and the air of suave gentility tinged with nostalgia appealed greatly to Watteau's wealthy patrons, whom, even as he was dying from tuberculosis, he still depicted as carefree and at leisure in his most unusual painting, *Signboard of Gersaint* (fig. 26-7B).

26-7B Watteau, *Signboard of Gersaint,* 1721.

François Boucher. After Watteau's death brought his brilliant career to a premature end at age 36, François Boucher (1703–1770) rose to the dominant position in French painting, in large part because he was Madame de Pompadour's favorite artist. Although Boucher was an excellent portraitist, his success rested primarily on his canvases depicting shepherds, nymphs, and goddesses gracefully cavorting in shady glens engulfed in pink and sky-blue light. *Cupid a Captive* (fig. 26-8) presents a rosy pyramid of infant and female flesh set off against a cool, leafy background, with fluttering draperies both hiding and revealing the nudity of the figures. Boucher used the full range of Italian and French Baroque devices—the dynamic play of crisscrossing diagonals, curvilinear forms, and slanting recessions—to create his masterful composition. But he dissected powerful Baroque curves into a multiplicity of decorative flourishes, dissipating Baroque drama into sensual playfulness. Lively and lighthearted, Boucher's artful Rococo

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26-8 François Boucher, *Cupid a Captive,* 1754. Oil on canvas, 5′ 6″ × 2′ 10″. Wallace Collection, London.

Boucher was Madame de Pompadour's favorite artist. In this Rococo tableau, he painted a pyramid of rosy infant and female flesh and fluttering draperies set off against a cool, leafy background.

fantasies became mirrors in which his well-to-do French patrons could behold the ornamental reflections of their cherished pastimes.

Jean-Honoré Fragonard. Boucher's greatest student, Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806), was a first-rate colorist whose decorative skill almost surpassed his master's. An example of his manner can stand as characteristic not only of his work but also of the later Rococo in general. In *The Swing* (fig. 26-9), a young gentleman has convinced an unsuspecting older man (thought by some art historians to be a bishop) to swing the young man's

26-9 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Swing,* 1766. Oil on canvas, 2′ 8 5/8″ × 2′ 2″. Wallace Collection, London.

Fragonard's *Swing* exemplifies Rococo style. Pastel colors and soft light complement a scene in which a young lady flirtatiously kicks off her shoe at a statue of Cupid while her lover admires her from below.

pretty sweetheart higher and higher, while her lover (and the work's patron), in the lower left corner, stretches out to admire her from a strategic position on the ground. The young lady flirtatiously kicks off her shoe toward the little statue of Cupid. The infant love god holds his finger to his lips. The landscape emulates Watteau's—a luxuriant perfumed bower in a park that very much resembles a stage scene for comic opera. The glowing pastel colors and soft light convey, almost by themselves, the theme's sensuality.

Giambattista Tiepolo. *The Swing* is less than 3 feet in height, and Watteau's *L'Indifférent* (fig. 26-7A) is barely 10 inches tall. Even the figure-packed landscape *Pilgrimage to Cythera* (fig. 26-7) is only a little more than 4 feet high. Indeed, Rococo was a style best suited for small-scale works projecting a mood of sensual intimacy, and Rococo salons often featured tabletop sculptures, such as *Nymph and Satyr Carousing* (fig. 26-9A) by Claude Michel, called Clodion (1738–1814). But the intimate Rococo style could also be adapted for paintings of huge size, as the work of Giambattista Tiepolo (1696–1770) demonstrates. A Venetian, Tiepolo worked for patrons in Austria, Germany (fig. 26-4A), and Spain, as well as in Italy. He was a master of illusionistic ceiling decoration in the Baroque

26-9A Clodion, *Nymph and Satyr Carousing,* ca. 1780–1790.

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26-10 Giambattista Tiepolo, *Apotheosis of the Pisani Family*, ceiling painting in the Villa Pisani, Stra, Italy, 1761–1762. Fresco, 77′ 1″ × 44′ 3″.

A master of illusionistic ceiling painting in the Baroque tradition, Tiepolo adapted the bright and cheerful colors and weightless figures of small Rococo easel paintings to huge ceiling frescoes.

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tradition, but favored the bright, cheerful colors and relaxed compositions of Rococo easel paintings. In *Apotheosis of the Pisani Family* (fig. 26-10), a ceiling fresco in the Villa Pisani at Stra in northern Italy (map 25-1), Tiepolo depicted seemingly weightless figures fluttering through vast sunlit skies and fleecy clouds, their forms casting dark accents against the brilliant light of high noon. The painter elevated Pisani family members to the rank of gods in a heavenly scene recalling the ceiling paintings of Pozzo (fig. 24-24). But while retaining 17th-century illusionism in his works, Tiepolo softened the rhetoric and created pictorial schemes of great elegance and grace, unsurpassed for their sheer effectiveness as decor.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The aristocratic culture celebrated in Rococo art did not go unchallenged during the 18th century. Indeed, the feudal system that served as the foundation of social and economic life in Europe dissolved, and the rigid social hierarchies that provided the basis for Rococo art and patronage relaxed. By the end of the 18th century, revolutions had erupted in France and America. A major factor in these political, social, and economic changes was the intellectual movement known as the Enlightenment.

Philosophy and Science

Enlightenment thinkers rejected faith in favor of reason and championed an approach to the acquisition of knowledge based on empirical observation and scientific experimentation. Enlightenment-era science had roots in the work of René Descartes (1596–1650), Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), Isaac Newton (1642–1727), and Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716) in the 17th century. England and France were the principal centers of the Enlightenment, though its maxims influenced the thinking of intellectuals

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throughout Europe and in the American colonies. Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), and other American notables embraced its principles.

Newton and Locke. Of particular importance for Enlightenment thought was the work of Isaac Newton and John Locke (1632–1704) in England. In his scientific studies, Newton insisted on empirical proof of his theories and encouraged others to avoid metaphysics and the supernatural—realms that extended beyond the natural physical world. This emphasis on both tangible data and concrete experience became a cornerstone of Enlightenment thought. In addition, Newton's experiments revealed rationality in the physical world, and Enlightenment thinkers transferred that concept to the sociopolitical world by promoting a rationally organized society.

Locke, whose works acquired the status of Enlightenment gospel, developed these ideas further. According to Locke's "doctrine of empiricism," knowledge comes through sensory perception of the material world. From these perceptions alone, people form ideas. Locke asserted that human beings are born good, not cursed by Original Sin. The laws of nature grant them the natural rights of life, liberty, and property as well as the right to freedom of conscience. Government is by contract, and the purpose of government is to protect these rights. If and when government abuses these rights, the citizenry has the further natural right of revolution. Locke's ideas empowered people to take control of their own destinies.

Philosophes. The work of Newton and Locke also inspired many French intellectuals, or *philosophes*. These thinkers conceived of individuals and societies as parts of physical nature. They shared the conviction that the ills of humanity could be remedied by applying reason and common sense to human problems. They criticized the powers of Church and State as irrational limits placed on political and intellectual freedom. They were convinced that by accumulating and propagating knowledge, humanity could advance by degrees to a happier state than it had ever known. This conviction matured into the "doctrine of progress" and its corollary doctrine, the "perfectibility of humankind." Previous societies, for the most part, perceived the future as inevitable—the cycle of life and death. They believed that religious beliefs determined fate. The notion of progress—the systematic and planned improvement of society—first developed during the 18th century and still influences 21st-century Western thought.

Diderot. Animated by their belief in human progress and perfectibility, the philosophes took on the task of gathering knowledge and making it accessible to all who could read. Their program was, in effect, the democratization of knowledge. Denis Diderot (1713–1784) greatly advanced the Enlightenment's rationalistic and materialistic thinking. He became editor of the pioneering *Encyclopédie,* a compilation of articles written by more than a hundred contributors, including all the leading philosophes. The *Encyclopédie* was truly comprehensive (its formal title was *Systematic Dictionary of the Sciences, Arts, and Crafts*) and included all available knowledge—historical, scientific, and technical as well as religious and moral—and political theory. (The *Encyclopédie*'s 21st-century descendant is Wikipedia, which has a similar goal of collecting all that is known and making that knowledge universally available.) The first installment of Diderot's 35-volume illustrated encyclopedia appeared in 1751 and the last in 1780. Other Enlightenment authors produced different compilations of knowledge. Diderot's contemporary Georges-Louis Leclerc (1707–1788) undertook a kind of encyclopedia of the natural sciences. His *Natural History,* a monumental work of 44 volumes, was especially valuable for its zoological content. At the same time, Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778) established a system of plant classification.

The political, economic, and social consequences of this increase in knowledge and of the doctrine of progress were explosive. It is no coincidence that the French Revolution, the American Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution in England all occurred during this period. These upheavals precipitated yet other major changes, including the growth of cities and of an urban working class, and the expansion of colonialism as the demand for cheap labor and raw materials increased. This enthusiasm for growth gave birth to the doctrine of Manifest Destiny (see "Manifest Destiny," page 821)—the ideological justification for continued territorial expansion. Thus the Enlightenment ushered in a new way of thinking and affected historical developments worldwide.

Voltaire. François-Marie Arouet, better known as Voltaire (1694–1778), was the most representative figure—almost the personification—of the Enlightenment spirit. Voltaire was instrumental in introducing the ideas of Newton and Locke to the French intelligentsia. He hated, and attacked through his writings, the arbitrary despotic rule of kings, the selfish privileges of the nobility and the Church, religious intolerance, and, above all, the injustice of the French *ancien régime* (the "old order"). In his numerous books and pamphlets, which the authorities regularly condemned and burned, he protested against government persecution of the freedoms of thought and religion. Voltaire believed that people could never be happy until an enlightened society removed the traditional obstructions to the progress of the human mind. His personal and public involvement in the struggle against established political and religious authority gave authenticity to his ideas. Voltaire persuaded a whole generation that fundamental changes were necessary, paving the way for a revolution in France that he never intended, and probably would not have approved. For example, Voltaire did not believe that "all men are created equal," the credo of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Jefferson, and the American Declaration of Independence.

Industrial Revolution. The Enlightenment emphasis on scientific investigation and technological invention opened up new possibilities for human understanding of the world and for control of its material forces. Research into the phenomena of electricity and combustion, along with the discovery of oxygen and the power of steam, had enormous consequences. Steam power as an adjunct to, or replacement for, human and animal labor initiated a new era in world history. These and other technological advances—admiringly recorded in the paintings of Joseph Wright of Derby (1734–1797)—exemplified the Enlightenment notion of progress and gave birth to the Industrial Revolution (see "Joseph Wright of Derby and the Industrial Revolution," page 780). Most scholars mark the dawn of that technological revolution in the 1740s with the invention in England of steam engines for industrial production. By 1850, England could boast the world's first manufacturing economy. Within a century, the harnessed power of steam, coal, oil, iron, steel, and electricity, working in concert, transformed Europe. These scientific and technological advances also affected the arts, particularly through the invention of photography (see "Photography," page 842) and the use of new materials for constructing buildings.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Joseph Wright of Derby and the Industrial Revolution

The scientific advances of the Enlightenment era affected the lives of everyone, and most people responded enthusiastically to the wonders of the Industrial Revolution, such as the steam engine, which gave birth to the modern manufacturing economy and the prospect of a seemingly limitless supply of goods and services.

The fascination that science held for ordinary people as well as for the learned was a favorite subject of the English painter Joseph Wright of Derby. Wright studied painting near Birmingham (MAP 27-2), the center of the Industrial Revolution, and specialized in dramatically lit scenes showcasing modern scientific instruments and experiments. Characteristic examples of Wright's work are *An Experiment on a Bird in the Air-Pump* (FIG. 26-10A) and *A Philosopher Giving a Lecture on an Orrery* (FIG. 26-11). In the latter painting, a scholar demonstrates a mechanical model of the solar system called an *orrery,* in which each planet (represented by a metal orb) revolves around the sun (a lamp) at the correct relative velocity. Light from the lamp pours forth from in front of the boy silhouetted in the foreground to create shadows that heighten the drama of the scene. Curious children crowd close to the tiny orbs representing the planets within the curving bands indicating their orbits. An earnest listener makes notes, while the lone woman seated at the left and the two gentlemen at the right pay rapt attention. Scientific knowledge mesmerizes everyone in Wright's painting. The artist visually reinforced the fascination with the orrery by composing his image in a circular fashion, echoing the device's orbital design. The postures and gazes of all the participants and observers focus attention on the cosmic model. Wright scrupulously and accurately rendered every detail of the figures, the mechanisms of the orrery, and even the books and curtain in the shadowy background.

26-10A WRIGHT OF DERBY, *Experiment on a Bird,* 1768.

Wright's choice of subjects and realism in depicting them appealed to the great industrialists of his day, including Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795), who pioneered many techniques of mass-produced pottery, and Sir Richard Arkwright (1732–1792), whose spinning frame revolutionized the textile industry. Both men often purchased paintings by Wright featuring scientific advances. To them, the Derby artist's elevation of the theories and inventions of the Industrial Revolution to the plane of history painting was exciting and appropriately in tune with the new era of Enlightenment.

26-11 JOSEPH WRIGHT OF DERBY, *A Philosopher Giving a Lecture on an Orrery,* ca. 1763–1765. Oil on canvas, 4′ 10″ × 6′ 8″. Derby Museums and Art Gallery, Derby.

Wright specialized in dramatically lit paintings celebrating the modern scientific instruments of the Industrial Revolution. Here, a scholar demonstrates an orrery, a revolving model of the solar system.

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26-12 Abraham Darby III and Thomas F. Pritchard, iron bridge (looking northwest), Coalbrookdale, England, 1776–1779.

The first use of iron in bridge design was in this Severn River bridge. The Industrial Revolution brought engineering advances and new materials that permanently changed architectural construction.

Coalbrookdale Bridge. The first use of iron in bridge design was in the cast-iron bridge (fig. 26-12) built over the Severn River, near Coalbrookdale in England (map 27-1), where Abraham Darby III (1750–1789), one of the bridge's two designers, ran his family's cast-iron business. The Darby family had spearheaded the iron industry in England, and they vigorously supported the investigation of new uses for the material. The fabrication of cast-iron rails and bridge elements inspired Darby to work with architect Thomas F. Pritchard (1723–1777) in designing the Coalbrookdale Bridge. The cast-iron armature supporting the roadbed springs from stone pier to stone pier until it leaps the final 100 feet across the Severn River gorge. The style of the graceful center arc echoes the grand arches of Roman *aqueducts* (fig. 7-33). At the same time, the exposed structure of the bridge's cast-iron parts prefigured the skeletal use of iron and steel in the 19th century, when exposed structural armatures became expressive factors in the design of buildings such as the Crystal Palace (fig. 27-48) in England and the Eiffel Tower (fig. 28-40) in France.

"NATURAL" ART

The second key figure of the French Enlightenment, who was also instrumental in preparing the way ideologically for the French Revolution, was Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778).

Rousseau. Voltaire believed that the salvation of humanity lay in the advancement of science and the rational improvement of society. By contrast, Rousseau argued that the arts and sciences, society, and civilization in general had corrupted "natural man"—people in their primitive state. He was convinced that humanity's only salvation lay in a return to something like "the ignorance, innocence and happiness" of its original condition. According to Rousseau, human capacity for feeling, sensibility, and emotions came before reason: "To exist is to feel; our feeling is undoubtedly earlier than our intelligence, and we had feelings before we had ideas." Nature alone must be the guide: "All our natural inclinations are right." Fundamental to Rousseau's thinking was the notion that "Man by nature is good . . . he is depraved and perverted by society." He rejected the idea of progress, insisting that "our minds have been corrupted in proportion as the arts and sciences have improved."[2] Rousseau's elevation of feeling above reason as the most primitive—and hence the most "natural"—human expression led him to exalt as the ideal the peasant's simple life, with its honest and unsullied emotions.

Rousseau's views, popular and widely read, were largely responsible for the turning away from the Rococo sensibility in the arts and the formation of a taste for the "natural," as opposed to the artificial and frivolous.

Chardin. Reflecting Rousseau's values, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699–1779) painted quiet scenes of domestic life in the tradition of 17th-century Dutch genre scenes (figs. 25-19 and 25-19A). These subjects offered Chardin the opportunity to praise the simple goodness of ordinary people, especially women and young children, who in spirit, occupation, and environment lived far from corrupt society. In *Grace* (fig. 26-13), Chardin ushers the viewer into a modest room where a woman is setting a table before dinner. The mood of quiet attention is at one with the hushed lighting and mellow color and with the closely studied still-life accessories, whose worn surfaces tell their own humble domestic history. The viewer witnesses a moment of social instruction, when the woman and the older sister supervise the younger sister in the simple, pious ritual of giving thanks to God before a meal. The simplicity of the composition reinforces the subdued charm of this scene, with the three figures highlighted against the dark background. Chardin was the Enlightenment's poet of the commonplace and master of its nuances. A gentle sentiment prevails in all his pictures, an emotion not contrived and artificial but born of the painter's honesty, insight, and sympathy. Chardin's paintings had wide appeal, even in unexpected places. Louis XV, the royal personification of the Rococo in his life and tastes, once owned *Grace*. The painter was also a favorite of Diderot, the leading art critic of the day as well as the editor of the *Encyclopédie* (see "Diderot on Chardin and Boucher," page 782).

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Diderot on Chardin and Boucher

Denis Diderot was a pioneer in the field of art criticism as well as in the encyclopedic compilation of human knowledge. Between 1759 and 1781, he contributed reviews of the biennial Salon of the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture to the Parisian journal *Correspondance littéraire.* In his review of the 1763 Salon, Diderot had the following praise for Chardin's still lifes and for naturalism in painting.

> There are many small pictures by Chardin at the Salon, almost all of them depicting fruit with the accoutrements for a meal. This is nature itself. The objects stand out from the canvas and they are so real that my eyes are fooled by them. . . . In order to look at other people's paintings, I feel as though I need different eyes; but to look at Chardin's, I need only keep the ones nature gave me and use them properly. If I had painting in mind as a career for my child, I'd buy this one [and have him copy it]. . . . Yet nature itself may be no more difficult to copy. . . . O Chardin, it's not white, red or black pigment that you grind on your palette but rather the very substance of objects; it's real air and light that you take onto the tip of your brush and transfer onto the canvas. . . . It's magic, one can't understand how it's done: thick layers of color, applied one on top of the other, each one filtering through from underneath to create the effect. . . . Close up, everything blurs, goes flat and disappears. From a distance, everything comes back to life and reappears.*

1 in.

26-13 Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, *Grace,* 1740. Oil on canvas, 1′ 7″ × 1′ 3″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Chardin embraced naturalism and celebrated the simple goodness of ordinary people, especially families of ordinary means, who lived in a world far from the frivolous Rococo salons of the Parisian elite.

While Diderot lavished praise on some of the leading artists of his day, he wrote scathing reviews of others. He admired Chardin (FIG. 26-13) because his work was the antithesis of the Rococo manner in painting, which Diderot deplored. Here, for example, is what Diderot had to say about François Boucher (FIG. 26-8), who also exhibited in the Salon of 1763, and his younger protégés emulating his Rococo style:

> What a misuse of talent! How much time gone to waste! You could have had twice the effect for half the effort. . . . When one writes, does one have to write everything? And when one paints, does one have to paint everything? . . . This man is the ruination of all young apprentice painters. Barely able to handle a brush and hold a palette, they torture themselves stringing together infantile garlands, painting chubby crimson bottoms, and hurl themselves headlong into all kinds of follies which cannot be redeemed by originality, fire, tenderness nor by any magic in their models. For they lack all of these.†

*Translated by Kate Tunstall, in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory 1648–1815: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 604.

†Ibid., 603–604.

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1 ft.

26-14 Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Village Bride,* 1761. Oil on canvas, 3′ × 3′ 10½″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Greuze was a master of sentimental narrative, which appealed to a new audience that admired "natural" virtue. Here, in an unadorned room, a father blesses his daughter and her husband-to-be.

Jean-Baptiste Greuze. The sentimental narrative in art became the specialty of French painter Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805), whose most popular work, *Village Bride* (fig. 26-14), sums up the characteristics of the genre. The setting is an unadorned room in a rustic dwelling. In a notary's presence, the elderly father has passed his daughter's dowry to her youthful husband-to-be and blesses the pair, who gently take each other's arms. The old mother tearfully gives her daughter's arm a farewell caress, while the youngest sister melts in tears on the shoulder of the demure bride. An envious older sister broods behind her father's chair. Rosy-faced, healthy children play around the scene. The picture's story is simple—the happy climax of a rural romance. The picture's moral is just as clear—happiness is the reward of "natural" virtue.

Greuze produced this work at a time when the audience for art was expanding. The strict social hierarchy that provided the foundation for Rococo art and patronage gave way to a bourgeois economic and social system. The newly important middle class embraced art, and paintings such as *Village Bride* particularly appealed to ordinary hard-working people. They carefully analyzed each gesture and each nuance of sentiment and reacted with tumultuous enthusiasm. At the 1761 Salon of the Royal Academy, Greuze's picture received enormous attention. Diderot, who reviewed the exhibition for *Correspondance littéraire,* reported that it was difficult to get near the canvas because of the throngs of admirers.

1 ft.

26-15 Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, *Self-Portrait,* 1790. Oil on canvas, 8′ 4″ × 6′ 9″. Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence.

Vigée Le Brun was one of the few women admitted to the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. In this self-portrait, she depicted herself confidently painting the likeness of Queen Marie Antoinette.

Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun. Another manifestation of the "naturalistic" impulse in 18th-century French art was the emergence of a new more personal and less pretentious mode of portraiture. *Self-Portrait* (fig. 26-15) by Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun (1755–1842) is a characteristic example of the genre. The painter looks directly at viewers and pauses in her work to return their gaze. Although her mood is lighthearted and her costume's details echo the serpentine curve that Rococo artists and wealthy patrons loved, nothing about Vigée Le Brun's pose appears contrived. Hers is the self-confident, natural stance of a woman whose art has won her an independent role in society (see "Vigée Le Brun, Labille-Guiard, and the French Royal Academy," page 784). She portrayed herself in a close-up, intimate view at work on one of the many portraits (for example, fig. 26-15A) she painted of her most important patron, Queen Marie Antoinette (1755–1793).

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ART AND SOCIETY

Vigée Le Brun, Labille-Guiard, and the French Royal Academy

The two most successful woman artists in 18th-century France were Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun and Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. Although they shared the honor of admission to the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture and enjoyed royal patronage, their careers differed in some significant ways.

Vigée Le Brun (FIG. 26-15) began painting as a young girl under the tutelage of her father, Louis Vigée (1715–1767), a successful portrait painter. By the time she was 15, she had already received portrait commissions of her own. After her marriage to Jean-Baptiste Le Brun, a prominent Parisian art dealer, she began to attract wealthy and important clients, whom the couple entertained in salons at their fashionable home. Vigée Le Brun soon became the favorite painter of Queen Marie Antoinette, whose influence gained the 28-year-old artist admission to the Royal Academy in 1783. She eventually painted some 30 portraits of the queen, including FIG. **26-15A**. Vigée Le Brun was famous for the force and grace of her portraits of highborn ladies and royalty throughout Europe. Her induction into the Royal Academy was short-lived, however. After the French Revolution, the Academy rescinded her membership because women were no longer welcome. Nonetheless, Vigée Le Brun enjoyed continued success owing to her talent, wit, and ability to forge connections with those in power in the postrevolutionary period.

26-15A VIGÉE LE BRUN, *Marie Antoinette,* 1787.

Six years older than Vigée Le Brun, Labille-Guiard (FIG. 26-16) never achieved the renown enjoyed by her younger contemporary. She trained with François-Élie Vincent (1708–1790) and later with his son François-André Vincent (1746–1816), whom she married after her divorce from her first husband, Louis-Nicolas Guiard, a clerk. Like Vigée Le Brun, Labille-Guiard boasted royal patronage, but not of the same order. She became the official painter of the "mesdames"—the aunts of King Louis XVI (r. 1774–1792)—in 1787, four years after she was admitted to the French painting academy on the same day as Vigée Le Brun. The two painters captured the remaining two of four memberships reserved for women, a quota that Labille-Guiard worked hard to lift after gaining admission. The two artists took opposite sides during the French Revolution, and Labille-Guiard painted portraits of some of the uprising's leaders, including one of the few known portraits of Maximilien Robespierre (1758–1794), the most prominent figure calling for the death of the king.

26-16 ADÉLAÏDE LABILLE-GUIARD, *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils,* 1785. Oil on canvas, 6′ 11″ × 4′ 11½″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of Julia A. Berwind, 1953).

In contrast to Vigée Le Brun (FIG. 26-15), Labille-Guiard, her older contemporary, depicted herself as a teacher. Her father's bust portrait serves as her muse in a reversal of traditional gender roles.

Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. After Vigée Le Brun, the second most important woman painter in Paris at the end of the 18th century was ADÉLAÏDE LABILLE-GUIARD (1749–1803). A comparison between Labille-Guiard's *Self-Portrait with Two Pupils* (FIG. **26-16**) and Vigée Le Brun's *Self-Portrait* (FIG. 26-15) is revealing. It underscores the two women's different self-images. The younger painter presented herself at work on a portrait of her most important patron, Marie Antoinette. The subject of the canvas that Labille-Guiard is painting is unknown. Her self-portrait focuses instead on her role as a teacher. She had as many as nine women in her studio at one time. Here, two apprentices—dressed more simply than their elegantly clad instructor—cluster behind her, one intently studying the painting in progress, the other, like Labille-Guiard, gazing at the viewer. The three figures form a classical pyramidal composition, echoed by the easel. In the ∨ formed by the two triangles is a portrait bust of the artist's father. Appropriately for this early feminist, her muse is a man, a reversal of the traditional gender roles.

William Hogarth. Across the Channel, a truly English style of painting emerged with WILLIAM HOGARTH (1697–1764), who satirized the lifestyle of the newly prosperous middle class with comic zest. Traditionally, the British imported painters from the Continent—Holbein, Rubens, and Van Dyck among them. Throughout his career, Hogarth waged a lively campaign against the English feeling of dependence on, and inferiority to, these artists. Although Hogarth would have been the last to admit it, his own painting

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1 ft.

26-17 William Hogarth, *Breakfast Scene,* from *Marriage à la Mode,* ca. 1745. Oil on canvas, 2′ 4″ × 3′. National Gallery, London.

Hogarth won fame for his paintings and prints satirizing English life with comic zest. This is one of a series of six paintings in which he chronicled the marital immoralities of the moneyed class.

owed much to the work of his contemporaries in France, the Rococo artists. Yet his subject matter, frequently moral in tone, was distinctively English. This was the great age of English satirical writing, and Hogarth—who admired that literary genre and included Henry Fielding (1707–1754), the author of *Tom Jones* (1749), among his closest friends—clearly saw himself as translating satire into the visual arts.

Hogarth's favorite device was to make a series of narrative paintings and prints in a sequence similar to chapters in a book or scenes in a play, following a character or group of characters in their encounters with some social evil. *Breakfast Scene* (FIG. 26-17), from *Marriage à la Mode,* is one in a sequence of six paintings satirizing the marital immoralities of the moneyed classes in England. In it, the marriage of a young viscount is just beginning to founder. The husband and wife are tired after a long night spent in separate pursuits. While the wife stayed at home for an evening of cards and music-making, her young husband had been away from the house enjoying the company of another woman. He thrusts his hands deep into the empty money-pockets of his breeches, while his wife's small dog sniffs inquiringly at the other woman's lacy cap protruding from his coat pocket. A steward, his hands full of unpaid bills, rolls his eyes in despair at the actions of his noble master and mistress.

The couple's home is luxurious, but Hogarth filled it with witty clues to the dubious taste of its occupants. For example, the row of pious religious paintings on the upper wall of the distant room concludes with a curtained canvas undoubtedly depicting an erotic subject. According to the custom of the day, ladies could not view this discreetly hidden painting, but at the pull of a cord, the master and his male guests could enjoy a tableau of cavorting figures. In *Breakfast Scene,* as in all his work, Hogarth proceeded as a novelist might, elaborating on his subject with carefully chosen detail, the discovery of which heightens the comedy.

Hogarth designed the marriage series to be published as a set of engravings. The prints of this and his other moral narratives were so popular that unscrupulous entrepreneurs produced unauthorized versions almost as fast as the artist created his originals. The popularity of these prints speaks not only to the appeal of their subjects but also to the democratization of knowledge and culture fostered by the Enlightenment and to the exploitation of new printing technologies that opened the way for a more affordable and widely disseminated visual culture.

1 ft.

26-18 Thomas Gainsborough, *Mrs. Richard Brinsley Sheridan,* 1787. Oil on canvas, 7′ $2\frac{5}{8}$″ × 5′ $\frac{5}{8}$″. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Andrew W. Mellon Collection).

In this life-size portrait, Gainsborough sought to match Mrs. Sheridan's natural beauty with that of the landscape. The rustic setting, soft-hued light, and feathery brushwork recall Rococo painting.

Thomas Gainsborough. A contrasting blend of "naturalistic" representation and Rococo setting is found in *Mrs. Richard Brinsley Sheridan* (FIG. 26-18), a characteristic portrait by British painter Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788). Gainsborough presented Mrs. Sheridan as a lovely, informally dressed woman seated in a rustic landscape faintly reminiscent of Watteau (FIG. 26-7) in its soft-hued light and feathery brushwork. Gainsborough's goal was

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ART AND SOCIETY

Grand Manner Portraiture

The Enlightenment concept of "nobility," especially in the view of Rousseau, referred to character, not to aristocratic birth. In an era of revolutions, the virtues of courage, patriotism, and self-sacrifice assumed greater importance. Having risen from humble origins, the modern military hero joined the well-born aristocrat as a major patron of portrait painting.

Sir Joshua Reynolds was one of those who often received commissions to paint likenesses of key participants in the great events of the latter part of the 18th century. Indeed, he soon specialized in what became known as *Grand Manner portraiture,* echoing the term Nicolas Poussin used in the previous century to describe his paintings of "grand subjects" such as "battles, heroic actions, and divine things" (see "Poussin's Notes for a Treatise on Painting," page 762). Although clearly depicting specific individuals, Grand Manner portraits elevated the sitters by conveying refinement and elegance. Reynolds and other painters communicated a person's grace and class through certain standardized conventions, such as the large scale of the figure relative to the canvas, the controlled pose, the landscape setting, and the low horizon line.

Reynolds painted *Lord Heathfield* (FIG. 26-19) in 1787. The sitter was a perfect subject for a Grand Manner portrait—a burly, ruddy English officer, the commandant of the fortress at Gibraltar. Heathfield had doggedly defended the British stronghold against the Spanish and French, and later received the honorary title Baron Heathfield of Gibraltar. Here, he holds the huge key to the fortress, the symbol of his victory. He stands in front of a curtain of dark smoke rising from the battleground, flanked by one cannon pointing ineffectively downward and another whose tilted barrel indicates that it lies uselessly on its back. Reynolds portrayed the features of the general's heavy, honest face and his uniform with unidealized realism. But Lord Heathfield's posture and the setting dramatically suggest the heroic themes of battle, courage, and patriotism.

26-19 SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, *Lord Heathfield,* 1787. Oil on canvas, 4′ 8″ × 3′ 9″. National Gallery, London.

In this Grand Manner portrait, Reynolds depicted the English commander who defended Gibraltar. As is typical for this genre, Heathfield stands in a dramatic pose, and his figure takes up most of the canvas.

to match the natural, unspoiled beauty of the landscape with that of his sitter. Mrs. Sheridan projects an air of ingenuous sweetness. Her dark brown hair blows freely in the slight wind. Gainsborough planned to give the picture a more pastoral air by adding several sheep, but he did not live long enough to complete the canvas. Even without the sheep, the painting clearly expresses Gainsborough's deep interest in the landscape setting. Although he won greater fame in his time for his portraits, as did his slightly older contemporary, SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS (1723–1792; see "Grand Manner Portraiture," above), Gainsborough had begun as a landscape painter and always preferred painting scenes of nature to depicting individual likenesses.

Benjamin West. Some American artists also became well known in England. BENJAMIN WEST (1738–1820), born in Pennsylvania on what was then the colonial frontier, traveled on the Continent early in life to study art and then went to England, where he met with almost immediate success. One of the 36 founding members of the Royal Academy of Arts, West succeeded Reynolds as its president. He became official painter to George III (r. 1760–1801) and retained that position even during the strained period of the American Revolution.

In *Death of General Wolfe* (FIG. 26-20), West depicted the mortally wounded young English commander just after his defeat of the French in the decisive battle of Quebec in 1759, which gave Canada to Great Britain. Because his subject was a recent event, West clothed his characters in contemporary costumes and included a rare glimpse for his English audience of a Native American warrior, depicted as an exemplary "noble savage." However, West blended this realism of detail with the grand tradition of history painting by arranging his figures in a complex and theatrically ordered composition. His modern hero dies among grieving officers on the field of victorious battle in a way that suggests the death of a saint. (The composition, in fact, derives from paintings of the lamentation over the dead Christ; compare FIG. 20-13.) West wanted to present this hero's death in the service of the state as a martyrdom charged with religious emotions. His innovative and highly effective combination of the conventions of traditional heroic painting with a look of modern realism influenced history painting well into the 19th century.

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1 ft.

26-20 Benjamin West, *Death of General Wolfe,* 1771. Oil on canvas, 4′ 11½″ × 7′. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (gift of the Duke of Westminster, 1918).

West's major innovation was to blend contemporary subject matter and costumes with the grand tradition of history painting. Here, the painter likened General Wolfe's death to that of a martyred saint.

John Singleton Copley. American artist John Singleton Copley (1738–1815) matured as a painter in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Like West, Copley later settled in England, where he absorbed the fashionable English portrait style. But unlike Grand Manner portraits, Copley's *Paul Revere* (fig. 26-21), painted before the artist left Boston, conveys a sense of directness and faithfulness to visual fact that marked the taste for honesty and plainness noted by many late-18th- and early-19th-century visitors to America. When Copley painted his likeness, Revere was not yet the familiar hero of the American Revolution. In this picture, he is a working professional silversmith. The setting is plain, the lighting clear and revealing. Revere sits in his shirtsleeves, holding a teapot in progress. He pauses and turns his head to look the observer straight in the eyes. The painter treated the reflections in the polished wood of the tabletop with as much care as he did Revere's figure, his tools, and the teapot resting on its leather graver's pillow. The informality and the sense of the moment link this painting to contemporaneous English and Continental portraits. But the spare style and the emphasis on the sitter's down-to-earth character differentiate this American work from its European counterparts.

The Grand Tour. The 18th-century public also sought "naturalness" in artists' depictions of landscapes. Documentation of specific places became popular, in part due to growing travel opportunities and expanding colonialism. These depictions of geographic settings also served the needs of the many scientific expeditions mounted during the century and satisfied the desires of genteel tourists for mementos of their journeys. By this time, a "Grand Tour" of the major sites of Europe was an essential part of every well-bred person's education (see "The Grand Tour and Veduta Painting," page 788). Those who embarked on a tour of the Continent wished to return with souvenirs to help them remember their experiences and impress those at home with the wonders they had seen. The English were especially eager collectors of travel pictures.

1 ft.

26-21 John Singleton Copley, *Paul Revere,* ca. 1768–1770. Oil on canvas, 2′ 11⅛″ × 2′ 4″. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (gift of Joseph W., William B., and Edward H. R. Revere).

In contrast to Grand Manner portraits (fig. 26-19), Copley's *Paul Revere* emphasizes the subject's down-to-earth character, differentiating this American work from its European counterparts.

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ART AND SOCIETY

The Grand Tour and Veduta Painting

Although travel throughout Europe was commonplace in the 18th century, Italy became an especially popular destination. This "pilgrimage" of aristocrats, the wealthy, politicians, and diplomats from France, England, Germany, Flanders, Sweden, Russia, Poland, Hungary, and even the British colonies in America came to be known as the Grand Tour. Italy's allure fueled the revival of classicism, and the popularity of Neoclassical art drove the fascination with Italy. One British observer noted, "All our religion, all our arts, almost all that sets us above savages, has come from the shores of the Mediterranean."*

The Grand Tour was not simply leisure travel. The education available in Italy to the inquisitive mind made such a tour an indispensable experience for anyone who wished to make a mark in society. The Enlightenment had made knowledge of ancient Greece and Rome imperative for elite members of society, and a steady stream of Europeans and Americans traveled to Italy in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. These tourists aimed to increase their knowledge of literature, the visual arts, architecture, theater, music, history, customs, and folklore. Given this extensive agenda, it is not surprising that a Grand Tour could take a number of years to complete. Most travelers moved from location to location, following an established itinerary, not unlike the pilgrimages to saints' shrines in the late Middle Ages (see "Pilgrimage Roads in France and Spain," page 350).

The British were the most avid travelers, and they conceived the initial "tour code," including required itineraries to important destinations. Although they designated Rome early on as the primary destination in Italy, visitors traveled as far north as Venice and as far south as Naples. Eventually, Paestum, Sicily, Florence, Siena, Pisa, Genoa, Milan, Bologna, and Parma (MAP 25-1) all appeared in guidebooks and in paintings. Joseph Wright of Derby (FIGS. 26-10A and 26-11) and Joseph Mallord William Turner (FIG. 27-22) were among the many British artists to undertake a Grand Tour.

Many visitors to Italy returned home from their Grand Tour with a painting by Antonio Canaletto, the leading painter of scenic views of Venice. It must have been very cheering on a gray winter afternoon in England to look up and see a sunny, panoramic *veduta* such as that in Canaletto's *Riva degli Schiavoni, Venice* (FIG. 26-22), with its cloud-studded sky, picturesque water traffic, and well-known Venetian landmarks painted in scrupulous perspective and minute detail. (The Riva degli Schiavoni is the quay on the Grand Canal east of the Doge's Palace [FIG. 14-23], where large ships from Dalmatia [Schiavonia] used to moor. The Doge's Palace is at the left in Canaletto's *Riva degli Schiavoni.*)

Canaletto usually made drawings "on location" to take back to his studio and use as sources for paintings. To help make the on-site drawings true to life, he often used a *camera obscura,* as Vermeer (FIG. 25-18B) did before him. These instruments were darkened chambers (some of them virtually portable closets) with optical lenses fitted into a hole in one wall through which light entered to project an inverted image of the subject onto the chamber's opposite wall. The artist could trace the main details from this image for later reworking and refinement. The camera obscura enabled artists to create convincing representations incorporating the variable focus of objects at different distances. Canaletto's paintings give the impression of capturing every detail, with no "editing." In fact, he presented each site according to Renaissance perspective conventions and exercised great selectivity about which details to include and which to omit to make a coherent and engagingly attractive veduta.

*Cesare de Seta in Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, eds., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery, 1996), 13.

26-22 Antonio Canaletto, *Riva degli Schiavoni, Venice,* ca. 1735–1740. Oil on canvas, 1′ 6½″ × 2′ ⅞″. Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo.

Canaletto was the leading painter of Venetian vedute, which were treasured souvenirs for 18th-century travelers visiting Italy on the Grand Tour. He used a camera obscura for his on-site drawings.

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Venetian artists in particular found it profitable to produce paintings of the most characteristic *vedute* ("scenic views") of their city to sell to British visitors. Chief among those artists was Antonio Canaletto (1697–1768), whose works—for example, *Riva degli Schiavoni, Venice* (fig. 26-22)—English tourists avidly acquired as evidence of their visit to Italy's magical city of water.

Pompeo Batoni. Some of those who embarked on the Grand Tour sought to obtain a more personalized memento of their cultural journey than a portrait of Venice: a portrait of themselves by the leading Italian portrait painter of the day, Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787). Born in Lucca and trained in Rome, where he eventually became curator of the papal art collection, Batoni received commissions for "Grand Tour portraits" from prosperous visitors of various nationalities, but especially from Englishmen. More than 150 of Batoni's portraits of English gentlemen with Italian backdrops are in museums and private collections today.

Batoni's portrait (fig. 26-23) of Charles John Crowle (1738–1811) is a characteristic example of the type of portrait his patrons found so appealing. Crowle, a second-generation member of the British Parliament from Yorkshire, stands in a palatial columnar study with a view of the Roman countryside behind him. Attended by his faithful dog, Crowle is surrounded by abundant evidence of his learning and passion for antiquity. Most prominent are copies of reduced size of the *Farnese Hercules* (fig. 5-66) in Naples and of a statue of the sleeping Ariadne in the Vatican. Statuettes such as these were among the prized souvenirs that Grand Tourists brought back home together with models of antique monuments, such as the Colosseum (fig. 7-36) and the Column of Trajan (fig. 7-1). On the elegant table on which Crowle leans is an astronomical model (compare fig. 26-11) and an unrolled plan of Saint Peter's (fig. 24-4). In 1764, after returning from Rome, Crowle was elected a member of the Society of Dilettanti, a prestigious group of British connoisseur-admirers of Greco-Roman art.

26-23 **Pompeo Batoni, *Charles John Crowle,* ca. 1761–1762. Oil on canvas, 8′ $1\frac{5}{8}$″ × 5′ $7\frac{3}{4}$″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.**

Prosperous visitors to Rome on the Grand Tour frequently commissioned Batoni to paint their portraits. Here, an English gentleman poses with items attesting to his learning and passion for antiquity.

NEOCLASSICISM

As Batoni's *Charles John Crowle* (fig. 26-23) vividly illustrates, the popularity of the Grand Tour among the cultural elite of Europe both reflected and contributed to the heightened interest in classical antiquity during the Enlightenment. Exposure to the art treasures of Italy was also a major factor in the rise of Neoclassicism as the leading art movement of the late 18th century (see "The Enlightenment, Angelica Kauffman, and Neoclassicism," page 771). Further whetting the public appetite for classicism were the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii, which the volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius had buried (see "The Excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii," page 790, and fig. 26-24).

Gibbon and Winckelmann. The enthusiasm for classical antiquity also permeated much of the scholarship of the time. In the late 18th century, the ancient world increasingly became the focus of academic research. For example, a visit to Rome inspired Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) to begin his monumental *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* which appeared between 1776 and 1788. The classical world, and specifically classical art, became the lifelong focus of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), whom scholars widely recognize as the first modern art historian (see "Winckelmann and the History of Classical Art," page 791).

Painting

The Enlightenment ideal of a participatory and knowledgeable citizenry lay behind the revolt against the French monarchy in 1789, but the immediate causes of the French Revolution were France's economic crisis and the clash between the Third Estate (bourgeoisie, peasantry, and urban and rural workers) and the First and Second Estates (the clergy and nobility, respectively). They fought over the issue of representation in the legislative body, the Estates-General, which had been convened to discuss taxation as a possible solution to the economic problem. However, the ensuing revolution revealed the instability of the monarchy and of French society's traditional structure and resulted in a succession of republics and empires as France struggled to find a way to adjust to these fundamental changes.

Jacques-Louis David. The artist who became the painter-ideologist of the French Revolution was Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825). Mengs (fig. 26-24A) and Kauffman (fig. 26-1) were pioneers of Neoclassical painting, but David is generally considered

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ART AND SOCIETY

The Excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii

Among the developments stimulating the European fascination with classical antiquity was the initiation of systematic excavations at two ancient Roman towns on the Bay of Naples—Herculaneum and Pompeii—in 1738 and 1748, respectively. The violent eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 had buried both sites under volcanic ash and lava (see "An Eyewitness Account of the Eruption of Mount Vesuvius," page 191), protecting the towns for hundreds of years from looters and the ravages of nature. Consequently, the 18th-century excavations yielded an unprecedented number of well-preserved paintings, sculptures, vases, and other household objects, and provided rich evidence for reconstructing Roman art and life. As a result, European ideas about and interest in ancient Rome expanded tremendously, and collectors eagerly acquired as many of the newly discovered antiquities as they could. One of the most avid collectors was Sir William Hamilton (1731–1803), British consul in Naples from 1764 to 1800, who purchased numerous painted vases and other ancient objects soon after taking up his post. Because Hamilton sold his collection to the British Museum in 1772, the finds at Pompeii and Herculaneum quickly became available to a wide public.

"Pompeian" style soon became all the rage in England. The premier example of the revival of ancient Roman mural painting in 18th-century European townhouses is the room in Osterley Park House in Middlesex called the Etruscan Room (FIG. 26-24). Designed by ROBERT ADAM (1728–1792) in 1761, the Etruscan Room's wall paintings were inspired by Roman frescoes of the Third and early Fourth Styles of Roman mural painting (FIGS. 7-21 and 7-34A). Adam took decorative motifs (medallions, urns, vine scrolls, *sphinxes,* and *tripods*) from Roman art and arranged them sparsely within broad, neutral spaces and slender margins, as in his elegant, linear ancient models. This new Neoclassical style almost entirely displaced the curvilinear Rococo (FIGS. 26-2 and 26-3) in the homes of the wealthy after midcentury. Adam was also an archaeologist, and he had explored and written accounts of the ruins of Diocletian's palace (FIG. 7-73) at Split. Kedleston House in Derbyshire, Adelphi Terrace in London, and a great many other structures he designed show how the Split palace influenced his work.

The archaeological finds from Herculaneum and Pompeii also affected garden and landscape design, fashion, and tableware. Clothing based on classical garb became popular, and Emma, Lady Hamilton (1761–1815), Sir William's wife, often gave lavish parties dressed in delicate Greek-style drapery (compare the costumes in Angelica Kauffman's *Mother of the Gracchi*; FIG. 26-1).

Neoclassical taste also determined the pottery designs of John Flaxman (1755–1826) and Josiah Wedgwood. Wedgwood established his reputation in the 1760s with his creamware inspired by ancient art. He eventually produced vases based on what were then thought to be Etruscan designs (they were, in fact, imported Greek vases deposited in Etruscan tombs) and expanded his business by producing small busts of classical figures as well as cameos and medallions adorned with copies of antique reliefs and statues.

26-24 ROBERT ADAM, Etruscan Room, Osterley Park House, Middlesex, England, begun 1761. Reconstructed in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Inspired by archaeological discoveries at Herculaneum and Pompeii in the mid-18th century, Adam incorporated decorative motifs from Roman mural painting into his Etruscan Room at Osterley Park.

the greatest Neoclassical master. A distant relative of François Boucher (FIG. 26-8), David followed the Rococo painter's style until a period of study in Rome won the younger man over to the classical art tradition. David favored academic teachings about using the art of the ancients and of the great Renaissance masters as models. He, like Winckelmann, rebelled against Rococo style as an "artificial taste" and exalted the "perfect form" of Greek art (see "Jacques-Louis David on Greek Style and Public Art," page 792).

Oath of the Horatii. David embraced the Enlightenment belief that the subject of an artwork should have a moral. Paintings representing noble deeds in the past could inspire virtue in the present. A milestone painting in the Neoclassical master's career, *Oath of the Horatii* (FIG. 26-25), depicts a story from pre-Republican Rome, the heroic phase of Roman history. The topic was not too obscure for David's audience. Pierre Corneille (1606–1684) had retold this story of conflict between love and patriotism, recounted by the ancient

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WRITTEN SOURCES

Winckelmann and the History of Classical Art

In 1755, Johann Joachim Winckelmann published his groundbreaking *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture.* In this treatise, the German scholar unequivocally designated Greek art as the most perfect to come from human hands. For Winckelmann, classical art was far superior to the "natural" art of his day.

> Good taste, which is becoming more prevalent throughout the world, had its origins under the skies of Greece. . . . The only way for us to become great . . . is to imitate the ancients. . . . In the masterpieces of Greek art, connoisseurs and imitators find not only nature at its most beautiful but also something beyond nature, namely certain ideal forms of its beauty. . . . A person enlightened enough to penetrate the innermost secrets of art will find beauties hitherto seldom revealed when he compares the total structure of Greek figures with most modern ones, especially those modeled more on nature than on Greek taste.*

In his later *History of Ancient Art* (1764), Winckelmann carefully described major works of classical art and positioned each one within a huge inventory organized by subject, style, and period. Before Winckelmann, art historians had focused on biography, following Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Pietro Bellori in the 16th and 17th centuries (see "Giorgio Vasari's *Lives,*" page 648, and "Giovanni Pietro Bellori on Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio," page 722). Winckelmann thus initiated one modern art historical method thoroughly in accord with Enlightenment ideas of ordering knowledge: a system of description and classification that provided a pioneering model for the understanding of stylistic evolution.

As was the norm at that time, Winckelmann's familiarity with classical art derived predominantly from Roman works and Roman copies of Greek art in Italy. Yet Winckelmann was instrumental in bringing to scholarly attention the differences between Greek and Roman art. Thus he paved the way for more thorough study of the distinct characteristics of the art and architecture of these two cultures.

Winckelmann's influence extended beyond the world of scholarship. He also was instrumental in promoting Neoclassicism as a major stylistic movement in late-18th-century painting. He was, for example, the scholar who advised his countryman Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–1779) on classical iconography when Mengs painted *Parnassus* (fig. 26-24A), the fresco that many art historians regard as the first Neoclassical painting. It predates Angelica Kauffman's *Mother of the Gracchi* (fig. 26-1) by almost a quarter century.

26-24A Mengs, *Parnassus,* 1761.

*Translated by Elfriede Heyer and Roger C. Norton in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory 1648–1815: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 451–453.

Roman historian Livy, in a play performed in Paris several years earlier. According to the story, the leaders of the warring cities of Rome and Alba decided to resolve their conflicts in a series of encounters waged by three representatives from each side. The Romans chose as their champions the three Horatius brothers, who had to face the three sons of the Curatius family from Alba. A sister of the Horatii, Camilla, was the bride-to-be of one of the Curatius sons, and the wife of the youngest Horatius was the sister of the Curatii. David's painting shows the Horatii as they swear on their swords, held high by their father, to win or die for Rome, oblivious to the anguish and sorrow of the Horatius women.

1 ft.

26-25 **Jacques-Louis David, *Oath of the Horatii,* 1784. Oil on canvas, 10′ 10″ × 13′ 11″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.**

David was the Neoclassical painter-ideologist of the French Revolution. This huge canvas celebrating ancient Roman patriotism and sacrifice features statuesque figures and classical architecture.

Oath of the Horatii exemplifies the Neoclassical style. Not only was the subject a narrative of patriotism and sacrifice excerpted from Roman history, but the painter depicted the story according to the principles of classical art. The action unfolds in a shallow space much like a stage setting, defined by a severely simple architectural framework (compare fig. 26-1). David deployed his statuesque and carefully modeled figures across the space,

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ARTISTS ON ART

Jacques-Louis David on Greek Style and Public Art

Jacques-Louis David was the leading Neoclassical painter in France at the end of the 18th century. He championed a return to Greek style and the painting of inspiring heroic and patriotic subjects. In 1796, he made the following statement to his pupils:

> I want to work in a pure Greek style. I feed my eyes on antique statues, I even have the intention of imitating some of them. The Greeks had no scruples about copying a composition, a gesture, a type that had already been accepted and used. They put all their attention and all their art on perfecting an idea that had been already conceived. They thought, and they were right, that in the arts the way in which an idea is rendered, and the manner in which it is expressed, is much more important than the idea itself. To give a body and a perfect form to one's thought, this—and only this—is to be an artist.*

David also strongly believed that paintings depicting noble events in ancient history, such as his *Oath of the Horatii* (FIG. 26-25), would serve to instill patriotism and civic virtue in the public at large in post-revolutionary France. In November 1793, he wrote:

> [The arts] should help to spread the progress of the human spirit, and to propagate and transmit to posterity the striking examples of the efforts of a tremendous people who, guided by reason and philosophy, are bringing back to earth the reign of liberty, equality, and law. The arts must therefore contribute forcefully to the education of the public. . . . The arts are the imitation of nature in her most beautiful and perfect form. . . . [T]hose marks of heroism and civic virtue offered the eyes of the people [will] electrify the soul, and plant the seeds of glory and devotion to the fatherland.†

*Translated by Robert Goldwater and Marco Treves, eds., *Artists on Art,* 3d ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958), 206.
†Ibid., 205.

close to the foreground, in a manner recalling Greco-Roman relief sculpture. The rigid, angular, and virile forms of the men on the left effectively contrast with the soft curvilinear shapes of the distraught women on the right. This juxtaposition visually pits the virtues that Enlightenment leaders ascribed to men, such as courage, patriotism, and unwavering loyalty to a cause, against the emotions of love, sorrow, and despair expressed by the women in the painting. The French viewing audience perceived such emotionalism as characteristic of the female nature. The message was clear and of a type readily identifiable to the prerevolutionary French public.

The picture created a sensation at its first exhibition in Paris in 1785. Although David had painted it under royal patronage and did not intend the painting as a revolutionary statement, *Oath of the Horatii* aroused his audience to patriotic zeal. Neoclassicism soon became the semiofficial artistic style of the French Revolution.

Death of Marat. When the revolution broke out in 1789, David threw in his lot with the Jacobins, the radical and militant revolutionary faction. He accepted the role of de facto minister of propaganda, organizing political pageants and ceremonies requiring rolling scenery, costumes, and sculptural props. David believed that art could play an important role in educating the public and that dramatic paintings emphasizing patriotism and civic virtue would prove effective as rallying calls. However, rather than continuing to create artworks focused on scenes from antiquity, David began to portray events from the French Revolution itself.

In 1793, David painted *Death of Marat* (FIG. 26-26), which he wanted not only to serve as a record of an important episode in the struggle to overthrow the monarchy but also to provide inspiration and encouragement to the revolutionary forces. The painting commemorates the assassination that year of Jean-Paul Marat (1743–1793), an influential writer who was David's friend. The artist depicted the martyred revolutionary still holding a quill pen in his right hand after Charlotte Corday (1768–1793), a member of a rival political faction, stabbed him to death while Marat was immersed in a bathtub as he worked. (Marat suffered from a painful skin disease and required frequent medicinal baths.) His "desk" was a board placed across the tub with a wood stand next to it for his writing materials. David presented the scene with directness and clarity. The cold neutral space above Marat's figure slumped in the tub produces a chilling oppressiveness. The painter vividly placed all narrative

26-26 JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID, *Death of Marat,* 1793. Oil on canvas, 5′ 5″ × 4′ 2½″. Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

David depicted the revolutionary Marat as a tragic martyr, stabbed to death in his bath. Although the painting displays Neoclassical severity, its convincing realism conveys pain and outrage.

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26-27 Jacques-Germain Soufflot, Panthéon (Sainte-Geneviève; looking northeast), Paris, France, 1755–1792.

Soufflot's Panthéon is a testament to the Enlightenment admiration for Greece and Rome. It combines a portico based on an ancient Roman temple with a colonnaded dome and a Greek-cross plan.

details in the foreground—the knife, the wound, the blood, the letter with which Corday gained entrance—to sharpen the sense of pain and outrage. David masterfully composed the painting to present Marat as a tragic martyr who died in the service of the revolution. Indeed, the writing stand, which bears the words "To Marat, David," resembles a tombstone, and David based Marat's figure on the dead Christ in Michelangelo's *Pietà* (fig. 22-12) in Saint Peter's in Rome. The reference to Christ's martyrdom made the painting a kind of "altarpiece" for the new civic "religion," inspiring the French people with the saintly dedication of their slain leader.

Architecture and Sculpture

Architects in the Enlightenment era also formed a deep admiration for the Greco-Roman past. Fairly early in the 18th century, they began to turn away from the theatricality and ostentation of Baroque design, still evident in grandiose structures such as Blenheim Palace (fig. 26-1A) in England and Karlskirche (fig. 26-3A) in Austria, as well as from the delicate flourishes of Rococo salons (figs. 26-2 and 26-3), palaces (fig. 26-4A), and churches (figs. 26-4 and 26-6A). The style they instead embraced offered a more streamlined antique look.

Panthéon. The Parisian church of Sainte-Geneviève (fig. 26-27), now the Panthéon, designed by Jacques-Germain Soufflot (1713–1780) stands as testament to the revived interest in classical architecture. The Roman ruins at Baalbek in Syria, especially the gigantic colonnade of the temple of Jupiter, provided much of the inspiration for Soufflot's Neoclassical church. The columns, reproduced with studied archaeological precision, stand out from walls that are severely blank, except for a repeated garland motif near the top. The colonnaded dome, a Neoclassical version of the domes of Saint Peter's (fig. 22-25) in Rome, the Église du Dôme (fig. 25-30) in Paris, and Saint Paul's (fig. 25-38) in London, rises above a Greek-cross plan. Both the dome and the vaults rest on an interior grid of towering Corinthian columns, as if the portico's colonnade continued within. Although the whole effect, inside and out, is Roman, the structural principles employed were essentially Gothic. Soufflot was one of the first 18th-century builders to apply the logical engineering of Gothic cathedrals (see "High Gothic Cathedrals," page 389) to modern buildings. With few exceptions, however, such as Strawberry Hill (fig. 26-27A), owned and largely designed by Horace Walpole (1717–1797), the revival of interest in the Gothic architectural style did not take hold until the following century (figs. 27-44 and 27-44A).

26-27A Walpole, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, 1749–1777.

St Martin-in-the-Fields. The appeal of classical architecture extended well beyond French borders. The popularity of the Greek and Roman cultures was due not only to their association with morality, rationality, and integrity but also to their connection to political systems ranging from Athenian democracy to Roman imperial rule. Thus parliamentary England joined revolutionary France in embracing Neoclassicism. In England, Neoclassicism's appeal also was due to its clarity and simplicity. These characteristics provided a stark contrast to the complexity and opulence of Baroque art, then associated with the flamboyant rule of absolute monarchy. In English architecture, the preference for a simple and rational style derived indirectly from the authority of the ancient Roman architect Vitruvius (see "Vitruvius's *Ten Books on Architecture*," page 204) through Andrea Palladio (figs. 22-54 and 22-56) in the 16th century and Inigo Jones (fig. 25-37) in the 17th.

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26-28 James Gibbs, St Martin-in-the-Fields, London, England, 1722–1726.

An eclectic mix of a classical-temple-inspired body with a pediment-capped porch of Corinthian columns and an Italian Baroque bell tower, St Martin's is an early example of the Neoclassical style in architecture.

In 1722, decades before Soufflot began work on the Panthéon in Paris, James Gibbs (1682–1754), a Scottish architect, designed the church of St Martin-in-the-Fields (fig. 26-28) in London. The church, which replaced earlier churches on the same site dating back to the early 13th century, is dedicated to Saint Martin of Tours. It takes its name from its rural location at the time, although today it stands at the northeastern corner of Trafalgar Square, one of the most important and most congested public spaces in the modern city. Gibbs's design is an eclectic combination of a Palladian version of an ancient Roman temple and an Italian Baroque bell tower. Gibbs, like Fischer von Erlach (fig. 26-3A) in Austria, worked with the architect Carlo Fontana (1634–1714) in Rome and was highly influenced by the work of Sir Christopher Wren (fig. 25-38). St Martin-in-the-Fields has a classically inspired porch of Corinthian columns (six across the front and two at the sides) capped by a pediment. The body of the church is rectangular, with two stories of arcuated windows corresponding to the five bays and two stories of the interior nave. Although the combination of disparate elements, especially the placement of a tall church steeple on top of a Roman temple, was widely criticized at the time, Gibbs's design influenced many later churches in England and America.

Chiswick House. Begun only three years after the start of construction of St Martin-in-the-Fields is another major monument of English Neoclassical architecture: Chiswick House (fig. 26-29) on the outskirts of London, designed by Richard Boyle (1695–1753), earl of Burlington, with the help of William Kent (ca. 1686–1748). An important impetus for the eager embrace of the Neoclassical style by British architects during the early 18th century was the publication in 1715 of Colin Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*—three volumes of engravings of ancient buildings, prefaced by a denunciation of the Italian Baroque style and high praise for Palladio and Jones. Chiswick House is a free variation on the theme of Palladio's Villa Rotonda (fig. 22-54). The exterior design provided a clear alternative to the colorful splendor of Versailles (fig. 25-26). In its simple symmetry, unadorned planes, right angles, and precise proportions, Chiswick House looks very classical and rational. But the Palladian-style villa's setting within informal gardens, where a charming irregularity of layout and freely growing uncropped foliage dominate the scene, balances the classical severity and rationality of the architecture. Just as the owners of English villas cultivated irregularity in the landscaping surrounding their homes (figs. 26-31 and 26-32), they sometimes preferred interiors ornamented in a style more closely related to Rococo decoration. At Chiswick House, the interior design creates a luxurious Baroque foil to the stern symmetry of the exterior and the plan.

Palladian classicism prevailed in English architecture until about 1760, when it began to evolve into a more archaeologically faithful Neoclassicism. Playing a pivotal role in the shift from a dependence on Renaissance examples to the emulation of ancient

26-29 Richard Boyle and William Kent, Chiswick House (looking northwest), near London, England, begun 1725.

For this English villa, Boyle and Kent emulated the simple symmetry and unadorned planes of the Palladian architectural style. Chiswick House is a free variation on the Villa Rotonda (fig. 22-54).

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Hagley Park and English Picturesque Gardens

When James Stuart and Nicholas Revett published the first volume of *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762, they brought Greek architecture to the attention of European architects and patrons as a style related to, but distinct from, the Roman architecture of Italy that had inspired Renaissance and Neoclassical builders alike. Stuart and Revett firmly—and accurately—characterized Roman architecture as a "derivative" building tradition.

Notwithstanding the popularity of the Grand Tour (see "The Grand Tour," page 758), travel to Greece was hazardous in the 18th century. Greece was then in Muslim hands as part of the Ottoman Empire, and few Europeans had any firsthand knowledge of Greek monuments. James Stuart and Nicholas Revett spent four years visiting Greece in the early 1750s, and their preference for Greek architecture was based on an intimate familiarity with ancient Greek temples. When Stuart received the commission to design a miniature Greek temple (FIG. 26-30) for Hagley Park in Worcestershire, he used as his model the fifth-century BCE Doric temple in Athens known as the Theseion—that is, a temple dedicated to Theseus. (It is really a temple honoring the Greek god Hephaistos.) Stuart's Doric temple is consequently much more severe (and authentic) than any other 18th-century Neoclassical building in Europe based on Roman or Renaissance designs.

The Temple of Theseus was not, however, the first Neoclassical *folly* (the contemporary term for the small buildings that Enlightenment-era patrons constructed on the grounds of their private estates) at Hagley Park. In 1747, George, the first Lord Lyttleton (1709–1773), secretary to the Prince of Wales and briefly the Chancellor of the Exchequer, commissioned JOHN PITT (1706–1787) to erect a small Ionic rotunda (FIG. 26-31) at the summit of a hill down which flows a cascading stream of water installed by his landscape architect. It is an early example of one of English architects' most significant contributions to the history of architecture: the *picturesque garden,* a garden designed in accord with the Enlightenment taste for the "natural." This approach to landscape architecture was in strong opposition to the formality and symmetry of Continental gardens such as those of the palace at Versailles (FIG. 25-26), which expressed the French monarch's power to impose rational order on untamed nature. Lyttleton's Hagley Park was universally admired in England and abroad, and garnered the praise of, among others, Alexander Pope and Horace Walpole, and attracted visits by two American presidents, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Despite their "unordered" appearance, 18th-century English gardens, like Chinese gardens (see "Planning an Unplanned Garden," page 1065), were carefully planned. But unlike Chinese gardens, English gardens of the Enlightenment era often made allusions to classical antiquity, satisfying the demands of their patrons to surround themselves with mementos of the Grand Tour they had undertaken in their youth. Lyttleton, in fact, placed wood boards throughout Hagley Park with quotations from the ancient Roman poets Horace and Vergil (FIG. 8-15) extolling life in the country.

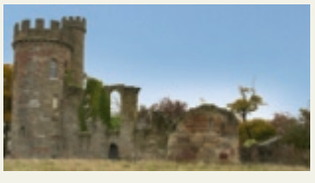
26-30 JAMES STUART, Temple of Theseus (looking north), Hagley Park, Worcestershire, England, 1758.

Most Neoclassical architects used Roman buildings in Italy and France as models. Stuart, who spent four years in Greece, based his Doric portico on a fifth-century BCE temple in Athens.

26-31 JOHN PITT, rotunda and cascade (looking east), Hagley Park, Worcestershire, England, 1747.

Pitt's Ionic rotunda is a Neoclassical "folly" that stands at the summit of a hill down which flows a cascading stream of water. Hagley Park is an early example of an English "picturesque" garden.

In addition to the Temple of Theseus and the Ionic rotunda, Lord Lyttleton also commissioned SANDERSON MILLER (1716–1780) to build a ruined medieval castle (FIG. 26-31A) on the grounds of his estate. Like Walpole's Strawberry Hill (FIG. 26-27A), Miller's castle at Hagley Park is an early example of a renewed interest in medieval architecture. Both buildings foreshadow the pronounced break from Neoclassicism and new interest in the exotic that characterized the early-19th-century style that historians of art and architecture call *Romanticism*—discussed in the next chapter.



26-31A MILLER, medieval castle, Hagley Park, 1747.

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26-32 Henry Flitcroft and Henry Hoare, the park at Stourhead, England, 1743–1765.

Flitcroft's design for Hoare's Wiltshire estate included a replica of the Pantheon overlooking an artificial lake, and a grotto alluding to Aeneas's journey to the Underworld from Lake Avernus.

models was the publication in 1762 of the first volume of *Antiquities of Athens* by two British painters and architects, James Stuart (1713–1788) and Nicholas Revett (1720–1804). Indeed, the purest expression of Greek-inspired architecture in 18th-century England was Stuart's design for the Temple of Theseus (fig. 26-30) at Hagley Park. The setting of the Hagley portico was anything but Neoclassical, however (see "Hagley Park and English Picturesque Gardens," page 795).

Stourhead Park. Another early masterpiece of the picturesque garden genre of 18th-century English architecture is the park at Stourhead (fig. 26-32), designed by Henry Flitcroft (1697–1769) in collaboration with the property's owner, Henry Hoare (1705–1785), the son of a wealthy banker. Hoare's country estate in Wiltshire overlooked a lush valley in which Flitcroft created an irregularly shaped artificial lake by damming up the Stour River. Around it, he placed a winding path leading to and from a grotto adorned with statues of a river god and a nymph. The twisting road and the grotto conjured for Hoare the voyage of Aeneas and the entrance to the Underworld in Virgil's *Aeneid,* required reading (in the original Latin) for any properly educated British gentleman. Flitcroft also placed around Hoare's version of Lake Avernus a bridge with five arches modeled on Andrea Palladio's bridge at Vicenza, and pavilions that are free variations on famous classical buildings, including the Pantheon (fig. 7-49) in Rome and the Temple of Venus (fig. 7-71) at Baalbek, which at Stourhead became a Temple of Apollo (fig. 26-32A). Flitcroft sited all the structures strategically to create vistas resembling those in the paintings of Claude Lorrain (fig. 25-33), beloved by those who had completed a Grand Tour. In fact, the view reproduced here (fig. 26-32) of Flitcroft's Pantheon beyond the Palladian bridge on the far side of the lake at Stourhead specifically emulates Claude's 1672 *Landscape with Aeneas at Delos* in the National Gallery in London (not illustrated), in turn inspired by the *Aeneid.* Still, consistent with the eclectic tastes of 18th-century patrons, Hoare's park also contains Chinese bridges, a Turkish tent, and a Gothic tower.

26-32A Flitcroft, Temple of Apollo, Stourhead Park, 1765.

Thomas Jefferson. Because the appeal of Neoclassicism was due in part to the values with which it was associated—morality, idealism, patriotism, and civic virtue—it is not surprising that in the new American republic, Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) spearheaded a movement to adopt Neoclassicism as the national architectural style. Jefferson—economist, educational theorist, and gifted amateur architect, as well as statesman (see "Thomas Jefferson, Patron and Practitioner," page 797)—admired Palladio immensely and read carefully the Italian architect's *Four Books of Architecture.* Later, while minister to France, he studied 18th-century French classical architecture and city planning and visited the Maison Carrée (fig. 7-32), an ancient Roman temple at Nîmes. After his European sojourn, Jefferson decided to completely remodel Monticello (fig. 26-33), his home near Charlottesville, Virginia, which he originally had designed in a different style. The

26-33 Thomas Jefferson, Monticello, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1770–1806.

Jefferson led the movement to adopt Neoclassicism as the architectural style of the United States. Although built of local materials, his Palladian Virginia home recalls Chiswick House (fig. 26-29).

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THE PATRON'S VOICE

Thomas Jefferson, Patron and Practitioner

Thomas Jefferson's advocacy of Neoclassicism as the architectural style of the newly independent United States of America was an extension of the Enlightenment belief in the perfectibility of human beings and in the power of art to help achieve that perfection. An accomplished architect in his own right (FIGS. 26-33 and 26-34), as president, Jefferson personally selected Benjamin Latrobe (1764–1820) to complete the commission for the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., specifying that Latrobe use a Roman style. Jefferson's choice reflected in part his admiration for the beauty of the Roman buildings he had seen in Europe and in part his association of those buildings with an idealized Roman republican government and, through that, with the democracy of ancient Greece. As early as 1791, as the first secretary of state under President George Washington, Jefferson expressed his preference for the future design of the Capitol in a letter to Pierre Charles L'Enfant (1754–1825), whom Washington had asked to prepare a plan for the new national capital on the Potomac River.

> Whenever it is proposed to prepare plans for the Capitol, I should prefer the adoption of some one of the models of antiquity, which have had the approbation of thousands of years.*

In his own designs for public buildings, Jefferson also looked to Rome for models. He modeled the State Capitol in Richmond, Virginia, on the Maison Carrée (FIG. 7-32), which he described in 1786 as "the most perfect and precious remain of antiquity in existence."† For the University of Virginia, which he founded, Jefferson turned to the Pantheon (FIG. 7-49). The Rotunda (FIG. 26-34) is the centerpiece of Jefferson's "academical village" in Charlottesville. It sits on an elevated platform at one end of a grassy quadrangle ("the Lawn"), framed by Neoclassical pavilions and colonnades—just as temples in Roman fora (FIGS. 7-12 and 7-44) stood at one short end of a colonnaded square. Each of the 10 pavilions (5 on each side) resembles a small classical temple. No two are exactly alike. Jefferson experimented with variations of all the different classical orders in his pavilions. He had thoroughly absorbed the principles of classical architecture, and clearly delighted in borrowing motifs from major buildings. Jefferson was no mere copyist, however. His designs were highly original—and, in turn, frequently emulated. As president and patron, he put his stamp on the character of Washington, D.C., forever.

*Letter of Thomas Jefferson to the commission overseeing the plans for Washington, D.C., January 26, 1786, quoted in Leland M. Roth, ed., *America Builds: Source Documents in American Architecture and Planning* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 29.

†Letter of Thomas Jefferson to Madame de Tessé, March 20, 1787, quoted in Harry Francis Mallgrave, ed., *Architectural Theory, Volume I: An Anthology from Vitruvius to 1870* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006), 427.

26-34 THOMAS JEFFERSON, Rotunda and Lawn (looking north), University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1819–1826.

Modeled on the Pantheon (FIG. 7-49), Jefferson's Neoclassical Rotunda sits like a temple in a Roman forum on an elevated platform overlooking the colonnaded Lawn of the University of Virginia.

final version of Monticello reveals the influence of Palladio's Villa Rotonda (FIG. 22-54) and of Chiswick House (FIG. 26-29), but the materials Jefferson used are traditional Virginia wood and brick. The single-story structure has an octagonal dome set above the central drawing room behind a pediment-capped columnar porch. It sits on a wooded plot of land with mountain vistas all around. (Monticello means "hillock" or "little mountain" in Italian.) The setting fulfilled another of Jefferson's goals: to build for himself a country villa inspired by the ones described by the first-century Roman author Pliny, who died during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 (see "An Eyewitness Account of the Eruption of Mount Vesuvius," page 191).

Jean-Antoine Houdon. Neoclassicism also became the preferred style for public sculpture in the new American republic. When members of the Virginia legislature wanted to erect a life-size marble statue of Virginia-born George Washington (1732–1799), they awarded the commission to the leading French Neoclassical sculptor of the late 18th century, JEAN-ANTOINE HOUDON (1741–1828). Houdon had already carved a bust portrait of

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26-35 **Jean-Antoine Houdon, *George Washington,* 1788–1792. Marble, 6′ 2″ high. State Capitol, Richmond.**

Houdon portrayed Washington in contemporary garb, but he incorporated the Roman fasces and Cincinnatus's plow in the statue, because Washington similarly had returned to his farm after his war service.

26-36 **Horatio Greenough, *George Washington,* 1840. Marble, 11′ 4″ high. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.**

In this posthumous portrait, Greenough likened Washington to a god by depicting him seminude and enthroned in the manner of Phidias's Olympian statue of Zeus, king of the Greek gods.

Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) when Franklin was America's ambassador to France. Houdon's portrait of Washington (fig. 26-35) is the sculptural equivalent of a painted Grand Manner portrait (fig. 26-19). But although Washington wears 18th-century garb, the statue makes overt reference to the Roman Republic. The "column" on which Washington leans is a bundle of rods with an ax attached—the ancient Roman *fasces,* an emblem of authority—used much later as the emblem of Mussolini's Fascist government in 20th-century Italy. ("Fascist" derives from "fasces.") The 13 rods symbolize the 13 original states. The plow behind Washington alludes to Cincinnatus, a *patrician* of the early Roman Republic who was elected *dictator* during a time of war and resigned his position as soon as victory had been achieved in order to return to his farm. Washington wears the badge of the Society of the Cincinnati (visible beneath the bottom of his waistcoat), an association founded in 1783 for officers in the revolutionary army who had resumed their peacetime roles. Tellingly, Washington no longer holds his sword in Houdon's statue.

Horatio Greenough. After his death, Washington gradually took on almost godlike stature as the "father of his country." In 1840, the U.S. Congress commissioned American sculptor Horatio Greenough (1805–1852) to create a statue (fig. 26-36) of the country's first president for the Capitol. Greenough used Houdon's portrait as his model for the head, but he portrayed Washington as seminude and enthroned, as Phidias depicted Zeus in the famous lost statue he made for the god's temple at Olympia in ancient Greece. The colossal statue—Washington is more than 11 feet tall, seated—is a supreme example of the Neoclassical style, but it did not win favor with either the public or the Congress that commissioned it. Although no one ever threw Greenough's statue into the Potomac River, as one congressman suggested, the legislators never placed it in its intended position beneath the Capitol dome. In fact, by 1840, the Neoclassical style itself was no longer in vogue. The leading artists of Europe and America had already embraced the new "Romantic" style examined in the next chapter.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Rococo to Neoclassicism: The 18th Century in Europe and America

Rococo

- In the early 18th century, the centralized and grandiose palace-based culture of Baroque France gave way to the much more intimate Rococo culture based in the townhouses of Paris. There, aristocrats and intellectuals gathered for witty conversation in salons featuring delicate colors, sinuous lines, gilded mirrors, elegant furniture, and small paintings and sculptures.
- The leading Rococo painter was Antoine Watteau, whose usually small canvases feature light colors and elegant figures in ornate costumes moving gracefully through lush landscapes. His fête galante paintings depict the outdoor amusements of French high society.
- Watteau's successors included François Boucher and Jean-Honoré Fragonard, who carried on the Rococo style late into the 18th century. In Italy, Giambattista Tiepolo adapted the Rococo manner to huge ceiling frescoes in the Baroque tradition.

Boffrand, Salon de la Princesse, 1737–1740

The Enlightenment

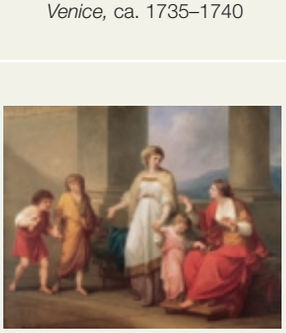
- By the end of the 18th century, revolutions had overthrown the monarchy in France and achieved independence for the British colonies in America. A major factor was the Enlightenment, a new way of thinking critically about the world independently of religion and tradition.
- The Enlightenment promoted scientific questioning of all assertions and embraced the doctrine of progress, exemplified by the Industrial Revolution, which began in England in the 1740s. The paintings of Joseph Wright of Derby celebrated the scientific inventions of the Enlightenment era.
- The Enlightenment also made knowledge of ancient Rome essential for the cultured elite, and Europeans and Americans in large numbers undertook a Grand Tour of Italy. Among the most popular souvenirs of the Grand Tour were Antonio Canaletto's cityscapes of Venice rendered in precise Renaissance perspective with the aid of a camera obscura.
- Rejecting the idea of progress, Rousseau, one of the leading French intellectuals, argued for a return to natural values and exalted the simple, honest life of peasants. His ideas had a profound impact on such artists as Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin and Jean-Baptiste Greuze, who painted sentimental narratives about rural families.
- The taste for naturalism also led to the popularity of portrait paintings with landscape backgrounds, a specialty of Thomas Gainsborough, and to a reawakening of interest in realism. Benjamin West represented the protagonists in his history paintings wearing contemporary costumes.

Wright, *A Lecture on an Orrery,* ca. 1763–1765

Canaletto, *Riva degli Schiavoni, Venice,* ca. 1735–1740

Neoclassicism

- The Enlightenment revival of interest in Greece and Rome, which spurred systematic excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii, also gave rise in the late 18th century to the artistic movement known as Neoclassicism, which incorporated the subjects and styles of ancient art.
- One pioneer of the new style was Angelica Kauffman, who often chose subjects drawn from Roman history for her paintings. Jacques-Louis David, who exalted classical art as "the imitation of nature in her most beautiful and perfect form," also favored ancient Roman themes. Painted on the eve of the French Revolution, *Oath of the Horatii,* set in a severe classical hall, served as an example of patriotism and sacrifice.
- Architects also eagerly embraced the Neoclassical style. Ancient Roman and Italian Renaissance structures inspired Jacques-Germain Soufflot's Panthéon in Paris and Richard Boyle's Chiswick House near London. A Greek temple in Athens was the model for James Stuart's Temple of Theseus at Hagley Park.
- In the United States, Thomas Jefferson adopted the Neoclassical style in his designs for Monticello and the University of Virginia. He championed Neoclassicism as the official architectural style of the new American republic because it represented for him idealism, patriotism, and civic virtue.



Kauffman, *Mother of the Gracchi,* ca. 1785

Stuart, Temple of Theseus, 1758

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◀**27-1a** Foreshadowing Romanticism, Gros carefully recorded the exotic people, costumes, and architecture of Jaffa, including the distinctive Islamic striped horseshoe arches of the mosque-hospital.

▶**27-1b** Napoleon, fearless among the plague-stricken, reaches out to touch one man's sores. Gros portrayed the French general as Christlike, implying that he possessed miraculous power to heal the sick.

◀**27-1c** Among the dying whom Napoleon has come to comfort is a kneeling nude man with left arm extended. His posture recalls that of the dead Christ in Michelangelo's emotional *Pietà* (FIG. 22-20).

1 ft.

27-1 **ANTOINE-JEAN GROS, *Napoleon Visiting the Plague-Stricken in Jaffa,* 1804. Oil on canvas, 17′ 5″ × 23′ 7″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.**

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ROMANTICISM, REALISM, PHOTOGRAPHY: EUROPE AND AMERICA, 1800 TO 1870

27

FRAMING THE ERA

Napoleon in Jaffa

At the opening of the 19th century, many French artists produced artworks glorifying Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821), since 1799 first consul of the French Republic and from 1804 to 1815, emperor of the French. One of those artists was Antoine-Jean Gros (1771–1835), a pupil of Jacques-Louis David (figs. 26-25 and 26-26), Napoleon's favorite painter. In *Napoleon Visiting the Plague-Stricken in Jaffa* (fig. 27-1), the artist, on commission from Napoleon, recorded an incident during an outbreak of the bubonic plague in the course of the general's Syrian campaign of 1799. This fearsome disease struck Muslim and French forces alike, and to quell the growing panic and hysteria, on March 11, 1799, Napoleon himself visited the Jaffa mosque, which had been converted into a hospital for those who had contracted the dreaded disease. Gros depicted Napoleon's staff officers covering their noses against the stench of the place, whereas Napoleon, amid the dead and dying, is fearless and in control. He comforts those still alive, who are clearly awed by his presence and authority. Indeed, by depicting the French leader having removed his glove to touch the sores of a French plague victim, Gros implied that Napoleon possessed the miraculous power to heal.

The composition recalls scenes of the doubting Thomas touching Christ's wound (fig. 12-9B). Here, however, Napoleon is not Saint Thomas but a Christlike figure tending to the sick, as in Rembrandt's *Hundred-Guilder Print* (fig. 25-16), which Gros certainly knew. The French painter also based the despairing seated Arab figure at the lower left on the comparable figure (one of the damned) in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (fig. 22-19). The kneeling nude Frenchman with extended arm at the right recalls the dead Christ in Michelangelo's late *Pietà* (fig. 22-20).

The action in *Napoleon in Jaffa* unfolds against the exotic backdrop of the horseshoe arches and Moorish arcades of the mosque-hospital's courtyard (compare fig. 10-11). On the left are Muslim doctors distributing bread and ministering to plague-stricken Arabs in the shadows. On the right, in radiant light, are Napoleon and his soldiers in their splendid tailored uniforms. David had used this polarized compositional scheme and an arcaded backdrop to great effect in his *Oath of the Horatii* (fig. 26-25), and Gros emulated those features in this painting, but replaced the shallow space of David's Roman house with a panorama of Jaffa. The younger artist's use of brighter colors and looser brushstrokes, and his fascination with the exoticism of the Muslim world, also represented a departure from his teacher's Neoclassicism. This, along with Gros's emphasis on death, suffering, and an emotional rendering of the scene, presaged core elements of the artistic movement that would soon displace Neoclassicism—*Romanticism*.

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POLITICAL, INDUSTRIAL, AND ARTISTIC REVOLUTIONS

The revolution of 1789 initiated a new era in France, but the overthrow of the monarchy also opened the door for Napoleon Bonaparte to exploit the resulting disarray and establish a different kind of monarchy with himself at its head. In November 1799, after serving in various French army commands and leading major campaigns in Italy and Egypt, Napoleon assumed a newly created position: first consul of the French Republic, a title with clear and intentional links to the ancient Roman Republic.

During the next 15 years, the ambitious general gained control of almost all of continental Europe in name or through alliances (MAP 27-1). In May 1804, for example, he became king of Italy. Later that year, the pope journeyed to Paris for Napoleon's coronation as emperor of the French (FIG. 27-3). In 1812, however, Napoleon launched a disastrous invasion of Russia that ended in retreat, and in 1815 he suffered a devastating defeat at the hands of the British at Waterloo in present-day Belgium. Forced to abdicate the imperial throne, Napoleon went into exile on the island of Saint Helena in the South Atlantic, where he died six years later.

After Napoleon's death, the political geography of Europe changed dramatically (MAP 27-2), but in many ways the more significant changes during the first half of the 19th century were technological and economic. The Industrial Revolution caused a population boom in European cities, and railroads spread to many parts of the Continent, facilitating the transportation of both goods and people.

Transformation also occurred in the art world. The century opened with Neoclassicism still supreme, but by 1870, Romanticism and Realism in turn had captured the imagination of artists and public alike. New construction techniques had a major impact on architectural design, and the invention of photography revolutionized picture making of all kinds.

MAP 27-1 The Napoleonic Empire in 1812.

ROMANTICISM, REALISM, PHOTOGRAPHY: EUROPE AND AMERICA, 1800 TO 1870

1800–1815

- Napoleon appoints David as First Painter of the Empire and brings Italian Neoclassical sculptor Canova to Paris
- Vignon models La Madeleine, Napoleon's Neoclassical "temple of glory," on ancient Roman temples
- David's students Gros, Girodet, and Ingres form a bridge between Neoclassicism and Romanticism

1815–1840

- Romanticism is the leading art movement in Europe. Delacroix and other painters favor exotic and fantastic subjects featuring unleashed emotion, vibrant color, and bold brushstrokes
- Friedrich, Turner, Cole, and other Romantic artists specialize in painting transcendental landscapes
- The Gothic style enjoys a revival in architecture
- Daguerre in France and Talbot in England invent photography

1840–1870

- Courbet exhibits his work in the Pavilion of Realism. He and other Realist painters in Europe and America insist that people and events of their own time are the only valid subjects for art
- Manet's paintings get a hostile reception because of their shocking subjects and nonillusionistic style
- Paxton pioneers prefabricated glass-and-iron construction in the Crystal Palace
- Technological advances enable artists to make on-the-spot photographs of the Civil War

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MAP 27-2 **Europe around 1850.**

ART UNDER NAPOLEON

As soon as Napoleon consolidated his power, he enlisted France's leading artists and architects to construct a public image of his reign. Not surprisingly, Napoleon, who aspired to rule an empire that might one day rival ancient Rome's, embraced Neoclassicism as the ideal stylistic vehicle for linking his rule with the classical past and for expressing his imperial authority. Napoleon's architectural commissions in Paris included a grandiose triumphal arch (FIG. 27-18A), a commemorative column in the Place Vendôme modeled on the Column of Trajan (FIG. 7-1) in Rome, and a Neoclassical temple.

La Madeleine. In 1807, Napoleon resumed construction of the church of La Madeleine (Mary Magdalene; FIG. 27-2) in Paris, which had been interrupted in 1790. However, the new emperor converted the building into a "temple of glory" for France's imperial armies. (The structure reverted again to a church after Napoleon's defeat and long before its completion in 1842.) Designed by PIERRE-ALEXANDRE BARTHÉLÉMY VIGNON (1763–1828), the grandiose Napoleonic temple includes a high podium and a broad flight of stairs leading to a deep porch in the front. These architectural features, coupled with the Corinthian columns, recall Roman temples in France, such as the Maison Carrée (FIG. 7-32) at Nîmes, making La Madeleine a symbolic link between the Napoleonic and Roman empires. Curiously, the building's classical shell surrounds an interior covered by a sequence of three domes, a feature found in Byzantine and Romanesque churches. Vignon in essence clothed a traditional church in the costume of imperial Rome.

27-2 PIERRE-ALEXANDRE BARTHÉLÉMY VIGNON, La Madeleine, Paris, France, 1807–1842.

Napoleon constructed La Madeleine as a "temple of glory" for his armies. Based on ancient temples (FIG. 7-32) in France, Vignon's Neoclassical design linked the Napoleonic and Roman empires.

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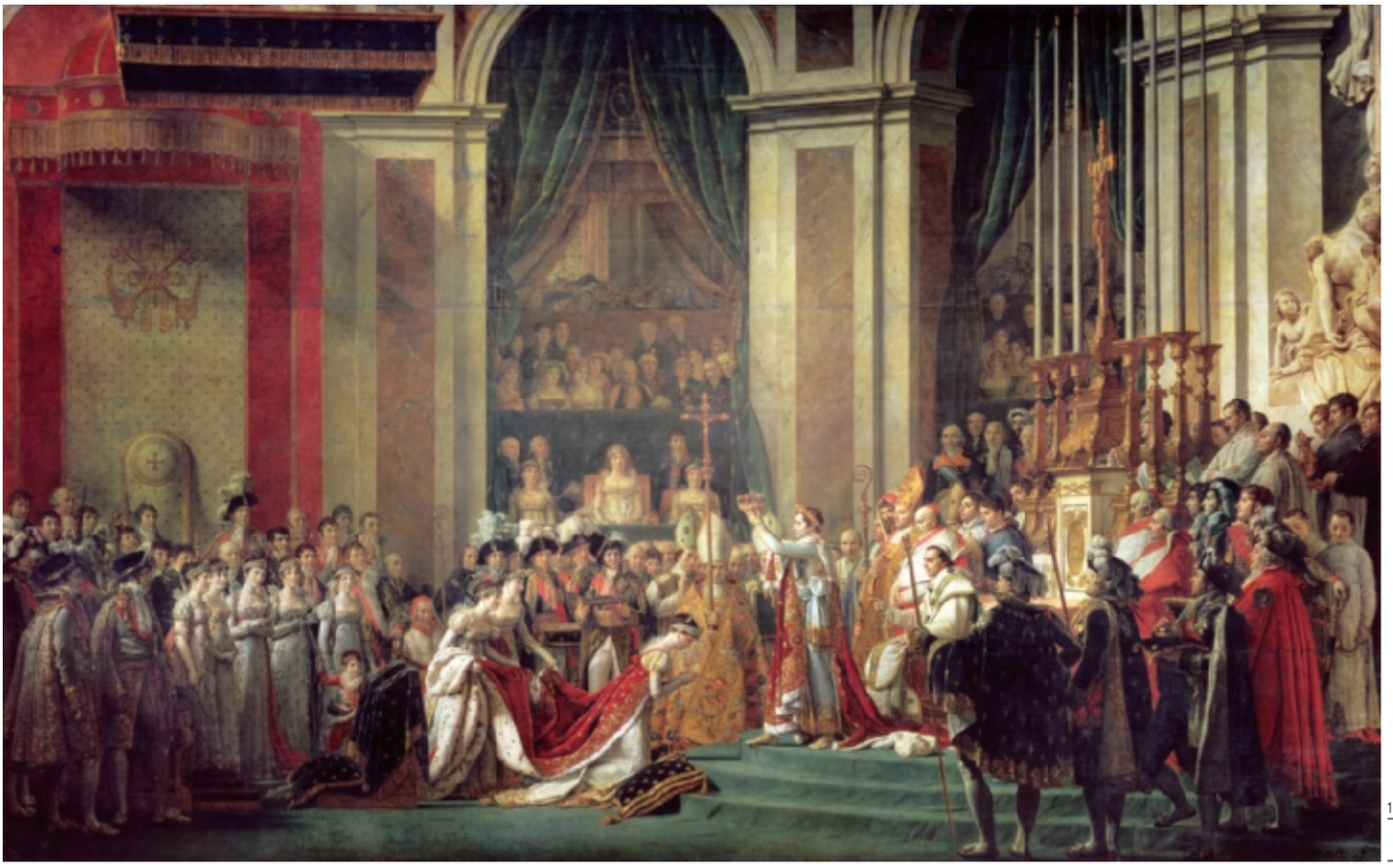

27-3 Jacques-Louis David, *Coronation of Napoleon,* 1805–1808. Oil on canvas, 20′ $4\frac{1}{2}$″ × 32′ $1\frac{3}{4}$″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

At his patron's insistence, David recorded Napoleon at his 1804 coronation crowning his wife with the pope as witness, thus underscoring the emperor's authority and independence from the Church.

Napoleon and David. At the fall of the French revolutionary Maximilien Robespierre and his party in 1794, Jacques-Louis David, who had aligned himself personally and through his work (FIG. 26-26) with the revolutionary forces, barely escaped with his life. He stood trial and went to prison. After his release in 1795, he worked hard to resurrect his career—for example, by painting five versions of a portrait of Napoleon on horseback crossing the Alps (FIG. 27-2A). When the new emperor approached David immediately after his 1804 coronation and offered him the position of First Painter of the Empire, David seized the opportunity. The most grandiose work David produced for his new imperial patron was an immense (20-by-32-foot) canvas (FIG. 27-3) documenting the pomp and pageantry of that coronation (see "The Coronation of Napoleon," page 805). The work took the artist three years to complete.

27-2A David, *Napoleon Crossing Saint-Bernard,* 1800–1801.

Antonio Canova. Neoclassical sculpture also was in vogue under Napoleon. His favorite sculptor was Antonio Canova (1757–1822), who somewhat reluctantly left his native Italy to settle in Paris and serve the emperor. Canova had gained renown for his sculptures of classical gods and heroes (for example, *Cupid and Psyche,* FIG. 27-3A). In Paris, he made numerous portraits of the emperor and his family in the Neoclassical style, including a nude statue of the emperor in the guise of the Roman war god Mars. The most famous portrait that Canova carved is, however, the marble statue (FIG. 27-4) of Napoleon's sister Pauline Borghese (1780–1825) in the guise of Venus Victrix (Victorious). Canova had suggested depicting Pauline clothed as Diana, goddess of the hunt, but she demanded to be portrayed nude as Venus, the goddess of love. Thus Pauline appears seminude and reclining on a divan, gracefully holding the golden apple, the symbol of the goddess's victory in Paris's contest to determine who was the most beautiful Greek goddess (FIG. 23-8). Canova clearly based his work on Greek statuary—the sensuous pose and seminude body recall Hellenistic works such as *Venus de Milo* (FIG. 5-84)—and the reclining figure has parallels on Roman sarcophagus lids, on which Roman women frequently assumed the guise of Venus (for example, FIG. 7-60).

27-3A Canova, *Cupid and Psyche,* 1787–1793.

The French public never had the opportunity to admire Canova's portrait, however. Napoleon had arranged the marriage of his sister to an heir of the noble Roman Borghese family. Once Pauline was in Rome, she took several lovers, and the public gossiped extensively about her affairs. Pauline's insistence on being represented as the goddess of love erotically posed on a 19th-century couch, meticulously reproduced by Canova, reflected her self-perception

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THE PATRON'S VOICE

The Coronation of Napoleon

Napoleon's coronation on December 2, 1804, was a carefully staged pageant filled with symbolism. By securing the participation of Pope Pius VII (r. 1800–1823), Napoleon legitimized his assumption of absolute power by linking his crowning to Charlemagne's coronation as Roman emperor by Pope Leo III (r. 795–816) almost exactly 1,000 years before. Moreover, to dissociate himself from the monarchy, Napoleon held his ceremony in Paris Cathedral (FIG. 13-10) instead of in Reims Cathedral (FIGS. 13-24 and 13-24A), the traditional setting for the coronation of French kings. Napoleon's crown also broke with royal tradition. He chose a gold laurel wreath of the kind worn by Roman emperors.

To a large extent, in *Coronation of Napoleon* (FIG. 27-3) First Painter David adhered to historical fact in depicting the event, duly recording, for example, the appearance of the interior of Paris's Notre-Dame Cathedral as the emperor's architects Charles Percier (1764–1838) and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762–1853) had decorated it for the occasion. David also faithfully portrayed those in attendance all at approximately life size, including Napoleon; his wife Josephine (1763–1814), who kneels to receive her crown; the pope, seated behind Napoleon; brothers Joseph (1768–1814) and Louis (1778–1846) Bonaparte; Napoleon's ministers and retainers; a representative group of the clergy; and David himself, seated among the rows of spectators in the balconies.

Preliminary studies and drawings reveal, however, that, at Napoleon's direction, David made changes to his initially accurate record of the event. For example, the emperor insisted that the painter depict the pope with his hand raised in blessing, instead of as the inactive witness that he was. Further, Napoleon's mother, who had refused to attend, is in the center background. The *Gazette nationale* of January 16, 1808, diplomatically described Napoleon's "suggestions" as follows:

> His Majesty, employing expressions full of kindness and taking the most delicate care, communicated to Monsieur David several observations. The painter, recognizing the fine tact, the exquisite taste, and the profound thinking that His Majesty the Emperor manifests in all his engagements with the sciences and the arts, took it upon himself to conform it to these opinions that enlightened him and thus to perfect his painting.*

Given the number of figures and details that David had to incorporate in his painting, it is remarkable that he was able to impose upon the lavish pageant the structured composition that was central to the Neoclassical style. David presented the action as if on a theater stage—which in this instance was literally the case, even if the stage was inside a church. In addition, as he did in his arrangement of the men and women in *Oath of the Horatii* (FIG. 26-25), David conceptually divided the painting to highlight polarities. The pope, prelates, and priests representing the Catholic Church appear on the right. The members of Napoleon's imperial court are on the left. Napoleon's decision to crown himself, rather than to allow the pope to perform the coronation, as was traditional, reflected Napoleon's concern about the Church-State power relationship. For the painting commemorating the occasion, David had initially planned to show Napoleon crowning himself. But the emperor and his advisers insisted that the artist instead depict the moment after, when Napoleon placed a crown on his wife's head, further underscoring his authority and independence from the Church. Moreover, Napoleon instructed David to portray Josephine as looking younger than her real age. David also reduced the scale of Notre-Dame so that the protagonists would not seem dwarfed by the towering interior of the cathedral.

Thus, this painting is a carefully crafted tableau designed to present Napoleon in the way that he wished to be seen. In that respect, as well as stylistically, David was emulating the artists in the employ of the ancient Roman emperors, as was his pupil, Ingres, in a contemporaneous portrait (FIG. **27-3B**) of Napoleon enthroned (see "Role Playing in Roman Portraiture," page 200).

*Todd Porterfield and Susan L. Siegfried, *Staging Empire: Napoleon, Ingres, and David* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 196.

27-3B INGRES, *Napoleon on His Imperial Throne,* 1806.

1 ft.

as the most desirable woman in Rome. Because of his wife's notoriety, Prince Camillo Borghese (1775–1832), the work's official patron, kept the sculpture in his palatial villa in Rome, now the Galleria Borghese, a public museum. The prince permitted relatively few people to see the portrait, and only at night by torchlight.

David's Students. Given David's stature as an artist in Napoleonic France, along with the popularity of Neoclassicism, it is not surprising that

27-4 ANTONIO CANOVA, *Pauline Borghese as Venus Victorious,* from the Villa Borghese, Rome, Italy. 1808. Marble, 6′ 7″ long. Galleria Borghese, Rome.

Canova was Napoleon's favorite sculptor. Here, the artist depicted the emperor's sister—at her insistence—as the nude Roman goddess of love in a marble statue inspired by classical models.

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27-5 Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson, *Burial of Atala,* 1808. Oil on canvas, 6′ 11″ × 8′ 9″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Girodet's depiction of Native American lovers in the Louisiana wilderness appealed to the French public's fascination with what it perceived as the passion and primitivism of the New World.

the First Painter attracted numerous students and developed an active and flourishing teaching studio (see "Jacques-Louis David on Greek Style and Public Art," page 792). He gave practical instruction to and deeply influenced many important artists of the period. So strong was David's commitment to classicism that he encouraged all his students to learn Latin, the better to immerse themselves in and understand classical culture. David even initially demanded that his pupils select their subjects from Plutarch, the ancient author of *Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans* and a principal source of Neoclassical subject matter, although he himself also painted contemporary subjects (figs. 26-26, 27-2A, and 27-3). Due to this thorough classical foundation, David's students all produced work that at its core retains Neoclassical elements. Yet the work of his three most famous students—Ingres (figs. 27-3B, 27-6, and 27-7), Gros (fig. 27-1), and Girodet-Trioson (figs. 27-5 and 27-5A)—represents a departure from the structured confines of Neoclassicism. David's pupils laid the foundation for the Romantic movement by exploring the realm of the exotic (for example, figs. 27-1 and 27-5) and the erotic (figs. 27-5 and 27-7), and often by turning to fictional narratives (fig. 27-5) for the subjects of their paintings, as the Romantic artists would also do. In the case of Gros's *Napoleon in Jaffa* (fig. 27-1), already examined, the choice of subject was spurred in large measure by Napoleon's eastern campaigns. Historians and art historians alike refer to this European curiosity about the decidedly non-Western culture of the East as *Orientalism*—an interest antithetical to Neoclassicism.

Girodet-Trioson. The work of Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson (1767–1824) is also an important bridge between Neoclassicism and Romanticism. Girodet based his 1808 *Burial of Atala* (fig. 27-5) on the novella *Atala,* included in the first edition of the treatise *The Genius of Christianity* by François René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848). Later published separately, Chateaubriand's *Atala* won a wide audience owing to its exotic and erotic themes, and Atala became almost a cult figure. Set in Louisiana, Chateaubriand's story focuses on the young Native American Chactas and Atala, a Christian girl of mixed European and Native American descent, who had promised her mother on her deathbed that, like the Virgin Mary, she would remain chaste her entire life. However, she falls in love with Chactas, and they run away together through the wilderness. Erotic passion permeates the story, and Atala finally commits suicide rather than break her oath.

Girodet's painting depicts this tragedy. Atala's grief-stricken lover, Chactas, buries the heroine in the shadow of a cross. Assisting in the burial is a cloaked priest, whose presence is appropriate given Chateaubriand's support for the Christianization of the New World in *The Genius of Christianity.* Like Gros's depiction of the exotic Muslim world of Jaffa (fig. 27-1), Girodet's representation of Native American lovers in the Louisiana wilderness appealed to the public's fascination (whetted by the Louisiana Purchase in 1803) with what it perceived as the passion and primitivism of native life in the New World. *Burial of Atala* speaks here to emotions, rather than inviting philosophical meditation or revealing some grand order of nature and form. Unlike David's appeal in *Oath of the Horatii* (fig. 26-25) to feelings that inspire public action, the appeal here is to the viewer's private world of fantasy and emotion. But Girodet-Trioson, like David, also occasionally addressed contemporary themes in his work, as he did in his portrait (fig. 27-5A) of Jean-Baptiste Belley, a French legislator and former slave.

27-5A Girodet-Trioson, *Jean-Baptiste Belley,* 1797.

J.-A.-D. Ingres. Generally considered David's greatest pupil, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867) arrived at the Neoclassical master's studio in the late 1790s after Girodet-Trioson had left to establish an independent career. Ingres's study there was to be short-lived, however, as he soon broke with David on matters of style. Ingres adopted what he believed to be a truer and purer Greek style than David's. The younger artist employed linear forms approximating those found in Greek vase painting (for example, figs. 5-23, 5-23A, 5-24, and 5-24A), and often placed the main figures in the foreground of his composition, emulating classical low-relief sculpture.

Apotheosis of Homer. Ingres exhibited *Apotheosis of Homer* (fig. 27-6) at the Salon of 1827 (see "Academic Salons," page 853). The huge painting, intended for a ceiling in the Louvre, incorporates none of the perspective devices of Baroque ceiling painting. Rather, the canvas presents in a single statement the Neoclassical doctrines of ideal form and composition. It is the artist's attempt to wed the styles of Raphael and classical antiquity. Winged Victory (or Fame) crowns the epic poet Homer, who sits like a god on a throne before an Ionic temple. At Homer's feet are two statuesque

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1 ft.

27-6 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Apotheosis of Homer,* 1827. Oil on canvas, 12′ 8″ × 16′ 10 3/4″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Inspired by *School of Athens* (fig. 22-9) by Raphael, Ingres's favorite painter, this huge canvas is a Neoclassical celebration of Homer and other ancient worthies, Dante, Shakespeare, and select French authors.

women, personifications of the *Iliad* (holding a sword) and the *Odyssey* (holding an oar), the offspring of his imagination. Symmetrically grouped about him is a company of the "sovereign geniuses"—as Ingres called them—who expressed humanity's highest ideals in philosophy, poetry, music, and art. To Homer's left are the Greek poet Pindar with his lyre, Phidias with his sculptor's hammer, the philosophers Plato and Socrates, and other ancient worthies of different eras. They gather together in the painter's world of suspended time as Raphael united them in *School of Athens* (fig. 22-9), which was the inspiration for *Apotheosis of Homer.* To the far right in Ingres's assembly of literary and artistic giants are the Roman poets Horace and Vergil, and two Italians: Dante, and, conspicuously, Raphael. Among the forward group on the painting's left side are Poussin (pointing) and Shakespeare (half concealed). At the right are the French writers Jean Baptiste Racine, Molière, Voltaire, and François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon. Ingres had planned a much larger and more inclusive group, but limited the cast of characters for the Salon exhibition.

Grande Odalisque. Despite his commitment to ideal form and careful compositional structure, Ingres also produced works that, like those of Gros and Girodet, his contemporaries saw as departures from Neoclassicism. The most famous is *Grande Odalisque* (fig. 27-7), painted for Napoleon's sister Caroline Murat (1782–1839), queen of Naples. The subject—the reclining nude female figure—followed the grand tradition of antiquity and the Renaissance (figs. 22-16 and 22-36) in sculpture as well as painting, as did Canova's *Pauline Borghese as Venus* (fig. 27-4). *Grande Odalisque* again shows Ingres's admiration for Raphael in his borrowing of that master's type of female head (figs. 22-7 and 22-8). The figure's languid pose and elongated limbs and torso, as well as the generally cool color scheme, reveal the painter's debt to Parmigianino (fig. 22-41) and the Italian Mannerists, sculptors (figs. 22-45 and 22-45A) as well as painters. However, by converting the figure to an *odalisque* (woman in a Turkish harem), Ingres, unlike Canova, made a strong concession to the burgeoning Romantic taste for Orientalist subjects.

This rather strange mixture of artistic allegiances—the combination of precise classical draftsmanship, Mannerist proportions, and Romantic themes—elicited vehement criticism, and when Ingres first exhibited *Grande Odalisque* in 1814, the painting drew acid criticism. Critics initially saw Ingres as a rebel in terms of both the form and content of his works. They did not cease their attacks until the mid-1820s, when a greater enemy of David's Neoclassical style, Eugène Delacroix, appeared on the scene. Critics then perceived that Ingres's art, despite its innovations and deviations, still contained crucial elements adhering to the Neoclassical taste for the ideal. In fact, on the basis of works such as *Apotheosis of Homer* (fig. 27-6), Ingres soon became the leader of the academic forces in their battle against the "barbarism" of Delacroix, Théodore Géricault, and the Romantic movement.

1 ft.

27-7 Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Grande Odalisque,* 1814. Oil on canvas, 2′ 11 7/8″ × 5′ 4″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The reclining female nude was a Greco-Roman subject, but Ingres converted his Neoclassical figure into an odalisque in a Turkish harem, consistent with the new Romantic taste for the exotic.

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ROMANTICISM

Whereas Neoclassicism's rationality reinforced Enlightenment thought, particularly Voltaire's views (see "Voltaire," page 779), Romanticism owed much to the ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (see "Rousseau," page 781). Rousseau's exclamation "Man is born free, but is everywhere in chains!"—the opening line of his *Social Contract* (1762)—summarizes a fundamental Romantic premise. Romanticism emerged from a desire for freedom—not only political freedom but also freedom of thought, feeling, action, worship, speech, and taste. Romantics asserted that freedom was the right and property of all. They believed that the path to freedom was through imagination and feeling rather than reason.

The allure of the Romantic spirit grew dramatically during the late 18th century, when the term originated among German literary critics. Their aim was to distinguish peculiarly "modern" traits from the Neoclassical traits that already had displaced Baroque and Rococo design elements. Consequently, some scholars refer to Romanticism as a phenomenon that began around 1750 and ended about 1850, but most use the term more narrowly to denote an art movement that flourished from about 1800 to 1840, between Neoclassicism and Realism.

Roots of Romanticism

The transition from Neoclassicism to Romanticism in art was more than a stylistic shift. It represented a philosophical change in emphasis from calculation to intuition, from reason to emotion. Among the leading manifestations of Romanticism was heightened interest in the medieval period and in the sublime. For people living in the 18th century, the Middle Ages were the "dark ages," a time of barbarism, superstition, mystery, and miracle. The Romantic imagination stretched its perception of the Middle Ages into all the worlds of fantasy open to it, including the ghoulish, infernal, terrible, nightmarish, grotesque, and sadistic—the imagery that comes from the chamber of horrors when reason sleeps.

Related to the imaginative sensibility was the period's notion of the sublime. Among the individuals most involved in studying the sublime was the British politician and philosopher Edmund Burke (1729–1797). In *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), Burke articulated his definition of the sublime: feelings of awe mixed with terror. Burke observed that pain or fear evoked the most intense human emotions and that these emotions could also be thrilling. Thus raging rivers and great storms at sea could be sublime to their viewers. Accompanying this taste for the sublime was the taste for the fantastic, occult, and macabre.

John Henry Fuseli. The Swiss painter Johann Heinrich Füssli, better known by his English name—John Henry Fuseli (1741–1825)—lived in Rome from 1770 to 1778, settled in England in 1799, and eventually became a member of the Royal Academy of Art and one of its instructors. Largely self-taught, he contrived a distinctive manner to express the fantasies of his vivid imagination. Fuseli specialized in night moods of horror and in dark fantasies—in the demonic, the macabre, and often the sadistic.

In *The Nightmare* (fig. 27-8), a beautiful young woman lies asleep, draped across the bed with her limp arm dangling over the side. An *incubus,* a demon believed in medieval times to prey, often sexually, on sleeping women, squats ominously on her body. In the background, a ghostly horse with flaming eyes bursts into the scene from beyond the curtain. Despite the temptation to see the painting's title as a pun because of this horse, the word *nightmare* in fact derives from "night" and "Mara." Mara was an evil spirit in Scandinavian mythology who tormented and suffocated sleepers. Fuseli was among the first to attempt to depict the dark terrain of the human subconscious that became fertile ground for later artists.

William Blake. In their images of the sublime and the terrible, Romantic artists often combined something of Baroque dynamism with naturalistic details in their quest for grippingly moving visions. These elements became the mainstay of Romantic art and contrasted with the more intellectual, rational Neoclassical themes and compositions. The two were not mutually exclusive, however. Gros, Girodet-Trioson, and Ingres effectively integrated elements of Neoclassicism with Romanticism. So, too, did the visionary English poet, painter, and engraver William Blake (1757–1827).

Blake greatly admired ancient Greek art because it exemplified for him the mathematical and thus the eternal, and his work often incorporated classical references. Yet Blake did not align himself with prominent Enlightenment figures. Like many other Romantic artists, he also found the art of the Middle Ages appealing. Blake derived the inspiration for many of his paintings and poems from his dreams. The importance he attached to these

27-8 **John Henry Fuseli, *The Nightmare,* 1781. Oil on canvas, 3′ $3\frac{3}{4}$″ × 4′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″. Detroit Institute of the Arts (Founders Society purchase with funds from Mr. and Mrs. Bert L. Smokler and Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence A. Fleishman).**

The transition from Neoclassicism to Romanticism marked a shift in emphasis from reason to feeling. Fuseli was among the first painters to depict the dark terrain of the human subconscious.

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nocturnal experiences led him to believe that the rationalist search for material explanations of the world stifled the spiritual side of human nature. He also believed that the stringent rules of behavior that orthodox religions imposed had killed the individual creative impulse.

Blake's vision of the Almighty in *Ancient of Days* (FIG. 27-9) combines his ideas and interests in a highly individual way. For Blake, this figure united the concept of the Creator with that of Wisdom as a part of God. He chose *Ancient of Days* as the frontispiece for his book *Europe: A Prophecy,* and juxtaposed it with a quotation ("When he set a compass upon the face of the deep") from Proverbs 8:27. The speaker is Wisdom, who tells the reader how she was with the Lord through all the time of the creation (Prov. 8:22–23, 27–30). Energy fills Blake's composition. The Almighty leans forward from a fiery orb, peering toward earth and unleashing power through his outstretched left arm into twin rays of light. These emerge between his spread fingers like an architect's measuring instrument—a conception of creation with precedents in Gothic manuscript painting (FIG. 13-33). Here, however, a mighty wind surges through the Creator's thick hair and beard. Only the strength of his Michelangelesque physique keeps him firmly planted on his heavenly perch. In this image, Blake merged ideal classical anatomy with the Romantic notion of the sublime.

27-9 **WILLIAM BLAKE, *Ancient of Days,* frontispiece of *Europe: A Prophecy,* 1794. Metal relief etching, hand colored, $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.**

Although art historians classify Blake as a Romantic artist, he incorporated many classical references in his works. Here, ideal classical anatomy merges with the Romantic notion of the sublime.

Spain and France

From its roots in the work of Fuseli, Blake, and other late-18th-century artists, Romanticism gradually displaced Neoclassicism as the dominant painting style of the first half of the 19th century. Romantic artists, including Francisco Goya in Spain and Théodore Géricault and Eugène Delacroix in France, reveled in exploring the exotic, erotic, and fantastic.

Francisco Goya. Although FRANCISCO JOSÉ DE GOYA Y LUCIENTES (1746–1828) was David's contemporary, their work has little in common. Goya spent more than a year in Italy in 1770–1771 and worked with the influential Neoclassical painter Anton Raphael Mengs (FIG. 26-24A) in Madrid. He did not arrive at his general dismissal of Neoclassicism without considerable thought about the Enlightenment and the Neoclassical penchant for rationality and order. In *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters* (FIG. 27-10), an etching from a series titled *Los Caprichos* (*The Caprices*), Goya depicted an artist, probably himself, asleep, slumped onto a desk, while threatening creatures converge on him, at least in his dream.

27-10 **FRANCISCO GOYA, *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters,* no. 43 from *Los Caprichos,* ca. 1798. Etching and aquatint, $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{7}{8}''$. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of M. Knoedler & Co., 1918).**

In this print, Goya depicted himself asleep while threatening creatures converge on him, revealing his embrace of the Romantic spirit—the unleashing of imagination, emotions, and nightmares.

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Seemingly poised to attack the artist are owls (symbols of folly) and bats (symbols of ignorance). The viewer might read this as a portrayal of what emerges when reason is suppressed and, therefore, as advocating Enlightenment ideals. However, the print is ambiguous, probably intentionally so. *The Sleep of Reason* can also be interpreted as Goya's commentary on the creative process and a testament to his embrace of the Romantic spirit—the unleashing of imagination, emotions, and even nightmares (FIG. 27-8). Goya's explanatory caption for the print reads: "Imagination abandoned by reason produces impossible monsters; united with her, she is the mother of the arts and the source of their wonders."

Third of May, 1808. Much of Goya's multifaceted work deals not with Romantic fantasies but with contemporary events. In 1786, he became an official artist in the court of Charles IV (r. 1788–1808) and produced portraits of the king and his family (FIG. 27-10A). Dissatisfaction with the king's rule increased dramatically during Goya's tenure at the court, and the Spanish people eventually threw their support behind the king's son, Ferdinand VII, in the hope that he would initiate reform. To overthrow his father and mother, Queen Maria Luisa (1751–1819), Ferdinand enlisted the aid of Napoleon Bonaparte. Because he had designs on Spain, Napoleon readily agreed to send French troops to Spain. Not surprisingly, as soon as he ousted Charles IV, Napoleon installed his brother Joseph Bonaparte (r. 1808–1813) on the Spanish throne as his surrogate.

27-10A GOYA, *Family of Charles IV,* 1800.

The Spanish people, finally recognizing the French as invaders, sought a way to expel the foreign troops. On May 2, 1808, Spaniards attacked Napoleon's soldiers in a chaotic and violent clash. In retaliation and as a show of force, the French responded the next day by rounding up and executing Spanish citizens. This tragic event is the subject of Goya's most famous painting, *Third of May, 1808* (FIG. 27-11), commissioned in 1814 by Ferdinand VII (r. 1813–1833), who had reclaimed the throne after the ouster of the French. In emotional fashion, following the lead of Callot (FIG. 25-35) in the 17th century, Goya depicted the anonymous murderous wall of Napoleonic soldiers ruthlessly executing the unarmed and terrified Spanish peasants. The artist encouraged empathy for the Spaniards by portraying horrified expressions and anguish on their faces, endowing them with a humanity lacking in the faceless French firing squad in the shadows. Moreover, the peasant about to be shot throws his arms out in a cruciform gesture reminiscent of Christ's position on the cross. Goya enhanced the emotional drama of the massacre by sharply contrasting the darkness of the night with the focused illumination of the French squad's lantern and by extending the time frame depicted. Although Goya captured the specific moment when one man is about to be executed, he also recorded the bloody bodies of others lying dead on the ground. Still others have been herded together to be shot in a few moments. The horrible massacre will continue indefinitely.

27-11 **FRANCISCO GOYA, *Third of May, 1808,* 1814–1815. Oil on canvas, 8′ 9″ × 13′ 4″. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.**

Goya encouraged empathy for the Spanish peasants massacred on May 3, 1808, by portraying horrified expressions on their faces, endowing them with a humanity lacking in the French firing squad.

Saturn. Goya painted *Third of May* when he was already totally deaf as a result of a mysterious illness he contracted in 1792, which also rendered him temporarily blind and paralyzed. Although he recovered all but his hearing, over time Goya became increasingly disillusioned and pessimistic. This state of mind emerges forcefully especially in his late works known as the "Black Paintings," frescoes he painted on the walls of his farmhouse called Quinta del Sordo (House of the Deaf Man), outside Madrid. Because Goya created the Black Paintings solely on his terms and for his private viewing, they provide great insight into the artist's outlook, which is terrifying and disturbing.

Saturn Devouring One of His Children (FIG. 27-12) depicts the raw carnage and violence of Saturn (the Greek god Kronos; see "The Gods and Goddesses of Mount Olympus," page 107), wild-eyed and monstrous, as he consumes one of his sons in reaction to a prophecy that one of his children would dethrone him. Because of the similarity of Kronos and *khronos* (the Greek word for "time"), Saturn has come to be associated with time. This has led some to interpret Goya's painting as an expression of the artist's despair over the passage of time. Despite the simplicity of the image, it conveys a wildness, boldness, and brutality that evoke an elemental response

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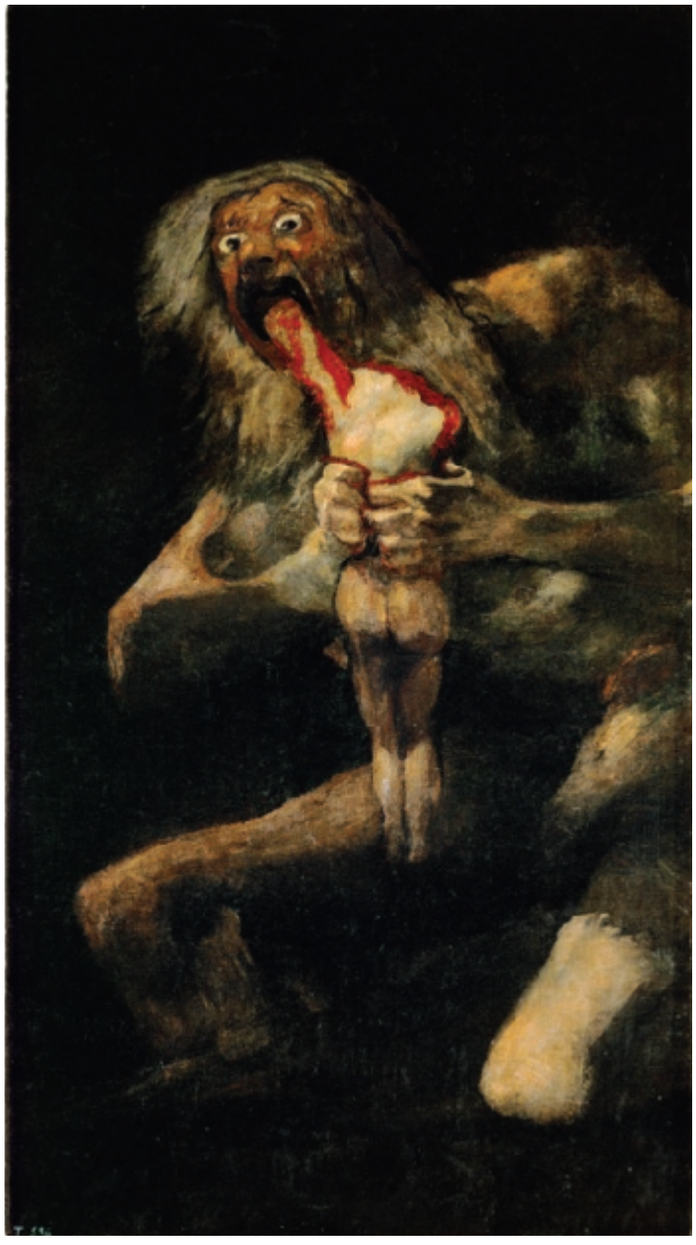

1 ft.

27-12 Francisco Goya, *Saturn Devouring One of His Children,* from Goya's Quinto del Sordo farmhouse, near Madrid, Spain, 1819–1823. Fresco, later detached and mounted on canvas, 4′ $9\frac{1}{8}$″ × 2′ $8\frac{5}{8}$″. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.

This disturbing fresco from Goya's farmhouse uses a mythological tale to express the aging artist's despair over the passage of time. Saturn's Greek name, Kronos, is similar to the Greek word for "time."

from all viewers. Goya's work, rooted both in personal and national history, presents darkly emotional images well in keeping with Romanticism.

Théodore Géricault. In France, one of the artists most closely associated with the Romantic movement was Théodore Géricault (1791–1824). In a tragically brief career lasting only a dozen years, Géricault had a major influence on the course of French painting in the 19th century. Independently wealthy, he spent only a short time as an apprentice in the studio of P. N. Guérin (1774–1833), an admirer of David. Géricault preferred to learn his craft by studying in the Louvre. The former royal palace then housed the recently installed Musée Napoléon and its treasure trove of works by Jan van Eyck, Titian, Caravaggio, Rembrandt, and Peter Paul Rubens, which the emperor had triumphantly brought to Paris as the spoils of his successful military campaigns. Géricault was drawn especially to Rubens, in whose canvases the young painter saw an alternative to the classical compositions, smooth finish, and invisible brushstrokes of David. Géricault also studied Renaissance and Baroque art in Florence, Rome, and Naples in 1816 on a self-funded trip to Italy after failing to win a Rome Prize, but he also explored themes with few if any precedents—for example, portraits of the insane (fig. 27-12A).

27-12A Géricault, *Insane Woman,* 1822–1823.

At the time of his death at age 32, Géricault had exhibited only three works in the Parisian Salons. The first, submitted to the Salon of 1812, was *Charging Chasseur* (fig. 27-13). Painted when he was 21, the gigantic (more than 11-foot-tall) canvas depicts a French cavalry officer (*chasseur*). Because Géricault had to enter the work in the portrait category, he identified the chasseur as Lieutenant Alexandre Dieudonné, but the painting could represent any heroic French soldier during Napoleon's Russian campaign. The chasseur and his rearing horse seen in a three-quarter view from behind fill

1 ft.

27-13 Théodore Géricault, *Charging Chasseur,* 1812. Oil on canvas, 11′ 5″ × 8′ $8\frac{3}{4}$″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Painted when he was 21, Géricault's huge canvas, with its foreshortened rider and loose brushwork influenced by Rubens, differs sharply from David's equestrian portrait of Napoleon (fig. 27-2A).

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almost the entire canvas. Inspired by Rubens's boldly foreshortened figures (FIG. I-14) as well as the Flemish master's palette and brushwork, Géricault's painting recalls but differs markedly from David's portrait of Napoleon on horseback (FIG. 27-2A), in which the emperor and his steed occupy a narrow space parallel to the picture plane, as in classical relief sculpture (FIG. 5-50, *top*). Amid the tumult and horror of the raging battle, the officer twists on his mount to fend off an attack from behind. The high drama and violent action disguise how carefully Géricault posed the chasseur and his horse, creating, for example, a continuous arc from the officer's sword to the horse's head and forming three parallel lines from the chasseur's right leg and the horse's two right legs. *Charging Chasseur* impressed the judges at the 1812 Salon and earned the then-unknown Géricault a gold medal.

Raft of the Medusa. Géricault's most ambitious project was *Raft of the Medusa* (FIG. 27-14), an immense (23-foot-wide) canvas with figures larger than life. Exhibited in the Salon of 1819, the painting immortalized the July 2, 1816, shipwreck off the Mauritanian coast of the French frigate *Medusa,* which ran aground on a reef due to the incompetence of its inexperienced captain, a political appointee. The captain and his officers safely abandoned the ship on all the lifeboats. In an attempt to survive, the ship's carpenter built a makeshift raft for himself and the 147 passengers from pieces of the disintegrating frigate. The raft drifted for 13 days, and the starving survivors dwindled to 15, in part because of cannibalism. Finally, the ship *Argus* spotted the raft and rescued those still alive. This horrendous event was political dynamite once it became public knowledge.

In *Raft of the Medusa,* Géricault chose to represent the moment when some of those still alive summon what little strength they have left to flag down the *Argus* far on the horizon, not knowing if the ship's crew could see their raft (which, in Géricault's painting, is far smaller than the actual raft and scaled to match the passengers still alive). Géricault sought to capture accurately the horror, chaos, and emotion of the tragedy yet invoke the grandeur and impact of Neoclassical history painting. During the eight months he worked on the painting, Géricault visited hospitals and morgues to study the bodies of the dying and dead, interviewed survivors, and had a model of the raft constructed in his studio.

The legacy of Neoclassicism is still evident in the incongruously muscular bodies of the starving. But Géricault rejected Neoclassical composition principles and instead presented a jumble of writhing bodies. He arranged the survivors and several corpses in a powerful X-shaped composition, and piled one body on another in every attitude of suffering, despair, and death. One light-filled diagonal axis stretches from the bodies at the lower left up to Jean Charles, the sole black survivor, raised on his comrades' shoulders and waving a tattered garment toward the horizon. The cross axis descends from the dark, billowing sail at the upper left to the shadowed upper torso of the body trailing in the open sea. Géricault's bold decision to place the raft at a diagonal so that a corner juts outward makes it seem as though some of the corpses are sliding off the raft into the viewer's space (compare FIG. 24-17A). *Raft of the Medusa,* like the event itself, caused a sensation. It established Géricault's reputation and reoriented the history of painting.

Raft of the Medusa is also the artist's commentary on the practice of slavery. Géricault was a member of an abolitionist group that sought ways to end the slave trade in the colonies, the cause promoted in the French legislature by Jean-Baptiste Belley (FIG. 27-5A). Given Géricault's antipathy to slavery, it is appropriate that he placed Jean Charles, a black soldier who was one of the few survivors, at the top of the pyramidal heap of bodies. By its scale and subject—a historical event—the work constitutes a history painting, but unlike other works in this genre, the political criticism it suggested challenged and overturned the genre's ideals.

27-14 THÉODORE GÉRICAULT, *Raft of the Medusa,* 1818–1819. Oil on canvas, 16′ 1″ × 23′ 6″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

In this gigantic history painting, Géricault rejected Neoclassical compositional principles and, in the Romantic spirit, presented a jumble of writhing bodies in every attitude of suffering, despair, and death.

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ART AND SOCIETY

The Romantic Spirit in Art, Music, and Literature

The appeal of Romanticism, with its emphasis on freedom and feeling, extended well beyond the realm of the visual arts. The imagination and vision that characterized Romantic paintings and sculptures were equally moving and riveting in musical or written form. In European music, literature, and poetry, the Romantic spirit was a dominant presence during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Composers and authors alike rejected classicism's structured order in favor of the emotive and expressive. In music, the compositions of Franz Schubert (1797–1828), Franz Liszt (1811–1886), Frédéric Chopin (1810–1849), and Johannes Brahms (1833–1897) emphasized the melodic or lyrical. For these composers, music had the power to express what cannot be expressed with words and to communicate the subtlest and most powerful human emotions.

In literature, Romantic poets such as John Keats (1795–1821), William Wordsworth (1770–1850), and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) published volumes of poetry manifesting the Romantic interest in lyrical drama. *Ozymandias,* by Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822), transported readers to faraway, exotic locales. The setting of Lord Byron's *Sardanapalus* is the ancient Assyrian Empire (see "Assyria," page 46). Byron's poem conjures images of eroticism and fury unleashed—images that Eugène Delacroix made concrete in his painting *Death of Sardanapalus* (FIG. 27-15). One of the best examples of the Romantic spirit is the engrossing novel *Frankenstein,* written in 1818 by Shelley's wife, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley (1797–1851). This fantastic tale of a monstrous creature run amok remains popular to the present day. As was true of many Romantic artworks, the novel not only embraced emotionalism but also rejected the rationalism underlying Enlightenment thought. Dr. Frankenstein's monster was a product of science, and the novel is an indictment of the deep faith in science that Voltaire and other Enlightenment thinkers promoted. *Frankenstein* served as a cautionary tale of the havoc that could result from unrestrained scientific experimentation and from the arrogance of scientists.

27-15 Eugène Delacroix, *Death of Sardanapalus,* 1827. Oil on canvas, 12′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″ × 16′ $2\frac{7}{8}$″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Inspired by Lord Byron's 1821 poem, Delacroix painted the Romantic spectacle of an Assyrian king on his funeral pyre. The richly colored and emotionally charged canvas is filled with exotic figures.

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Eugène Delacroix. Art historians often present the history of painting during the first half of the 19th century as a contest between two major artists—Ingres, the Neoclassical draftsman, and Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863), the Romantic colorist—whom contemporary caricaturists at least twice depicted as dueling. The philosophical and artistic dispute between Ingres and Delacroix recalls the distinction between disegno and colorito of the Italian Renaissance and the quarrel between the Poussinistes and the Rubénistes at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th (see "Antoine Watteau," page 775). The Poussinistes insisted that drawing was superior to color, whereas the Rubénistes proclaimed the importance of color over line. Delacroix's works were products of his view that the artist's powers of imagination would in turn capture and inflame the viewer's imagination. Literature of imaginative power served Delacroix (and many of his contemporaries) as a useful source of subject matter (see "The Romantic Spirit in Art, Music, and Literature," page 813). Théophile Gautier (1811–1872), the prominent Romantic critic and novelist, recalled:

> In those days painting and poetry fraternized. The artists read the poets, and the poets visited the artists. We found Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe, Lord Byron and Walter Scott in the studio as well as in the study. There were as many splashes of color as there were blots of ink in the margins of those beautiful books which we endlessly perused. Imagination, already excited, was further fired by reading those foreign works, so rich in color, so free and powerful in fantasy.[1]

Death of Sardanapalus. Delacroix's 1827 *Death of Sardanapalus* (fig. 27-15) is perhaps the grandest Romantic pictorial drama ever painted. Although inspired by the 1821 narrative poem *Sardanapalus* by Lord Byron (George Gordon Byron, 1788–1824), the painting does not illustrate that text faithfully. Delacroix depicted the last hour of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (r. 668–627 bce; fig. 2-23), whom the Greeks called Sardanapalus. The king has just received news of his army's defeat and the enemy's entry into his city. The setting Delacroix painted is much more tempestuous and crowded than Byron described. Orgiastic destruction has replaced the sacrificial suicide of the poem. Sardanapalus reclines on his funeral pyre, soon to be set alight. He gloomily watches the carrying out of his order to destroy all of his most precious possessions—his women, slaves, horses, and treasure. The king's favorite concubine throws herself on the bed, determined to go up in flames with her master. The Assyrian monarch presides like a genius of evil over the tragic scene. Most conspicuous are the tortured and dying bodies of the harem women. In the foreground, a muscular slave plunges his knife into the neck of one woman. Delacroix filled this awful spectacle of suffering and death with the most daringly difficult and tortuous poses, and chose the richest intensities of hue. With its exotic and erotic overtones and violent Orientalist subject, *Death of Sardanapalus* tapped into the Romantic fantasies of 19th-century viewers.

27-15A Delacroix, *Massacre at Chios,* 1822–1824.

Although *Death of Sardanapalus* represents a seventh-century bce drama, Delacroix, like Géricault, also turned to current events, particularly tragic or sensational ones, for his subject matter. For example, he produced several images based on the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829), including a huge canvas he painted while the war was still in progress recording the Turkish massacre of the Greeks of Chios (fig. 27-15A). The French perception of the Greeks as locked in a brutal struggle for freedom from the cruel and exotic Ottoman Turks generated great interest in Romantic circles.

Liberty Leading the People. Closer to home, Delacroix captured the passion and energy of the 1830 revolution in *Liberty Leading the People* (fig. 27-16). Based on the July 27–29, 1830, Parisian uprising against Charles X (r. 1824–1830), it is at once a record of a contemporaneous event and a Romantic allegory. Dominating the composition is the bare-breasted Liberty defiantly thrusting forth

1 ft.

27-16 Eugène Delacroix, *Liberty Leading the People,* 1830. Oil on canvas, 8′ 6″ × 10′ 8″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

In a balanced mix of history and allegory, Delacroix captured the passion and energy of the 1830 revolution in this painting of Liberty personified leading the Parisian uprising against King Charles X.

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the republic's tricolor banner as she urges the masses to fight on. She wears a scarlet Phrygian cap (the symbol of a freed slave in antiquity), reinforcing the urgency of this struggle. Arrayed around Liberty are bold Parisian types—the street boy brandishing his pistols, the menacing worker with a cutlass, and the university student in top hat armed with a musket. As in Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (FIG. 27-14), dead bodies are all around. In the background, the towers of Notre-Dame (FIG. 13-10) rise through the smoke and haze. The painter's inclusion of this recognizable Parisian landmark specifies the locale and event, balancing allegory with historical fact.

Women of Algiers. An enormously influential event in Delacroix's life that affected his art in both subject and form was his visit to North Africa in 1832. Delacroix was the official artist in the entourage of the count of Mornay, who led a diplomatic mission to Morocco to seek the support of Sultan Abd al-Rahman (r. 1822–1859) for the French annexation of Algeria. What Delacroix saw in North Africa excited his imagination with fresh impressions that lasted throughout his life and resulted in paintings such as *Tiger Hunt* (FIG. 27-16A), which he completed more than two decades after his trip.

27-16A DELACROIX, *Tiger Hunt,* 1854.

Among the canvases Delacroix painted immediately upon his return to France is *Women of Algiers* (FIG. 27-17), which captivated the public when exhibited in the 1834 Salon. For viewers of the exhibition, the painting was their first "eyewitness account" of a harem—an exotic locale that had special appeal because Western men were normally not permitted to enter harems. (Delacroix was able to gain entry because of the official nature of his visit to Morocco. The seated woman at the left seems to acknowledge the artist's presence.) The painting depicts three odalisques—modestly dressed, unlike the harem girl in Ingres's earlier imaginary and coolly classical rendition of the same theme (FIG. 27-7)—and a black servant in an incense-filled room with tiled walls and colorful carpets. The woman at the left reclines languorously. Her two seated companions share the intoxicating smoke of a *hookah* (water pipe). Delacroix's "documentation" of the opulent interior of a harem reinforced all the stereotypes that Europeans held dear, especially their fantasies about Oriental harems as places where men could freely indulge their sexual appetites in the company of exotic women.

Delacroix's style perfectly suits this sensuous subject. Relying on large patches of rich color to define his figures, in striking contrast to Ingres's emphasis on line and contour, his technique is as lush as the harem. What Delacroix knew about color he passed on to later painters of the 19th century, particularly the Impressionists (see "Painting Impressions of Light and Color," page 851). He observed that pure colors are as rare in nature as lines and that color appears only in an infinitely varied scale of different tones, shadings, and reflections, which he tried to re-create in his paintings. He recorded his observations in his journal, which for later painters and scholars became a veritable handbook of pre-Impressionist color theory. Although Delacroix anticipated the later development of Impressionist color science, that art-science had to await the discoveries by Michel Eugène Chevreul (1786–1889) and Hermann von Helmholtz (1821–1894) of the laws of light decomposition and the properties of complementary colors. Only then could the problems of color perception and juxtaposition in painting be properly formulated (see "19th-Century Color Theory," page 863). Nevertheless, Delacroix's observations were significant, and he advised other artists not to fuse their brushstrokes, as those strokes would appear to fuse naturally from a distance.

No other painter of the time explored the domain of Romantic subject and mood as thoroughly and definitively as Delacroix. His technique was impetuous, improvisational, and instinctive, in contrast to the deliberate, studious, and cold method of the Neoclassicists. It exemplified Romantic colorist painting, catching the impression quickly and developing it in the execution process. His contemporaries commented on how furiously Delacroix worked once he had an idea, keeping the whole painting progressing at once. One critic described Delacroix's brushwork as painting "with a drunken broom." The fury of the artist's attack matched the fury of his imagination and his subjects.

1 ft.

27-17 EUGÈNE DELACROIX, *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment,* 1834. Oil on canvas, 5′ $10\frac{7}{8}$″ × 7′ $6\frac{1}{8}$″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

In both subject and style, Delacroix's painting of three odalisques and a black servant in a sumptuous Algiers harem exemplifies Romantic painting, in contrast to Ingres's Neoclassicism (FIG. 27-7).

François Rude. The Romantic spirit pervaded all media during the early 19th century. Like the painters of the period, many sculptors produced work incorporating both Neoclassical and Romantic elements.

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27-18 François Rude, *Departure of the Volunteers of 1792* (*La Marseillaise*), northeast pier relief of the Arc de Triomphe, Paris, France, 1833–1836. Limestone, 41′ 8″ high.

This historical-allegorical sculpture features the Roman war goddess Bellona, but the violent motion, jagged contours, and densely packed masses typify Romantic painting compositions.

The colossal limestone group *Departure of the Volunteers of 1792* (FIG. 27-18), also called *La Marseillaise,* is one example. The relief, the work of François Rude (1784–1855), decorates one of the gigantic piers of the Arc de Triomphe (FIG. 27-18A) in Paris, designed for Napoleon by Jean-François-Thérèse Chalgrin (1739–1811). The sculpture depicts the volunteers of 1792 departing from Marseilles to defend France's borders against the foreign enemies of the revolution. A composite personification—of Bellona, the Roman goddess of war; Liberty; and the Marseillaise, the revolutionary hymn that since 1879 has been France's national anthem—soars above patriots of diverse ages, exhorting them forward with a thundering battle cry emerging from her wide-open mouth. The figures recall David's classically armored (FIG. 26-25) or nude heroes, as do the rhetorical gestures of the wide-flung arms and the striding poses. Yet the violence of motion, the jagged contours, and the densely packed, overlapping masses relate more closely to the compositional method of dramatic Romanticism, as found in the canvases of Géricault (FIG. 27-14) and Delacroix (FIG. 27-16). Indeed, the allegorical figure in *La Marseillaise* is the spiritual sister of Delacroix's Liberty. Rude's stone figure shares the same Phrygian cap, the badge of liberty, with Delacroix's earlier painted figure, but Rude's soldiers wear classical costumes or are heroically nude, whereas those in Delacroix's painting appear in modern Parisian dress. Both works are allegorical, but one looks to the past and the other to the present.

27-18A Chalgrin, Arc de Triomphe, Paris, 1806–1836.

Landscape Painting

Landscape painting came into its own in the 19th century as a fully independent and respected genre. Briefly eclipsed at the century's beginning by the taste for ideal form, which favored figural composition and history, landscape painting flourished as leading painters adopted the genre as their specialty. Increasing tourism, which came courtesy of improved and expanded railway systems both in Europe (MAP 27-2) and America, contributed to the popularity of landscape painting. So too did the growth of cities. As urban populations expanded, city dwellers increasingly took pleasure in "picturesque" views of the unspoiled countryside. To be sure, earlier artists, especially in the 18th century, regarded the comforting, aesthetic mood that nature inspired as making the landscape itself picturesque—that is, worthy of being painted. But Romantic painters often embraced landscape as a vehicle to comment on spiritual, moral, historical, or philosophical issues. German painters, who were primarily Lutherans, were especially attracted to nature, where they could communicate directly with God without the need of a Catholic priest as intermediary. In nature—"the living garment of God," as the German poet and dramatist Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) called it—artists found an ideal subject to express the Romantic theme of the soul unified with the

27-19 Caspar David Friedrich, *Abbey in the Oak Forest,* 1810. Oil on canvas, 4′ × 5′ 8½″. Alte Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

Friedrich was a master of the Romantic transcendental landscape. The reverential mood of this winter scene with a ruined Gothic church and cemetery demands the silence appropriate to sacred places.

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natural world, a concept first extolled in the 18th century by Rousseau (see "Rousseau," page 781). In America, landscapes represented territories to be conquered by European settlers, the God-given promised land. In landscapes, painters no longer merely recorded hills and streams but participated in the land's spirit, becoming translators of nature's transcendent—and invented—meanings.

Caspar David Friedrich. Among the first northern European artists to depict the Romantic transcendental landscape was Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840), who was born in Greifswald, Germany, near the Baltic Sea; studied art in Copenhagen; and settled in Dresden. For Friedrich, the personal experience of nature led to a deeper understanding of God, nature's creator. The reverential mood of his works demands from the viewer the silence appropriate to sacred places filled with a divine presence.

Abbey in the Oak Forest (fig. 27-19) is a characteristic example. It is the pictorial equivalent of a solemn requiem. Under a winter sky, through the leafless oaks of a snow-covered cemetery, a procession of monks bears a coffin into the ruins of a Gothic church that Friedrich based on the remains of Eldena Abbey near Greifswald. The emblems of death are everywhere—the season's desolation, the leaning crosses and tombstones, the black of mourning that the grieving wear, the skeletal trees, and the destruction that time has wrought on the church. The painting is a kind of meditation on human mortality. As Friedrich himself remarked: "Why, it has often occurred to me to ask myself, do I so frequently choose death, transience, and the grave as subjects for my paintings? One must submit oneself many times to death in order some day to attain life everlasting."[2] The artist's sharp-focused rendering of details demonstrates his keen perception of everything in the physical

WRITTEN SOURCES

Friedrich's *Wanderer above a Sea of Mist*

In *Abbey in the Oak Forest* (fig. 27-19) and most of Caspar David Friedrich's landscapes, the human figure plays an insignificant role. Indeed, in many instances the human actors are difficult even to discern. But in other paintings, one or more figures seen from behind gazing at the natural vista dominate the canvas. In *Wanderer above a Sea of Mist* (fig. 27-20), probably Friedrich's most famous painting, a solitary man dressed in German attire suggestive of a bygone era stands on a rocky promontory and leans on his cane. He surveys a vast panorama of clouds, mountains, and thick mist. Because Friedrich chose a point of view on the level of the man's head, the viewer has the sensation of hovering in space behind him—an impossible position that enhances the aura of mystery the scene conveys. Art historians dispute whether Friedrich intended the viewer to identify with the man seen from behind or wanted the viewer to contemplate the man gazing at the misty landscape. Some think that the man is not an anonymous hiker but a specific Prussian war hero contemplating the scenery of his native land. In any interpretation, the painter communicated an almost religious awe at the beauty and vastness of the natural world.

Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869), a German physician and sometime painter who was a friend of Friedrich's, published in Dresden in 1831 *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting, Written in the Years 1815 to 1824*. In one of the letters, he described the essence of Friedrich's approach to landscape painting in a passage that could serve as a description of *Wanderer above a Sea of Mist*:

> [T]he solid earth, with all of its varied shapes and features like rocks and mountains, valleys and plains, its placid and its rushing waters, the clouds and airy breezes, these are more or less the forms through which the life of the earth reveals itself to us; a life of such immeasurable dimensions in comparison with our own smallness . . . Go up then to the summit of the mountain, look out across all the distant hilly peaks, contemplate the steady progress of the rivers and every splendor that reveals itself to your gaze, and what feeling is it that then seizes hold of you? There is a quiet sense of devotion within you, you lose yourself in boundless space, your whole being experiences a gentle elevation and purification, your very self vanishes away, you are nothing and God is everything.*

27-20 Caspar David Friedrich, *Wanderer above a Sea of Mist*, 1817–1818. Oil on canvas, 3′ $1\frac{3}{4}$″ × 2′ $5\frac{3}{8}$″. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg.

Friedrich's painting of a solitary man on a rocky promontory gazing at a vast panorama of clouds, mountains, and thick mist perfectly expresses the Romantic notion of the sublime in nature.

Wanderer above a Sea of Mist perfectly expresses the Romantic notion of the sublime in nature.

*Translated by Nicholas Walker, in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, *Art in Theory 1815–1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 104.

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ARTISTS ON ART

John Constable on Landscape Painting

In the early 1820s, John Constable corresponded with his friend John Fisher, the archdeacon of Salisbury Cathedral (FIG. 13-40), on various topics, including his views on landscape painting. The following excerpts from a letter he wrote to Fisher on October 23, 1821, provide invaluable insight into the artist's goals and values.

> I am most anxious to get into my London painting-room. . . . I have done a good deal of skying, for I am determined to conquer all difficulties. . . . The landscape painter who does not make his skies a very material part of his composition, neglects to avail himself of one of his greatest aids. . . . Certainly, if the sky is obtrusive, as mine are, it is bad; but if it is evaded, as mine are not, it is worse; it must and always shall with me make an effectual part of the composition. . . . The sky is the force of light in nature, and governs every thing; even our common observations on the weather of every day are altogether suggested by it. . . . Shakespeare could make every thing poetical; he tells us of poor Tom's haunts among "sheep cotes and mills." As long as I do paint, I shall never cease to paint such places. . . . Still I should paint my own places best; painting is with me but another word for feeling, and I associate "my careless boyhood" with all that lies on the banks of the Stour; those scenes made me a painter, and I am grateful.*

*Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, *Art in Theory 1815–1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 118–119.

27-21 JOHN CONSTABLE, *The Hay Wain,* 1821. Oil on canvas, 4′ 3 1/4″ × 6′ 1″. National Gallery, London.

The Hay Wain immortalizes the disappearing English countryside during the Industrial Revolution. Constable had a special gift for capturing the texture that climate and weather give to landscapes.

environment relevant to his message. This is true also of *Wanderer above a Sea of Mist* (FIG. 27-20), which differs sharply from *Abbey in the Oak Forest* and Friedrich's other works, although a deep emotion pervades all of his paintings (see "Friedrich's *Wanderer above a Sea of Mist,*" page 817). Friedrich's work balances inner and outer experience. "The artist," he wrote, "should paint not only what he sees before him, but also what he sees within him. If, however, he sees nothing within him, then he should also refrain from painting that which he sees before him."[3]

John Constable. In England, one of the most momentous developments in history—the Industrial Revolution—had a profound impact on the evolution of Romantic landscape painting. Although discussion of the Industrial Revolution invariably focuses on technological advances, factory development, and growth of urban centers (see "Industrial Revolution," page 779), industrialization had no less pronounced an effect on the countryside and the land itself. The detrimental economic effect that the Industrial Revolution had on prices for agrarian products created significant unrest in the English countryside. In particular, increasing numbers of farmers could no longer afford to farm their small plots and had to abandon their land.

JOHN CONSTABLE (1776–1837) devoted his career to painting the English countryside during this agrarian crisis. The artist's father was a successful miller and flour merchant and a rural landowner of considerable wealth. Many of the scenes Constable painted, including *The Hay Wain* (FIG. 27-21), depict his family's property near East Bergholt in Suffolk, East Anglia. For each of his canvases, Constable made countless studies from nature, which helped him produce in his paintings a convincing sense of reality (see "John Constable on Landscape Painting," above). In his quest for the authentic landscape, Constable studied nature as a meteorologist (he was an accomplished amateur "weatherman"). Although he produced his paintings in his London studio, the norm at the time, he was one of the first to make his sketches outdoors using oil paints instead of watercolors or pencil drawings. His special gift was for capturing the texture that climate and weather, which delicately veil what is seen, give to landscapes. Constable's oil studies of clouds under different weather conditions are especially remarkable. His use of tiny dabs of local color, stippled with white, created a sparkling shimmer of light and hue across the canvas surface—the vibration itself suggestive of movement.

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Unleashing the Emotive Power of Color

The passion and energy of Turner's landscapes and seascapes reveal the sensibility that was the foundation for much of the art of the Romantic era, but Turner discovered a new means of capturing in painting Edmund Burke's concept of the sublime—awe mixed with terror.

Turner's *The Slave Ship* (FIG. 27-22), although strikingly different in form from Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (FIG. 27-14), also has as its subject a politically explosive disaster at sea. *The Slave Ship* depicts a 1781 incident reported in the widely read *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* by Thomas Clarkson (1760–1846). Clarkson's account, reprinted in 1839, undoubtedly was the reason Turner chose this subject for this 1840 painting. The incident involved the slave ship *Zong,* en route from Africa to Liverpool. The ship's captain, on realizing that his insurance would reimburse him only for slaves lost at sea but not for those who died en route, ordered more than 50 sick and dying slaves to be thrown overboard. Appropriately, the painting's subtitle is *Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying, Typhoon Coming On*. Slavery had been a powerful political issue in England for some time. For example, in the 1780s, fashionable women wore brooches depicting a kneeling, shackled African slave and carrying the words "Am I Not a Man and a Brother?"—the seal of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery in England. (Brooches and medallions bearing the motif were produced in great numbers in the ceramic factory of Josiah Wedgwood, much better known for his Neoclassical designs featuring Greco-Roman gods and heroes; see "The Excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii," page 790.)

Turner's frenzied emotional depiction of the sick slaves who had been dumped into the sea matches the barbaric nature of the captain's act. The artist transformed the sun into an incandescent comet amid flying scarlet clouds. The slave ship moves into the distance, leaving in its wake a turbulent sea choked with the bodies of slaves sinking to their deaths. The relative scale of the minuscule human forms compared with the vast sea and overarching sky reinforces the sense of the sublime, especially the immense power of nature over humans. *The Slave Ship* is the polar opposite of *Raft of the Medusa,* in which heroic, over-life-size bodies fill the canvas and block out most of the ocean. Almost lost in the boiling colors of Turner's painting are the event's particulars, but on close inspection, the viewer can discern the iron shackles and manacles around the wrists and ankles of the drowning slaves, cruelly denying them any chance of saving themselves from the predatory fish circling about them.

A key ingredient of Turner's highly personal style is the emotive power of color. The haziness of the painter's forms and the indistinctness of his compositions intensify the colors and energetic brushstrokes. Turner's innovation in works such as *The Slave Ship* was to release color from any defining outlines so as to express both the forces of nature and the painter's emotional response to them. In his paintings, the reality of color is at one with the reality of feeling.

Turner's methods had a profound effect on the later development of painting. His discovery of the aesthetic and emotive power of color and his pushing of the medium's fluidity to a point where the paint itself is almost the subject were important steps toward 20th-century Abstract Expressionist art, which dispensed with identifiable forms altogether (see "Greenbergian Formalism," page 962).

27-22 Joseph Mallord William Turner, *The Slave Ship* (*Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying, Typhoon Coming On*), 1840. Oil on canvas, 2′ $11\frac{1}{4}''$ × 4′. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Henry Lillie Pierce Fund).

The essence of Turner's innovative style is the emotive power of color. He released color from any defining outlines to express both the forces of nature and the painter's emotional response to them.

In *The Hay Wain,* a small cottage sits on the left of a serenely pastoral scene of the countryside. In the center foreground, a man slowly leads a horse and hay-filled wagon (a *hay wain*) across a shallow stretch of the Stour River. Billowy clouds float lazily across the sky. The muted greens and golds and the delicacy of Constable's brushstrokes complement the scene's tranquility.

In terms of content, *The Hay Wain* is significant for precisely what it does not show—the civil unrest of the agrarian working class and the resulting outbreaks of violence and arson. The people inhabiting Constable's landscapes blend into the scenes and become one with nature, a distinctly Romantic notion. Rarely does the viewer see workers engaged in tedious labor. Indeed, this painting has a nostalgic, wistful air to it, and reflects Constable's memories of a disappearing rural pastoralism. That the painter felt a kindred spirit with the Romantic artists is revealed by his comment, "painting is with me but another word for feeling."

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ARTISTS ON ART

Thomas Cole on the American Landscape

Although—or perhaps because—he was born in England, Thomas Cole, the most prominent member of the Hudson River School of landscape painting, best defined those qualities that distinguished American landscapes from European ones. In his "Essay on American Scenery" published in the January 1836 issue of *American Monthly Magazine,* Cole described the unique nature of the American countryside.

> There are those who through ignorance or prejudice strive to maintain that American scenery possesses little that is interesting or truly beautiful, . . . that being destitute of those vestiges of antiquity, whose associations so strongly affect the mind, it may not be compared with European scenery. . . . I am by no means desirous of lessening in your estimation the glorious scenes of the old world . . . over which time and genius have suspended an imperishable halo. No! But I would have it remembered that nature has shed over *this* land beauty and magnificence, and although the character of its scenery may differ from the old world's, yet inferiority must not therefore be inferred; for though American scenery is destitute of many of those circumstances that give value to the European, still it has features, and glorious ones, unknown to Europe. . . . The most distinctive, and perhaps the most impressive, characteristic of American scenery is its wildness. It is the most distinctive, because in civilized Europe the primitive features of scenery have long since been destroyed or modified . . . [In America] nature is still predominant . . . [T]hose scenes of solitude from which the hand of nature has never been lifted affect the mind with a more deep toned emotion than aught which the hand of man has touched. Amid them the consequent associations are of God the creator—they are his undefiled works, and the mind is cast into the contemplation of eternal things.*

Cole's masterpiece is *The Oxbow* (*View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm*; FIG. 27-23), in which he inserted his self-portrait. He is the tiny figure working at his easel at the bottom center of the canvas. He has paused in his work to turn his head to the viewer. Cole's presence certifies, as does the painting's title, that this landscape is not imaginary but a specific place seen and recorded by the painter. The viewer does not notice the artist at first, only the vast panorama of western Massachusetts where the Connecticut River forms an oxbow-shaped turning. Cole divided the composition in two, with the undeveloped wilderness on the left and cultivated fields and small settlements on the right—a specifically American landscape.

*Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, *Art in Theory 1815–1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 136–137.

27-23 **Thomas Cole, *The Oxbow* (*View from Mount Holyoke, Northampton, Massachusetts, after a Thunderstorm*), 1836. Oil on canvas, 4′ 3½″ × 6′ 4″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of Mrs. Russell Sage, 1908).**

Cole championed the idea of America having a landscape distinct from Europe's. Here, he contrasted dark wilderness on the left and sunlit civilization on the right, with a minuscule self-portrait at the bottom center.

J.M.W. Turner. Constable's great contemporary in the English school of landscape painting was Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851). Both artists tirelessly sought to raise the prestige of landscape painting in the Royal Academy. However, whereas Constable's canvases are serene and have as their exclusive subject the rural countryside of his birthplace, Turner's paintings have a much wider range of themes and, as in *The Slave Ship* (FIG. 27-22), feature turbulent swirls of frothy pigment (see "Unleashing the Emotive Power of Color," page 819).

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Thomas Cole. In America, landscape painting was the specialty of a group of artists known as the Hudson River School, so named because its members drew their subjects primarily from the uncultivated regions of New York's Hudson River Valley, although many of these painters depicted scenes from across the country. As did the early-19th-century landscape painters in Germany and England, the artists of the Hudson River School not only presented Romantic panoramic landscape views but also participated in the ongoing exploration of the individual's and the country's relationship to the land. American landscape painters frequently focused on identifying qualities that made America unique. Thomas Cole (1801–1848), often referred to as the leader of the Hudson River School, best articulated this idea (see "Thomas Cole on the American Landscape," page 820).

Albert Bierstadt. Other Hudson River artists used the landscape genre as an allegorical vehicle to address moral and spiritual concerns. Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902) traveled west in 1858 and produced many paintings depicting the Rocky Mountains, Yosemite Valley, and other dramatic locales. These works, such as *Among the Sierra Nevada Mountains, California* (fig. 27-24), present breathtaking scenery and natural beauty. This panoramic view (the painting is 10 feet wide) is awe inspiring. Deer and waterfowl appear at the edge of a placid lake, and steep and rugged mountains soar skyward on the left and in the distance. A stand of trees, uncultivated and wild, frames the lake on the right. To underscore the transcendental nature of this scene, Bierstadt depicted the sun's rays breaking through the clouds overhead, suggesting a heavenly consecration of the land.

Manifest Destiny. That Bierstadt's focus was the American West is not insignificant. By calling national attention to the splendor and uniqueness of the regions beyond the Rocky Mountains, Bierstadt's paintings reinforced the idea of Manifest Destiny. This popular 19th-century doctrine held that westward expansion across the continent was the logical destiny of the United States. As John L. O'Sullivan (1813–1895) expounded in the earliest known use of the term in 1845, "Our manifest destiny [is] to spread over and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federal development of self-government entrusted to us."[4] Paintings of the scenic splendor of the West helped to mute growing concerns over the realities of conquest, the displacement of Native Americans, and the exploitation of the environment. It should come as no surprise that among those most eager to purchase Bierstadt's work were mail-service magnates and railroad builders—entrepreneurs and financiers involved in westward expansion.

Frederic Church. Another painter usually associated with the Hudson River School was Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900), but his interest in landscape scenes extended beyond America. He traveled widely—to South America, Mexico, Europe, the Middle East, Newfoundland, and Labrador. Church's paintings are firmly in the idiom of the Romantic sublime, yet they also reveal

27-24 **Albert Bierstadt,** ***Among the Sierra Nevada Mountains, California,*** **1868. Oil on canvas, 6′ × 10′. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.**

Bierstadt's panoramic landscape presents the breathtaking natural beauty of the American West, reinforcing the 19th-century doctrine of Manifest Destiny, which justified America's western expansion.

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27-25 Frederic Edwin Church, *Twilight in the Wilderness,* 1860s. Oil on canvas, 3′ 4″ × 5′ 4″. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund).

Church's paintings eloquently express the Romantic notion of the sublime. This wilderness landscape presents a glorious sunset in America, but the dead trees may be a reference to the Civil War.

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contradictions and conflicts in the constructed mythology of American providence and character. *Twilight in the Wilderness* (fig. 27-25) presents a panoramic view of the sun setting over the majestic landscape. Beyond Church's precise depiction of the magnificent spectacle of nature, the painting, like Constable's *Hay Wain* (fig. 27-21), is remarkable for what it does not depict. Like Constable, Church and the other Hudson River School painters worked in a time of great upheaval. *Twilight in the Wilderness* dates to the 1860s, when the Civil War was tearing apart the no-longer-united states. Church's painting does not overtly display evidence of turbulence or discord. Indeed, it does not include even a single figure. But the view of nature that Church provides is not entirely comforting. Beside the rich vegetation and glorious sunset, there are also dead trees, perhaps symbolizing the casualties of the Civil War.

REALISM

Advances in industrial technology during the early 19th century reinforced Enlightenment faith in the connection between science and progress. Both intellectuals and the general public increasingly embraced *empiricism* and *positivism.* To empiricists, the basis of knowledge is observation and direct experience. Positivists ascribed to the philosophical model developed by Auguste Comte (1798–1857), who believed that scientific laws governed the environment and human activity and could be revealed through careful recording and analysis of observable data. Comte's followers promoted science as the mind's highest achievement and advocated a purely empirical approach to nature and society.

France

Realism was a movement that developed in France around midcentury against this backdrop of an increasing emphasis on science. Consistent with the philosophical tenets of the empiricists and positivists, Realist artists argued that only the contemporary world—what people can see—was "real." Accordingly, Realists focused their attention on the people and events of their own time and disapproved of historical and fictional subjects on the grounds that they could not be observed and therefore could not be accurately recorded by artists.

Gustave Courbet. The leading figure of the Realist movement in 19th-century art was Gustave Courbet (1819–1877). In fact, even though he shunned labels, Courbet used the term "Realism" when exhibiting his own works (see "Gustave Courbet on Realism," page 823). The Realists' sincerity about scrutinizing their environment led them to paint mundane and trivial subjects that artists had traditionally deemed unworthy of depiction—for example, working-class laborers and peasants, and similar "low" themes. Moreover, by depicting these subjects on a scale and with a seriousness previously reserved for historical, mythological, and religious painting, Realist artists sought to establish parity between contemporary subject matter and the traditional themes of "high art." Although today Realism seems an obvious goal for an artist, in the mid-19th century, it was the vanguard of artistic experimentation, an affront to academic norms.

Stone Breakers. An early work that exemplifies Courbet's championing of everyday life as the only valid subject for the modern artist is *The Stone Breakers* (fig. 27-26), in which the Realist painter presented a glimpse into the life of rural menial laborers. Courbet represented in a straightforward manner, and nearly at life size, two men—one about 70, the other quite young—in the decidedly nonheroic act of breaking stones to provide paving for provincial roads. Traditionally, this backbreaking, poorly paid work fell to the lowest members of French society, as the stone breakers' tattered garments and utensils for a modest meal of soup

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Gustave Courbet on Realism

The commission empowered to select work for the 1855 Exposition Universelle in Paris rejected 3 of the 14 paintings Gustave Courbet submitted with the excuse that they were too large and took up too much space in the exhibition hall. But it is clear that the jurors also regarded Courbet's subjects and figures as too coarse—so much so as to be plainly "socialistic." Typical of Courbet's work are *The Stone Breakers* (FIG. 27-26), which depicts menial laborers, and *Burial at Ornans* (FIG. 27-27), which represents the funeral of an ordinary man and is nearly 22 feet long. In response to the commission's decision, Courbet withdrew all of his works, including those that had been accepted, and set up his own exhibition outside the grounds, calling it the Pavilion of Realism, featuring not 14 but 40 of his own works. This was in itself a bold action. Courbet was not the first artist to exhibit his works privately, but he was the first to stage a private exhibition of his paintings in competition with the official show. His pavilion and the statement he issued to explain the paintings shown there amounted to the Realist movement's *manifesto* (a statement of an artistic movement's aesthetic ideals and beliefs). Although Courbet maintained that he founded no school and was of no school, he did, as the name of his pavilion suggests, accept the term "Realism" as descriptive of his art.

The statement Courbet distributed at his pavilion reads in part:

> The title of "realist" has been imposed upon me. . . . Titles have never given a just idea of things; were it otherwise, the work would be superfluous. . . . I have studied the art of the ancients and the moderns, avoiding any preconceived system and without prejudice. I have no more wanted to imitate the former than to copy the latter; nor have I thought of achieving the idle aim of "art for art's sake." No! I have simply wanted to draw from a thorough knowledge of tradition the reasoned and free sense of my own individuality. . . . To be able to translate the customs, ideas, and appearances of my time as I see them—in a word, to create a living art—this has been my aim.*

Six years later, on Christmas Day, 1861, Courbet wrote an open letter, published a few days later in the *Courier du dimanche,* addressed to prospective students. In the letter, the painter reflected on the nature of his art:

> [An artist must apply] his personal faculties to the ideas and the events of the times in which he lives. . . . [A]rt in painting should consist only of the representation of things that are visible and tangible to the artist. Every age should be represented only by its own artists, that is to say, by the artists who have lived in it. I also maintain that painting is an essentially concrete art form and can consist only of the representation of both real and existing things. . . . An abstract object, not visible, nonexistent, is not within the domain of painting.†

Courbet's most famous statement, however, is his blunt dismissal of academic painting, in which he concisely summed up the core principle of Realist painting:

> I have never seen an angel. Show me an angel, and I'll paint one.‡

*Translated by Robert Goldwater and Marco Treves, eds., *Artists on Art, from the XIV to the XX Century* (New York: Pantheon, 1958), 295.
†Translated by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 203–204.
‡Quoted by Vincent van Gogh in a July 1885 letter to his brother, Theo, in Ronald de Leeuw, *The Letters of Vincent van Gogh* (New York: Penguin, 1996), 302.

1 ft.

27-26 GUSTAVE COURBET, *The Stone Breakers,* 1849. Oil on canvas, 5′ 3″ × 8′ 6″. Formerly Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (destroyed in 1945).

Courbet was the leading figure in the Realist movement. Using a palette of dirty browns and grays, he conveyed the dreary and dismal nature of menial labor in mid-19th-century France.

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confirm. By juxtaposing youth and age, Courbet suggested that those born to poverty will remain poor their entire lives. The artist neither romanticized nor idealized the men's work but depicted their thankless toil with directness and accuracy. Courbet's palette of dirty browns and grays further conveys the dreary and dismal nature of the task, and the angular positioning of the older stone breaker's limbs suggests a mechanical monotony.

Courbet's interest in the working poor as subject matter had a special resonance for his mid-19th-century French audience. In 1848, laborers rebelled against the bourgeois leaders of the newly formed Second Republic and against the rest of the nation, demanding better working conditions and a redistribution of property. The army quelled the uprising in three days, but not without long-lasting trauma and significant loss of life. The 1848 revolution raised the issue of labor as a national concern. Courbet's depiction of stone breakers in 1849 was thus timely, populist, and "socialistic."

Burial at Ornans. Many art historians regard Courbet's *Burial at Ornans* (FIG. 27-27) as his masterpiece. The huge (10-by-22-foot) canvas depicts a funeral set in a bleak provincial landscape outside the artist's hometown near Besançon in eastern France. Attending the funeral are the types of ordinary people that Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850) and Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880) presented in their novels. While a robed clergyman recites the Office of the Dead, those attending cluster around the excavated gravesite. Although the painting has the imposing scale of a traditional history painting, the subject's ordinariness and the starkly antiheroic composition horrified critics. *Burial at Ornans* is not a record of the burial of a Christian martyr or a heroic soldier. It commemorates a recurring event involving common folk, and it does not ennoble or romanticize death. No one had ever painted a genre subject on this scale. Furthermore, Courbet had the audacity to submit *Burial at Ornans* to the 1851 Salon in the category of history painting, but declined to identify the deceased.

Arranged in a wavering line extending across the enormous breadth of the canvas are three groups—the somberly clad women at the back right; a semicircle of similarly clad men, including town officials and a hunting dog, by the open grave; and assorted churchmen at the left. The seemingly equal stature of all at the funeral also offended the hierarchical social sensibility of the Salon audience. This wall of figures blocks any view into deep space. The faces are portraits. Some of the models were Courbet's father, sisters, and friends. Behind and above the figures are bands of overcast sky and barren cliffs. The dark pit of the grave opens into the viewer's space in the center foreground. Despite the unposed look of the figures, Courbet controlled the composition in a masterful way by his sparing use of bright color. In place of the heroic, the sublime, and the dramatic (the mourners are all emotionally detached), Courbet aggressively presented Salon viewers with mundane realities. In 1857, Jules-François-Félix Husson Champfleury (1821–1889), one of the first critics to recognize and appreciate Courbet's work, wrote of *Burial at Ornans,* "[I]t represents a small-town funeral and yet reproduces the funerals of *all* small towns."[5] Unlike the theatricality of Romanticism, Realism captured the ordinary rhythms of daily life.

Of great importance for the later history of art, Realism also involved a reconsideration of the painter's primary goals and departed from the established emphasis on illusionism. Accordingly, Realists called attention to painting as a pictorial construction by the ways they applied pigment or manipulated composition. Courbet's intentionally simple methods of expression in composition and technique seemed unbearably crude to many of his more conservative contemporaries. Although his somber palette was essentially traditional, Courbet often used the *palette knife* to quickly place and unify large daubs of paint, producing a roughly

27-27 GUSTAVE COURBET, *Burial at Ornans,* 1849. Oil on canvas, 10′ 3½″ × 21′ 9½″. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Although as imposing in scale as a traditional history painting, *Burial at Ornans* horrified critics because of the ordinary nature of the subject and Courbet's starkly antiheroic composition.

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wrought surface. He referred to his painting technique as "naïve"—that is, direct, as opposed to the polished, contrived manner of academic painters. Courbet's example inspired the young artists who worked for him (and later Impressionists such as Claude Monet and Auguste Renoir, discussed in the next chapter), but the public accused him of carelessness, and critics wrote of his "brutalities."

Jean-François Millet. Like Courbet, Jean-François Millet (1814–1878) found his subjects in the people and occupations of the everyday world. Millet was one of a group of French painters of country life who, to be close to their rural subjects, settled near the village of Barbizon in the forest of Fontainebleau. This Barbizon School specialized in detailed pictures of forest and countryside. Millet, their most prominent member, was born into a prosperous farming family in Normandy, but was keenly aware of the hard lot of the country poor. In *The Gleaners* (fig. 27-28), he depicted three impoverished women—members of the lowest level of peasant society—performing the backbreaking task of *gleaning*. Wealthy landowners traditionally permitted peasants to glean, or collect, the wheat scraps left in the field after the harvest. Millet characteristically placed his large figures in the foreground, against a broad sky. Although the field stretches back to a rim of haystacks, cottages, trees, and distant workers and a flat horizon, the gleaners quietly doing their tedious and time-consuming work dominate the canvas. It is hard to imagine a sharper contrast with the almost invisible agricultural workers in Constable's *Hay Wain* (fig. 27-21).

The French public reacted to Millet with the same disdain and suspicion with which it greeted Courbet. In the aftermath of the 1848 revolution, Millet's investiture of the poor with solemn grandeur did not meet with approval from the newly prosperous middle class. In particular, these new landowners resisted granting gleaning rights, and thus Millet's relatively dignified depiction of gleaning antagonized them. The middle class also linked the poor with the growing and increasingly assertive working class, which was finding outspoken champions in men such as Karl Marx (1818–1883), Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), and the novelists Émile Zola (1840–1902) and Charles Dickens (1812–1870). Courbet was an ardent follower of Marx, and socialism was a growing movement. Both its views on property and its call for social justice, even economic equality, threatened and frightened the bourgeoisie. Millet's sympathetic portrayal of the poor seemed to much of the public to be a political manifesto.

Honoré Daumier. Because people widely recognized the power of art to serve political ends, the political and social agitation accompanying the violent revolutions in France and the rest of Europe in the later 18th and early 19th centuries prompted the French people to suspect artists of subversive intentions. A person could be jailed for too bold a statement in the press, in literature, in art—even in music and drama. Realist artist Honoré Daumier (1808–1879) was a defender of the urban working class, and in his art he boldly confronted authority with social criticism and political protest. In response, the authorities imprisoned him, primarily because of the satirical *lithographs* (see "Lithography," page 826) he contributed to the widely read, liberal journals *Caricature* and *L'association mensuelle*. In those lithographs, which reached an audience of unprecedented size, Daumier mercilessly lampooned the foibles and misbehavior of politicians, lawyers, doctors, and the rich bourgeoisie in general.

27-28 Jean-François Millet, *The Gleaners,* 1857. Oil on canvas, 2′ 9″ × 3′ 8″. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Millet and the Barbizon School painters specialized in depictions of French country life. Here, Millet portrayed with dignity three impoverished women gathering the scraps left in the field after a harvest.

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Lithography

In 1798, the German printmaker Alois Senefelder (1771–1834) created the first prints using stone instead of metal plates or wood blocks. In contrast to earlier printing techniques (see "How to Illustrate Printed Books," page 589, and "Engraving and Etching," page 590), in which the artist applied ink either to a raised or incised surface, in *lithography* (Greek, "stone writing or drawing") the printing and nonprinting areas of the plate are on the same plane.

The chemical phenomenon fundamental to lithography is the repellence of oil and water. The lithographer uses a greasy, oil-based crayon to draw directly on a stone plate and then wipes water onto the stone, which clings only to the areas that the drawing does not cover. Next, the printmaker rolls oil-based ink onto the stone, which adheres to the drawing but is repelled by the water. When the artist presses the stone against paper, only the inked area—the drawing—transfers to the paper. Color lithography requires multiple plates, one for each color, and the printmaker must take special care to make sure each impression lines up perfectly with the previous one so that each color prints in its proper place—the same problem confronted by makers of polychrome woodblock prints (see "Japanese Woodblock Prints," page 1086).

One of the first artists to exploit this new printmaking process in order to reach a huge audience was Honoré Daumier (FIGS. 27-29 and 27-50A). However, Daumier did not produce his own lithographs. Rather, he submitted his drawings to professional printmakers employed by leading French journals such as *Caricature* and *L'association mensuelle*.

1 in.

27-29 HONORÉ DAUMIER, *Rue Transnonain, April 15, 1834,* 1834. Lithograph, 1′ $1\frac{3}{8}$″ × 1′ $6\frac{1}{4}$″. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (Everett V. Meeks, B.A. 1901, Fund).

Daumier used the recent invention of lithography to reach a wide audience for his social criticism and political protest. This print records the horrific 1834 massacre in a workers' housing block in Paris.

Rue Transnonain. Daumier's lithograph *Rue Transnonain, April 15, 1834* (FIG. 27-29), published in the August 1834 issue of *L'association mensuelle,* a monthly French newspaper, is one of his greatest and politically most explosive works. The title refers to the day when, on that street in Paris, an unknown sniper killed a civil guard, part of a government force trying to repress a worker demonstration. Because the fatal shot had come from a workers' housing block, the remaining guards immediately stormed the building and massacred all of its inhabitants. The lithograph had the same shocking impact as Goya's *Third of May, 1808* (FIG. 27-11), but in *Rue Transnonain,* Daumier depicted not the dramatic moment of execution but the terrible, quiet aftermath. The limp bodies of the workers—and of a child crushed beneath his father's corpse—lie amid violent disorder. The print's power derives from its factualness. Daumier's pictorial manner is rough and spontaneous, and that approach to representation, which is a central characteristic of Realist art, accounts in large measure for *Rue Transnonain*'s remarkable force.

Third-Class Carriage. For his paintings, Daumier chose the same kind of subjects and representational manner as in his graphic work, especially after the 1848 revolution. His unfinished *Third-Class Carriage* (FIG. 27-30) provides a glimpse into the cramped and grimy railway cars of the 1860s. The riders are poor and can afford only third-class tickets. First- and second-class carriages had closed compartments, but third-class passengers had to cram together on hard benches stretching from one side of their carriage to the other. The disinherited masses, the victims of 19th-century industrialization, were Daumier's indignant concern. He depicted them in the unposed attitudes and unplanned arrangements of the millions thronging the modern cities—anonymous, insignificant, dumbly patient with a lot they cannot change. Daumier saw people as they ordinarily appeared, their faces vague, impersonal, and blank—unprepared for any observers. He tried to achieve the impression of an eyewitness account of a moment frozen in time by isolating a random collection of the unrehearsed details of human existence from the continuum of ordinary life. Daumier's vision anticipated the spontaneity and candor of scenes captured with the camera at the end of the century (see "Photography," page 842).

Rosa Bonheur. The most celebrated woman artist of the 19th century was MARIE-ROSALIE (ROSA) BONHEUR (1822–1899). Born

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1 ft.

27-30 Honoré Daumier, *Third-Class Carriage,* ca. 1862. Oil on canvas, 2′ $1\frac{3}{4}$″ × 2′ $11\frac{1}{2}$″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (H. O. Havemeyer Collection, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929).

Daumier frequently depicted the plight of the disinherited masses, the victims of 19th-century industrialization. Here, he portrayed the anonymous poor cramped together in a grimy third-class railway carriage.

in Bordeaux, she won the gold medal at the Salon of 1848 and became the director of France's state-sponsored drawing school for women the same year, a post she held until 1859. (Admission to the École des Beaux-Arts was nearly impossible for women, as it was in Britain's Royal Academy.) In 1865, Bonheur became the first woman to be awarded the Grand Cross of the French Legion of Honor. As was typical for women since the Renaissance (see "The Artist's Profession," page 580), Bonheur received her artistic training from her father, Oscar-Raymond Bonheur (1796–1849), who was a proponent of *Saint-Simonianism,* an early-19th-century utopian socialist movement that championed the education and enfranchisement of women. As a result of her father's influence, Bonheur launched her career believing that as a woman, an artist, and a lesbian who frequently wore male attire, she had a special role to play in creating a new and perfect society. A Realist passion for accuracy in painting drove Bonheur, but she resisted depicting the problematic social and political themes seen in the work of Courbet, Millet, Daumier, and other Realists. Rather, she turned to the animal world—not, however, to the exotic wild animals that so fascinated Delacroix (FIG. 27-16A), but to animals common in the French countryside, especially horses, but also rabbits, cows, and sheep. She went to great lengths to observe the anatomy of living horses at the twice-weekly Parisian horse market and spent long hours studying the anatomy of carcasses in the Paris slaughterhouses. (Women were not permitted in French stockyards and slaughterhouses, but Bonheur's male garb gained her access.)

For *The Horse Fair* (FIG. 27-31), Bonheur's best-known work, the artist chose a panoramic composition similar to that in Courbet's *Burial at Ornans* (FIG. 27-27). She filled her broad canvas with the sturdy farm Percherons of Normandy and their grooms on parade. Some horses, not quite broken, rear up. Others plod or

1 ft.

27-31 Rosa Bonheur, *The Horse Fair,* 1853–1855. Oil on canvas, 8′ $\frac{1}{4}$″ × 16′ $7\frac{1}{2}$″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of Cornelius Vanderbilt, 1887).

Bonheur was the most celebrated woman artist of the 19th century. A Realist, she went to great lengths to record accurately the anatomy of living horses, even studying carcasses in slaughterhouses.

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trot, guided on foot or ridden by their keepers. Bonheur recorded the Percherons' uneven line of march, their thunderous pounding, and their seemingly overwhelming power based on her close observation of living animals, even though she acknowledged some inspiration from the Parthenon frieze (FIG. 5-50, *top*). The dramatic lighting, loose brushwork, and rolling sky also reveal her admiration of Géricault's style (FIGS. 27-13 and 27-14). Bonheur's masterful depiction of horses at life size and seen from multiple angles captivated viewers, who eagerly bought engraved reproductions of *The Horse Fair,* making it one of the most popular artworks of the century.

Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux. The leading French sculptor of this era was JEAN-BAPTISTE CARPEAUX (1827–1875), who received his training at the École des Beaux-Arts under the direction of François Rude, best known for *La Marseillaise* (FIG. 27-18), his colossal relief on the Arc de Triomphe (FIG. 27-18A) in Paris. Although it took him a decade to achieve, Carpeaux won the Rome Prize in 1854 and spent the next eight years in Italy honing his technical skills. In his mature work, Carpeaux combined his love for the ancient, Renaissance, and Baroque sculpture he studied in Italy with a strong interest in contemporary Realism.

1 ft.

27-32 JEAN-BAPTISTE CARPEAUX, *Ugolino and His Children,* 1865–1867. Marble, 6′ 5″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Josephine Bay Paul and C. Michael Paul Foundation, Inc., and the Charles Ulrich and Josephine Bay Foundation, Inc., gifts, 1967).

As in Dante's *Inferno,* Carpeaux's Ugolino bites his hands in despair as he and his four sons await death by starvation. The twisted forms suggest the self-devouring torment of frustration.

All of those sources are evident in his group *Ugolino and His Children* (FIG. 27-32), which he based on a passage in Dante's *Inferno* (33.58–75) in which Count Ugolino and his four sons starve to death while shut up in a tower. In Hell, Ugolino relates to Dante how, in a moment of extreme despair, he bit both his hands in grief. His children, thinking he did it because of his hunger, offered him their own flesh as food. In Carpeaux's statuary group, the powerful forms—twisted, intertwined, and densely concentrated—suggest the self-devouring torment of frustration and despair wracking the unfortunate Ugolino. A careful student of Michelangelo's male figures, Carpeaux also said he had the ancient *Laocoön* (FIG. 5-89) in mind when he conceived *Ugolino and His Children,* which he hoped would be "a masterpiece of the human spirit." Certainly, the storm and stress captured in his *Ugolino* recall similar characteristics of the group of Laocoön and his two sons. Nevertheless, the sense of vivid reality in the anatomy of Carpeaux's figures shows that the artist had studied the human figure from life, not solely from other statues. However, the French public did not share Carpeaux's interest in Realism. They preferred the idealized bodies of classical sculptures—one of the reasons Carpeaux was forced to remove another of his best works, *The Dance* (FIG. 27-32A), from the facade of the Paris opera house (FIG. 27-46).

27-32A CARPEAUX, *The Dance,* 1867–1869.

Édouard Manet. Younger than both Courbet and Carpeaux, the painter ÉDOUARD MANET (1832–1883) was also influential in articulating Realist principles. However, unlike his older contemporaries in France, Manet often portrayed daily life in industrialized Paris. In his choice of subjects as well as his style and technique, Manet played an important role in the development of Impressionism in the 1870s (FIG. 28-1). Manet's *Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* (*Luncheon on the Grass*; FIG. 27-33), widely recognized only later as a seminal work in the history of art, was rejected by the jury for the 1863 Salon. Nevertheless, the public was able to view (and mock) the painting at a special exhibition for rejected works—the Salon des Refusés (see "Academic Salons and Independent Art Exhibitions," page 853). *Le Déjeuner* depicts two clothed men and one naked and one clothed woman at a picnic. Consistent with Realist principles, Manet painted a contemporary genre scene and based all four figures on real people, including his brother and Victorine Meurent (1844–1927), Manet's favorite model at the time. The two men wear fashionable Parisian attire of the 1860s. The naked woman—she has undressed in the park and tossed her clothes on the grass—is a distressingly unidealized figure who also seems completely unfazed by her nakedness. She gazes directly at the viewer without shame or flirtatiousness. Her companion looks in the same direction. Neither pays any attention to what the second man is saying to them. Nor is it clear what relationship, if any, the second woman has to the trio "at lunch." She appears to be looking for something in a pool of water, while attempting unsuccessfully to keep her garment dry. No one has any interest in the picnic food. This is no luncheon on the grass, although it may be the aftermath of a meal. Nor is this truly Realism, because the subject is incomprehensible—as Manet wished it to be. In this work, he sought to reassess the nature of painting. The composition contains sophisticated references and allusions to many artistic genres—history painting, portraiture,

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27-33 Édouard Manet, *Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* (*Luncheon on the Grass*), 1863. Oil on canvas, 7′ × 8′ 8″. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Manet shocked his contemporaries with both his subject matter and manner of painting. Moving away from illusionism, he used colors to flatten form and draw attention to the painting surface.

pastoral scenes, nudes. *Le Déjeuner* is Manet's impressive critique of European painting since the Renaissance.

This audacious painting outraged the French public. Rather than a traditional pastoral scene—for example, Titian's *Pastoral Symphony* (FIG. 22-32), with which Manet was familiar and no doubt wished his canvas to be compared—*Le Déjeuner* is not populated by anonymous idealized figures in an idyllic setting. Instead, it features ordinary men and what the public regarded as promiscuous women in a Parisian park, and, as Manet's images frequently do, calls attention to the visible—and unsettling for many—collapse of a class-based society in the wake of the 1848 revolution. One hostile critic, no doubt voicing public opinion, said: "A commonplace woman of the demimonde, as naked as can be, shamelessly lolls between two dandies dressed to the teeth. These latter look like schoolboys on a holiday, perpetrating an outrage to play the man. . . . This is a young man's practical joke—a shameful, open sore."[6]

The negative response to Manet's painting on the part of the public and critics alike extended beyond subject matter. The painter's manner of presenting his figures also elicited severe criticism. He rendered the men and women in soft focus, and broadly painted the landscape. The loose manner of painting contrasts with the clear forms of the harshly lit foreground trio and of the pile of discarded clothes and picnic foods at the lower left. The lighting creates strong contrasts between dark and highlighted areas. In the main figures, many values are summed up in one or two lights or darks. The effect is both to flatten the forms and set them off sharply from the setting. Manet aimed to move away from illusionism toward an open acknowledgment of painting's properties, such as the flatness of the painting surface, which would become a core principle of many later 19th-century painters as well as their successors to the present day. The mid-19th-century French public, however, saw only a crude sketch lacking the customary finish of paintings exhibited in the Paris Salon. The style of the painting, coupled with its unorthodox subject matter, made *Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* one of the most controversial artworks ever created.

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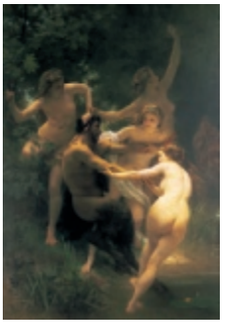
27-34 Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 4′ 3″ × 6′ 2 1/4″. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Manet's painting of a naked prostitute and her black maid bringing her a bouquet from a client scandalized the public. Critics also faulted the painter's rough brushstrokes and abruptly shifting tonalities.

Olympia. Even more scandalous to the French viewing public, however, was Manet's *Olympia* (fig. 27-34), painted the same year and also loosely based on a painting by Titian—*Venus of Urbino* (fig. 22-36). Manet's subject was a young white prostitute. (Olympia was a common "professional" name for prostitutes in 19th-century Paris.) She reclines on a bed that extends across the full width of the painting (and beyond) and is naked except for a thin black ribbon tied around her neck, a bracelet on her arm, an orchid in her hair, and fashionable slippers on her feet. Like the seated woman in *Le Déjeuner,* Olympia (Victorine Meurent served again as Manet's model) meets the viewer's eye—and her presumed male client's gaze—with a look of cool indifference. The only other figure in the painting is a black maid, who presents Olympia with a bouquet of flowers from the man who has just entered her bedroom.

Olympia horrified everyone who saw it at the Salon of 1865 (surprisingly, the jury accepted the painting for inclusion). One reviewer described Manet as "the apostle of the ugly and repulsive."[7] Although images of prostitutes were not unheard of during this period, the shamelessness of Olympia and her look verging on defiance shocked viewers. The depiction of a black woman was also not new to painting, but the French public perceived Manet's inclusion of both a black maid and a naked prostitute as evoking moral depravity. The contrast of the black servant with the fair-skinned courtesan also conjured racial divisions. An anonymous critic in *Le Monde Illustré* described Olympia as "a courtesan, with dirty hands and wrinkled feet . . . her body has the livid tint of a cadaver displayed in the morgue; her outlines are drawn in charcoal and her greenish, bloodshot eyes appear to be provoking the public, protected all the while by a hideous Negress."[8] From this and similar reviews, it is clear that critics and the public were responding not solely to the subject matter but to Manet's painting technique as well. The painter's brushstrokes are much rougher and the shifts in tonality far more abrupt than those found in traditional academic painting. This departure from accepted practice compounded the audacity of the subject matter. *Olympia*—indeed, all of Manet's work—represented a radical departure from the academic style then in favor, as exemplified by the work of Adolphe-William Bouguereau (1825–1905; fig. 27-34A), an artist largely ignored in histories of art today, although he was a towering figure in the French art world during the second half of the 19th century.



27-34A Bouguereau, *Nymphs and a Satyr,* 1873.

Germany and the United States

Although French artists took the lead in promoting the depiction of the realities of modern life as the only valid goal for artists, the Realist movement was neither exclusively French nor confined to Europe.

Wilhelm Leibl. In Germany, Wilhelm Leibl (1844–1900) shared the French Realists' commitment to representing the contemporary world and real people in his paintings. *Three Women in a Village Church* (fig. 27-35) is Leibl's most famous work and characteristically depicts the life of rural peasants in Bavaria. The painting, which took three years to complete, depicts three women of different generations engaged in solemn prayer. Dressed in rustic costume, their Sunday-church best, they quietly pursue their devotions in the village church, their prayer books held in large hands roughened by work. Their manners and their dress reflect their unaffected nature, untouched by the refinements of urban life. Leibl highlighted their natural virtues: simplicity, honesty, steadfastness, and patience. The picture is a moving expression of the artist's compassionate view of his subjects, a reading of character without sentimentality.

Winslow Homer. Realism received an especially warm welcome in the United States. One of the leading American Realist painters was Winslow Homer (1836–1910) of Boston. Homer experienced at first hand the most momentous event of his era—the Civil War. In October 1862, he joined the Union campaign as an artist-reporter for *Harper's Weekly.* At the end of the war, he painted *Veteran in a New Field* (fig. 27-36). Although it is simple and direct, Homer's painting is a significant commentary on the effects and aftermath of America's catastrophic national conflict. At the center of the canvas is a man with his back to the viewer, harvesting wheat. Homer identified him as a veteran by including his uniform and canteen

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1 ft.

27-35 **Wilhelm Leibl, *Three Women in a Village Church,* 1878–1882. Oil on canvas, 2′ 5″ × 2′ 1″. Kunsthalle, Hamburg.**

French Realism spread quickly to Germany, where Leibl painted this moving depiction of simple peasant women of different generations holding their prayer books in hands roughened by work.

carelessly thrown on the ground in the lower right corner. The man's current occupation, however, is as a farmer, and he has cast aside his former role as a soldier, as did the veterans of America's Revolutionary War in the previous century. The Civil War veteran's involvement in meaningful and productive work implies a smooth transition from war to peace. This postwar transition to work and the fate of disbanded soldiers were national concerns. Echoing the sentiments behind Houdon's portrayal of George Washington as the new Cincinnatus (FIG. 26-35), the *New York Weekly Tribune* commented: "Rome took her great man from the plow, and made him a dictator—we must now take our soldiers from the camp and make them farmers."[9] America's ability to effect a smooth transition was seen as evidence of its national strength. "The peaceful and harmonious disbanding of the armies in the summer of 1865," wrote poet Walt Whitman (1819–1892), was one of the "immortal proofs of democracy, unequall'd in all the history of the past."[10] Homer's painting thus reinforced the perception of the country's greatness.

Veteran in a New Field also comments symbolically about death. By the 1860s, farmers used cradled scythes to harvest wheat. For this detail, however, Homer rejected realism in favor of symbolism. The former soldier's tool is a single-bladed scythe. The artist thus transformed the man who lived through the Civil War into a symbol of death—the Grim Reaper himself. In addition to being a tribute to the successful transition to peace, *Veteran in a New Field* is an elegy to the thousands of soldiers who did not return from the war (compare FIG. 27-53).

Thomas Eakins. Even more determined a Realist than Homer was Philadelphia-born Thomas Eakins (1844–1916), whose paintings reflect his keen appetite for recording the realities of the human experience. Eakins studied both painting and medical anatomy in Philadelphia before undertaking further study under French artist Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904). Eakins aimed to paint things as he saw them rather than as the public might wish them portrayed. This attitude was very much in tune with 19th-century American taste, combining an admiration for accurate depiction with a hunger for truth.

1 ft.

27-36 **Winslow Homer, *Veteran in a New Field,* 1865. Oil on canvas, 2′ $\frac{1}{8}$″ × 3′ 2$\frac{1}{8}$″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (bequest of Miss Adelaide Milton de Groot, 1967).**

This veteran's productive work implies a smooth transition to peace after the Civil War, but Homer placed a single-bladed scythe—the Grim Reaper's tool—in his hands, symbolizing the deaths of soldiers.

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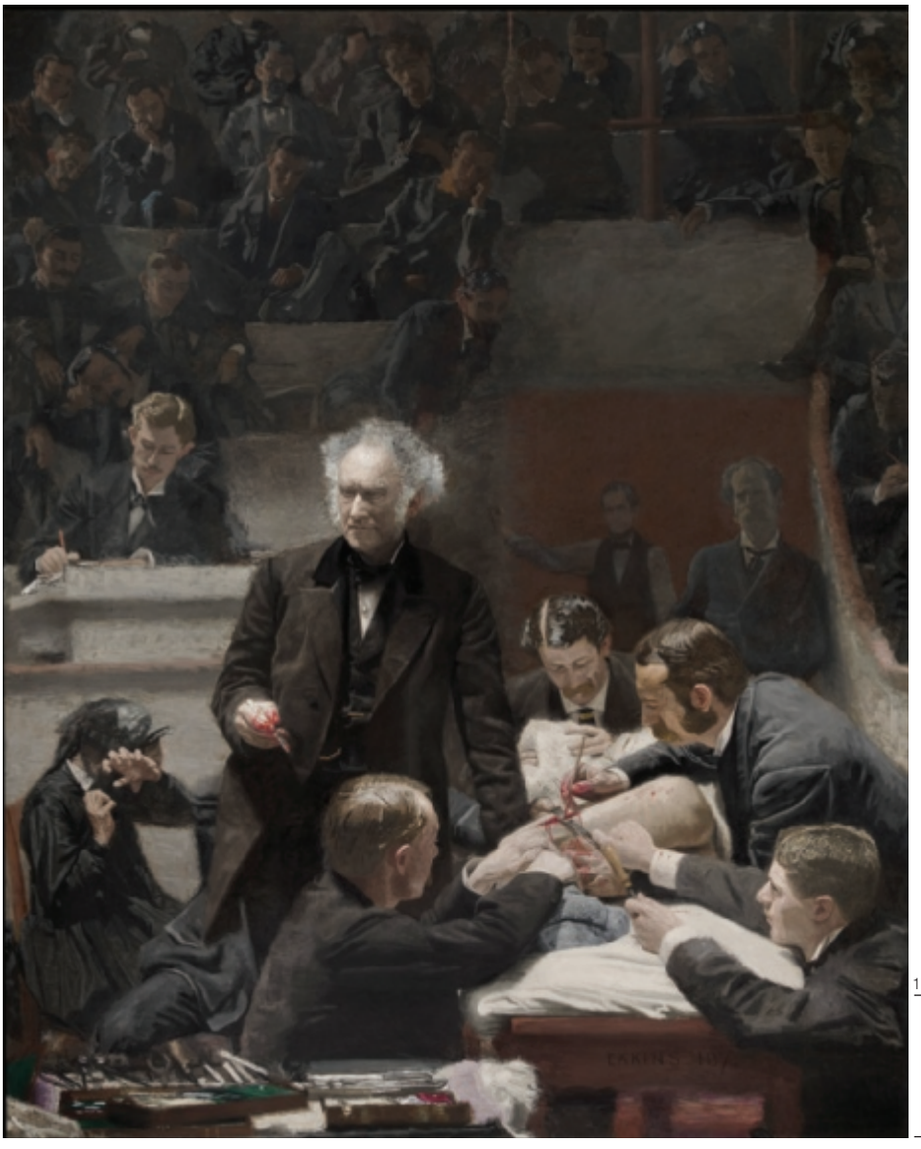

27-37 Thomas Eakins, *The Gross Clinic,* from Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1875. Oil on canvas, 8′ × 6′ 6″. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.

The too-brutal realism of Eakins's depiction of a medical college operating amphitheater caused this painting's rejection from the Philadelphia exhibition celebrating America's centennial.

The too-brutal Realism of Eakins's early masterpiece, *The Gross Clinic* (fig. 27-37), perhaps inspired by Rembrandt's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* (fig. 25-12), prompted the art jury to reject it for the Philadelphia exhibition celebrating the American independence centennial in 1876. The painting portrays the renowned surgeon Dr. Samuel Gross in the operating amphitheater of the Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia, where the painting hung for 130 years until its sale in 2006 to raise funds for the college. Eakins's decision to depict an operation in progress reflects the public's increasing faith that scientific and medical advances could enhance—and preserve—lives. Dr. Gross, with bloody fingers and scalpel, lectures about his surgery on a young man's leg. The patient suffered from osteomyelitis, a bone infection. Watching the surgeon, acclaimed for his skill in this specific operation, are several colleagues—all of whom historians have identified—and the patient's mother, who covers her face. Eakins, who considered becoming a physician and studied at the college, included his self-portrait (in the doorway at the right) to underscore the accuracy of what he recorded as an eyewitness. Also present is an anesthetist, who holds a cloth over the patient's face. Anesthetics had been introduced in 1846, and their development eliminated a major obstacle to extensive surgery. The painting, made more dramatic by the lighting, is an unsparing description of an unfolding event, with a good deal more reality than many viewers could endure. "It is a picture," one critic said, "that even strong men find difficult to look at long, if they can look at it at all."[11]

Consistent with the dominance of empiricism in the latter half of the 19th century, Eakins believed that careful observation and, where relevant, scientific knowledge were prerequisites for his art, and he created his paintings in a deliberate, methodical way based on firsthand study of his subject. For example, Eakins's focus on anatomical correctness led him to investigate the human form and humans in motion, both with regular photographic apparatuses and with a special camera devised by the French kinesiologist (a person who studies the physiology of body movement) Étienne-Jules Marey (1830–1904). Eakins later collaborated with Eadweard Muybridge (fig. 27-54) in the photographic study of animal and human action of all types, anticipating the 20th-century invention of the motion picture.

John Singer Sargent. The expatriate American artist John Singer Sargent (1856–1925), born in Florence, Italy, was a younger contemporary of Eakins. Sargent developed a looser, more dashing Realist painting style, in contrast to Eakins's carefully rendered details. Sargent studied art in Paris before settling in London, where he won renown both as a cultivated and cosmopolitan gentleman and as an accomplished portrait painter. He learned his adept application of paint in thin layers and his effortless achievement of quick and lively illusion from his study of Velázquez, whose masterpiece, *Las Meninas* (fig. 24-31), may have influenced Sargent's family portrait *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit* (fig. 27-38). The four girls (the children of one of Sargent's close friends) appear in a hall and small drawing room in their Paris home. The informal, eccentric arrangement of their slight figures suggests how much at ease they are within this familiar space and with objects such as the enormous Japanese vases, the red screen, and the fringed rug, whose scale subtly emphasizes the children's small stature. Sargent must have known the Boit daughters well. Relaxed and trustful, they gave the artist an opportunity to record the girls' distinct personalities: the naïve, wondering openness of the youngest daughter in the foreground, the grave artlessness of the 10-year-old child, and the slightly self-conscious poise of the two adolescents. Sargent's casual positioning of the figures and seemingly random choice of the setting communicate a sense

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1 ft.

27-38 John Singer Sargent, *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit,* 1882. Oil on canvas, 7′ $3\frac{3}{8}$″ × 7′ $3\frac{5}{8}$″. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (gift of Mary Louisa Boit, Florence D. Boit, Jane Hubbard Boit, and Julia Overing Boit, in memory of their father, Edward Darley Boit).

Sargent's casual positioning of the Boit sisters creates a sense of the momentary and spontaneous, consistent with Realist painters' interest in recording modern people in modern contexts.

of spontaneity. The children seem to be attending momentarily to an adult who has asked them to interrupt their activity. The painting embodies the Realist belief that the artist's business is to record modern people in modern contexts.

Henry Ossawa Tanner. Realist painter Henry Ossawa Tanner (1859–1937). studied art with Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts before moving to Paris in 1891. There he combined Eakins's belief in careful study from nature with a desire to portray with dignity the life of the working people among whom he had been raised as a minister's son in Pennsylvania. One of Tanner's early works, *The Thankful Poor* (fig. 27-39), characteristically depicts ordinary people engaged in everyday activities. The mood is one of quiet devotion not far removed from the Realism of Millet (fig. 27-28) and Leibl (fig. 27-35), but quite different from the emotionalism of the sculptures of Edmonia Lewis, Tanner's older contemporary (see "Edmonia Lewis's *Forever Free,*" page 834). Tanner painted the grandfather, grandchild, and main objects in the room in great detail, whereas everything else dissolves into loose strokes of color and light. The lighting reinforces the painting's reverent spirit, with deep shadows intensifying the man's devout concentration. The golden rays pouring in the window illuminate the quiet expression of thanksgiving on the younger face. The deep sense of sanctity evoked here in terms of everyday experience became increasingly important for Tanner. Within a few years of completing *The Thankful Poor,* he began painting biblical subjects grounded in direct studies from nature and in the love of Rembrandt that had inspired him from his days as a Philadelphia art student.

1 ft.

27-39 Henry Ossawa Tanner, *The Thankful Poor,* 1894. Oil on canvas, 2′ $11\frac{1}{2}$″ × 3′ $8\frac{1}{4}$″. Collection of William H. and Camille Cosby.

Tanner combined the Realists' belief in careful study from nature with a desire to portray with dignity the life of African American families. The lighting reinforces the painting's reverent spirit.

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A SECOND OPINION

Edmonia Lewis's *Forever Free*

About 15 years older than Henry Ossawa Tanner (FIG. 27-39), EDMONIA LEWIS (ca. 1844–ca. 1911) was the daughter of a Chippewa mother and African American father. Born in upstate New York and given the name Wildfire, Lewis became an orphan when she was four years old, and was raised by the Chippewa. She adopted the name Edmonia Lewis in 1859 when she was admitted to Oberlin College (the first American college to grant degrees to women and among the first to admit African Americans). After Oberlin, Lewis became an apprentice in a sculpture studio in Boston. She financed her 1865 trip to Rome, which became her permanent home, with the sale of portrait medallions and marble busts, mostly representing abolitionist leaders. Lewis's success in a field dominated by white European and American men is a testament to both her artistic skill and her determination. Her accomplishments as a sculptor also speak to the increasing access to artistic training available to women during the 19th century.

Lewis produced sculptures stylistically indebted to Neoclassicism but depicting contemporary Realist themes. *Forever Free* (FIG. 27-40) is a marble statue she carved while living in Rome, surrounded by examples of both classical and Renaissance art. It represents two freed African American slaves immediately after President Lincoln's issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. The man stands triumphantly in a pose reminiscent of classical statues. His right hand rests on the shoulder of the kneeling woman with her hands clasped in thankful prayer. The man holds aloft in his left hand a broken manacle and chain as literal and symbolic references to his former servitude. Produced four years after Lincoln's proclamation, *Forever Free* (originally titled *The Morning of Liberty*) was widely perceived as an abolitionist statement. ("Forever free" is a phrase that Lincoln used in both his preliminary September 1862 and final January 1863 emancipation proclamations.) Although emancipated, the former slaves still have shackles attached, in contrast to those born free.

However, other factors caution against an overly simplistic reading. For example, scholars have debated the degree to which the sculptor attempted to inject a statement about gender relationships into this statue and whether the kneeling position of the woman is a reference to female subordination in the African American community. One of the results of the emancipation of slaves in America following the Civil War is that male former slaves also gained the right to vote. It would not be until 1920, however, that women, even white women, became eligible to vote in the United States (a few years after women were permitted to vote in Canada and England). Many historians of American art, politics, and culture think that in *Forever Free,* Lewis was also expressing her view that although all former African slaves had been freed by Lincoln, black women remained inferior to black men.

27-40 EDMONIA LEWIS, *Forever Free,* 1867. Marble, 3′ 5 $\frac{1}{4}$″ high. James A. Porter Gallery of Afro-American Art, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

African American–Chippewa Lewis's sculptures owe a stylistic debt to Neoclassicism but depict contemporary Realist themes. She carved *Forever Free* four years after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood

Realism did not appeal to all artists, of course. In England, a group of painters who called themselves the *Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood* refused to be limited to the contemporary scenes that strict Realists portrayed. These artists chose instead to represent fictional, historical, and fanciful subjects, but with a significant degree of convincing illusion. Organized in 1848, the Pre-Raphaelite artists wished to create fresh and sincere art, free from what its members considered the tired and artificial manner promoted in the national painting academies by the successors of Raphael. Influenced by the critic, artist, and writer John Ruskin (1819–1900), the Pre-Raphaelites shared his distaste for the materialism and ugliness of the contemporary industrializing world. They also expressed appreciation for the spirituality and idealism (as well as the art and artisanship) of past times, especially the Early Renaissance.

John Everett Millais. One of the founders of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS (1829–1896). Millais's *Ophelia* (FIG. 27-41) garnered enthusiastic praise when the painter exhibited it in the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1855—the exhibition at which Courbet set up his Pavilion of Realism. The subject, from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (4.7.174–183), is the drowning of Ophelia, who, in her madness, is unaware of her plight:

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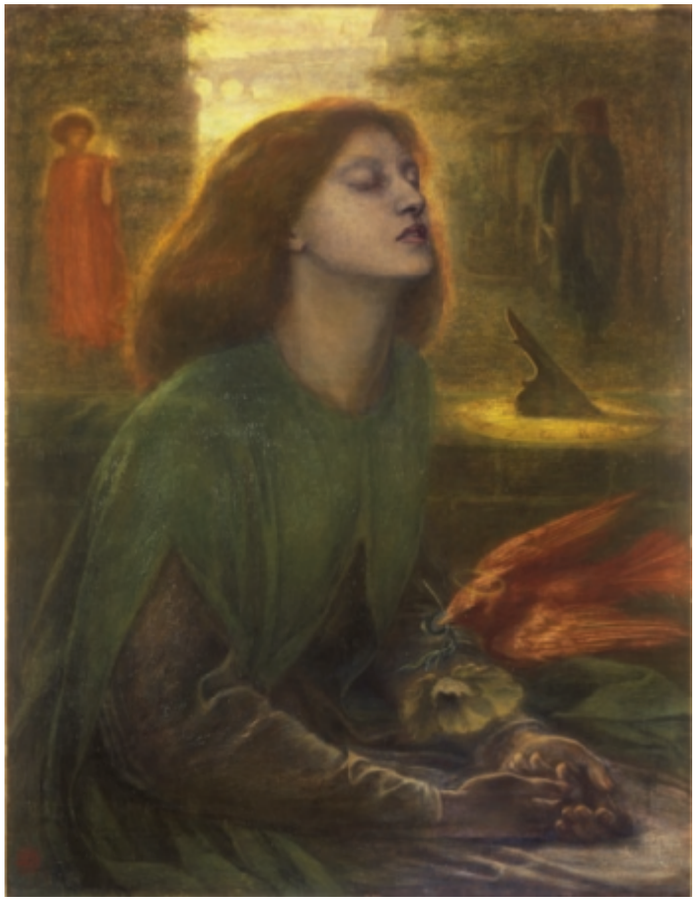
27-41 John Everett Millais, *Ophelia,* 1852. Oil on canvas, 2′ 6″ × 3′ 8″. Tate Britain, London.

Millais was a founder of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, whose members refused to be limited to the contemporary scenes that strict Realists portrayed. The drowning of Ophelia is a Shakespearean subject.

When down her weedy trophies and herself
Fell in the weeping brook. Her clothes spread wide;
And, mermaid-like, awhile they bore her up . . .
Till that her garments, heavy with their drink,
Pull'd the poor wretch from her melodious lay
To muddy death.

To make the pathos of the scene visible, Millais became a faithful and feeling witness of its every detail, reconstructing it with a lyricism worthy of the original poetry. (Charles Baudelaire [1821–1867] called him "the poet of meticulous detail.") Although the scene is fictitious and therefore one that Realist painters would have rejected, Millais worked diligently to present it with unswerving fidelity to visual fact. He painted the background on-site at a spot along the Hogsmill River in Surrey. For the figure of Ophelia, Millais had a friend lie in a heated bathtub full of water for hours at a time.



27-42 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Beata Beatrix,* ca. 1863. Oil on canvas, 2′ 10″ × 2′ 2″. Tate Gallery, London.

This painting of a beautiful and sensuous woman is ostensibly a literary portrait of Dante's Beatrice, but the work also served as a memorial to Rossetti's wife, who died of an opium overdose.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Another founder of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood was Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–1882), who established an enviable reputation as both a painter and poet. Like other members of the group, Rossetti focused on literary and biblical themes in his art. He also produced numerous portraits of women that projected an image of ethereal beauty and melded apparent opposites—for example, a Victorian prettiness with sensual allure. His *Beata Beatrix* (fig. 27-42) is ostensibly a portrait of a literary figure—Beatrice, from Dante's *Vita Nuova.* In Rossetti's painting, Dante's heroine overlooks Florence in a trance after being mystically transported to Heaven. Yet the portrait also had personal resonance for Rossetti. It served as a memorial to his wife, Elizabeth Siddal (1829–1862), the model for Millais's *Ophelia.* Siddal had died shortly before Rossetti began this painting in 1862. In the image, a red dove (a messenger of both love and death) deposits a poppy (symbolic of sleep and death) in the hands of the seated woman (Siddal-Beatrice), who has a faraway look on her face. Because Siddal died of an opium overdose, the presence of the poppy assumes greater significance.

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ARCHITECTURE

At the opening of the 19th century, Napoleon had co-opted the classical style of the ancient Roman Empire as the official architectural expression of his new French empire (FIG. 27-2). Neoclassicism was in vogue elsewhere in Europe, especially in London in the work of ROBERT SMIRKE (1780–1867; FIG. 27-42A) and JOHN NASH (1752–1835; FIG. 27-42B), in the Prussian capital of Berlin (see "What Should a Museum Look Like?" below, and FIG. 27-43), and in the new American republic (FIGS. 26-33 and 26-34), but other historical styles, Gothic chief among them, also enjoyed revivals at the same time that architects were exploring the expressive possibilities made possible by new construction technologies. The architecture of the 19th century is consequently stylistically diverse, more so perhaps than at any other time in history.

27-42A SMIRKE, St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, 1823–1824.

27-42B NASH, Marble Arch, London, 1827.

Gothic Revival. As 19th-century scholars gathered the documentary materials of European history in encyclopedic enterprises, each nation came to value its past as evidence of the validity of its ambitions and claims to greatness. Intellectuals appreciated the art of the remote past as a product of cultural and national genius. Italy, of course, had its Roman ruins, which had long inspired later architects. A reawakening of interest in Gothic architecture also surfaced at this time, even in France under Napoleon. In 1802, Chateaubriand published his influential *Genius of Christianity,* which defended religion on the

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

What Should a Museum Look Like?

After the fall of Napoleon, who had occupied the Prussian capital of Berlin from 1806 to 1808, a fervent nationalistic spirit emerged in Germany. One manifestation of Prussian nationalism was the decision to build a new art museum to house the extensive and growing royal collection and to open the museum to the general public. The commission went to KARL FRIEDRICH SCHINKEL (1781–1841), who worked in many revival styles during his career. But which one would be the best choice for an art museum? Although he had designed buildings in the Romanesque, Gothic, and Italian Renaissance styles, Schinkel chose the Neoclassical style for what he and Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm III (1755–1861) conceived as a "temple of culture." (The prince's father, King Friedrich Wilhelm II [r. 1786–1797], had earlier commissioned one of the world's most famous Neoclassical monuments, Berlin's Brandenburg Gate [FIG. 27-42C], designed by CARL GOTTHARD LANGHANS [1732–1808].)

27-42C LANGHANS, Brandenburg Gate, Berlin, 1788–1791.

The Altes (Old) Museum (FIG. 27-43), constructed on an island in the Spree River across from the royal palace in Berlin, is not truly temple-like, however. Rather, with its broad facade of 18 Ionic columns on a high podium, it more closely resembles a Greek *stoa* (FIG. 5-78) than a pediment-capped classical temple. Noteworthy for its perfect proportions, Schinkel's austere design expresses nobility, tradition, and elite culture, now made accessible to the public in a building whose style Europeans associated with the democratic values of ancient Greece and Rome.

The Neoclassical facade masks a very practical plan that has no model in classical temples or stoas, however. A broad central staircase leads into a foyer and then a cubical central block, which projects above the facade's colonnade. The central block houses a sculpture-filled domed rotunda loosely based on the Pantheon (FIG. 7-51) in Rome (a mixing of historical sources characteristic of 19th-century European architecture in general). To either side is a courtyard whose windows provide light to the painting galleries all around. Large windows on the side and rear walls of the Altes Museum also illuminate the galleries.

The Altes Museum is also significant in terms of exhibition theory and practice. This Prussian "temple of culture" was the first museum of any kind in which the artworks it housed were organized and displayed in chronological order, emphasizing the history of art, as opposed to simply exhibiting aesthetic treasures (compare FIG. 25-1A).

27-43 KARL FRIEDRICH SCHINKEL, Altes Museum (looking northwest), Berlin, Germany, 1822–1830.

Schinkel conceived the new Prussian public art museum in Berlin as a Neoclassical "temple of culture." The Altes Museum's facade of 18 Ionic columns resembles an ancient Greek stoa (FIG. 5-78).

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27-44 Charles Barry and Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, Houses of Parliament (*above:* aerial view looking southwest; *left:* detail of Neo-Gothic stained-glass window), London, England, designed 1835.

During the 19th century, architects revived many historical styles, often reflecting nationalistic pride. The Houses of Parliament have an exterior veneer and towers that recall English Late Gothic style.

grounds of its beauty and mystery rather than on the grounds of truth (see "Girodet-Trioson," page 806). Gothic cathedrals, according to Chateaubriand, were translations of the sacred groves of the ancient Gauls into stone and should be cherished as manifestations of France's holy history. One result of this new nationalistic respect for the Gothic style was that Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879) received a commission in 1845 to restore the interior of Paris's Notre-Dame to its Gothic splendor after later alterations, including those made for Napoleon's coronation (see "The Coronation of Napoleon," page 805).

Houses of Parliament. England also celebrated its medieval heritage with *Neo-Gothic* buildings. In London, when the old Houses of Parliament burned in 1834, the Parliamentary Commission decreed that proposed designs for the new building had to be either Gothic or Elizabethan. Charles Barry (1795–1860), with the assistance of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–1852), won the commission for the new Houses of Parliament (fig. 27-44) in 1835. By this time, architectural style had become a matter of selection from the historical past. Barry had traveled widely in Europe, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine, studying the architecture of each place. He preferred the classical

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Renaissance styles, but he had designed some earlier Neo-Gothic buildings, and Pugin successfully influenced him in the direction of English Late Gothic, a major example of which, the Chapel of Henry VII (FIG. 13-45A), stands directly across the street from the Houses of Parliament. Pugin was one of a group of English artists and critics who saw moral purity and spiritual authenticity in the religious architecture of the Middle Ages and revered the careful medieval artisans who built the great cathedrals. The Industrial Revolution was flooding the market with cheaply made and ill-designed commodities. Machine work was replacing handicraft. Many, Pugin included, believed in the necessity of restoring the old artisanship, which they felt embodied honesty as well as quality. Pugin was also the author of the influential *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (1841), which RICHARD UPJOHN (1802–1878) consulted for his Neo-Gothic Trinity Church (FIG. 27-44A) in New York City. The design of the Houses of Parliament, however, is not genuinely Gothic, despite its picturesque tower groupings (the Clock Tower, housing Big Ben, at the north end, and the Victoria Tower at the south). The building has a formal axial plan and a kind of Palladian regularity beneath its Neo-Gothic detail (FIG. 27-44, *right*; compare FIG. 13-44). Pugin himself said of it, "All Grecian, Sir. Tudor [late English Gothic] details on a classical body."[12]

27-44A UPJOHN, Trinity Church, New York, 1841–1852.

Royal Pavilion. Although the Neoclassical and Neo-Gothic styles dominated early-19th-century architecture, exotic new approaches of all manner soon began to appear, due in part to European imperialism and in part to the Romantic spirit permeating all the arts. Great Britain's forays throughout the world, particularly in India (see "The British in India," page 1051), had exposed English culture to a broad range of artistic traditions. The Royal Pavilion (FIG. 27-45), designed by John Nash, is an eclectic mix of architectural styles. Nash was an established architect, known for Neoclassical buildings in London (for example, FIG. 27-42B), when the prince regent (later King George IV) asked him to design a royal pleasure palace in the seaside resort of Brighton. The architecture of Greece, Egypt, and China influenced the interior decor of the Royal Pavilion, but the fantastic exterior is a conglomeration of Islamic domes, minarets, and screens that some architectural historians describe as "Indian Gothic." Underlying the exotic facade is a cast-iron skeleton, an early (if hidden) use of this material in noncommercial construction. Nash also put this metal to fanciful use, creating life-size palm-tree columns in cast iron to

27-45 **JOHN NASH, Royal Pavilion (looking northwest), Brighton, England, 1815–1818.**

British territorial expansion brought a familiarity with many exotic styles. This palatial "Indian Gothic" seaside pavilion is a conglomeration of Islamic domes, minarets, and screens.

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27-46 Charles Garnier, Opéra (looking north), Paris, France, 1861–1874.

For Paris's opera house, Garnier chose a festive and spectacularly theatrical Neo-Baroque facade well suited to a gathering place for fashionable audiences in an age of conspicuous wealth.

support the Royal Pavilion's kitchen ceiling. The building, an appropriate enough backdrop for gala throngs pursuing pleasure by the seaside, has served as a prototype for countless playful architectural exaggerations still found in European and American resorts.

Paris Opéra. Another style that found favor in 19th-century architecture was the Baroque, because it was well suited to conveying a grandeur worthy of the riches that the European elite acquired during this age of expansion. The Paris Opéra (fig. 27-46), designed by Charles Garnier (1825–1898) with facade sculptures by Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux (fig. 27-32A) and others, is the leading example of *Neo-Baroque* architecture. Garnier, who had traveled extensively in Italy as a Rome Prize recipient, had submitted the winning design (out of 171 entrants) in a competition sponsored by Napoleon III (r. 1850–1870). Garnier's opera house has a festive and spectacularly theatrical Neo-Baroque front and two wings resembling Baroque domed central-plan churches (not visible in fig. 27-46). Inside, intricate arrangements of corridors, vestibules, stairways, balconies, alcoves, entrances, and exits facilitate easy passage throughout the building and provide space for entertainment and socializing at intermissions.

The Baroque grandeur of the layout and of the building's ornamental appointments is characteristic of an architectural style called *Beaux-Arts,* which was most popular in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in France. Based on ideas taught at the dominant École des Beaux-Arts (School of Fine Arts) in Paris, the Beaux-Arts style incorporated classical principles (such as symmetry in design, including interior spaces extending radially from a central core or axis) and featured extensive exterior ornamentation. As an example of a Beaux-Arts building, Garnier's Opéra proclaims, through its majesty and lavishness, its function as a gathering place for fashionable audiences in an era of conspicuous wealth. The style was so attractive to the moneyed classes who supported the arts that theaters and opera houses continued to reflect the Paris Opéra's design until World War I transformed society.

Sainte-Geneviève Library. Work on Garnier's opera house began in 1861, but by the middle of the 19th century, many architects had already abandoned sentimental and Romantic designs from the past. Since the 18th century, bridges had been constructed of cast iron (fig. 26-12) because of its tensile strength and resistance to fire. Another new building material—steel—became available after 1860. Steel enabled architects to create new designs involving vast enclosed spaces, as in the great train sheds of railroad stations (fig. 28-3) and in exposition halls. Most other utilitarian architecture—factories, warehouses, dockyard structures, mills, and the like—long had been built simply and without historical ornamentation.

The Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, designed by Henri Labrouste (1801–1875), is an interesting mix of Renaissance revival style and modern cast-iron construction. The library's two-story facade (fig. 27-47, *top*) with arched windows recalls Renaissance palace designs (compare fig. 21-37), but Labrouste exposed the structure's metal skeleton on the interior. The lower story of the building houses the book stacks. The upper floor features a

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27-47 Henri Labrouste, exterior (looking northwest; *top*) and reading room (*bottom*) of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, France, 1843–1850.

The exterior of this Parisian library looks like a Renaissance palace, but the interior has an exposed cast-iron skeleton, which still incorporates classical Corinthian capitals and Renaissance scrolls.

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spacious reading room (fig. 27-47, *bottom*) consisting essentially of two barrel-vaulted halls, roofed in terracotta and separated by a row of slender cast-iron Corinthian columns on concrete pedestals. The columns support the iron roof arches pierced with intricate vine-scroll ornamentation derived from the Renaissance architectural repertoire. Labrouste's design highlights how the peculiar properties of the new structural material aesthetically transformed the shapes of traditional masonry architecture. But it is also clear how reluctant some 19th-century architects were to surrender traditional forms, even when fully aware of new possibilities for design and construction. Architects scoffed at "engineers' architecture" for many years and continued to clothe their steel-and-concrete structures in the Romantic "drapery" of a historical style. For example, the Brooklyn Bridge (fig. 27-47A), designed and constructed by John Augustus Roebling (1806–1869) and Washington Roebling (1837–1926), combined the latest steel technology with motifs from Gothic and Egyptian architecture. Joseph Paxton (1801–1865) was an exception as a proponent of "undraped" architecture (see "Prefabricated Architecture," page 841).

27-47A Roebling, Brooklyn Bridge, 1867–1883.

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Prefabricated Architecture

Completely "undraped" construction—that is, the erection of buildings that did not conceal their cast-iron structural skeletons—first became popular in the conservatories (greenhouses) of English country estates. An especially grandiose example is the Palm House (FIG. 27-47B) of the Royal Botanical Gardens in the London suburb of Kew, designed by DECIMUS BURTON (1800–1881) and RICHARD TURNER (1798–1881). Joseph Paxton built several of these structures for his patron, the Duke of Devonshire. In the largest (300 feet long), at Chatsworth, he used an experimental system of glass-and-metal roof construction. Encouraged by the success of this system, Paxton submitted a winning glass-and-iron building design in the competition for the hall to house the 1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London.

27-47B BURTON and TURNER, Palm House, Kew, 1844–1848.

As innovative as Paxton's use of modern materials in place of stone was his adoption of a new cost-effective way to erect his exhibition building, the Crystal Palace (FIG. 27-48). Paxton was the champion of *prefabricated architecture*—the use of structural elements manufactured in advance and transported to the construction site ready for assembly. In traditional stone architecture, masons carved the column capitals, moldings, and the like on-site to ensure that these delicate features would not be damaged during transport. This slowed down construction considerably. Paxton's use of prefabricated parts—primarily glass panes in wood frames and cast-iron pillars and beams—enabled workers to build the vast (18-acre) Crystal Palace in the then unheard-of time of six months and to dismantle it quickly at the exhibition's closing to avoid permanent obstruction of the park. The building was the perfect expression of the new industrial age that the Great Exhibition celebrated.

Paxton's design, nonetheless, borrowed much from traditional architecture, especially Roman and Christian basilicas. The Crystal Palace had a central flat-roofed "nave" and a barrel-vaulted crossing "transept," providing ample interior space to contain displays of huge machines as well as to accommodate decorative touches in the form of large working fountains and giant trees. The public admired the Crystal Palace so much that the workers who dismantled it put up an enlarged version of the glass-and-iron exhibition hall at a new location on the outskirts of London at Sydenham, where it remained until fire destroyed it in 1936. Fortunately, a few old black-and-white photographs and several color lithographs (FIG. 27-48) preserve a record of the Crystal Palace's appearance.

1 in.

27-48 **JOSEPH PAXTON, Crystal Palace, London, England, 1850–1851; enlarged and relocated at Sydenham, England, 1852–1854. Color lithograph, 8″ × 11¾″, by ACHILLE-LOUIS MARTINET, ca. 1862. Private collection.**

The tensile strength of iron enabled Paxton to experiment with a new system of glass-and-metal roof construction. Constructed of prefabricated parts, the vast Crystal Palace required only six months to build.

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PHOTOGRAPHY

A technological device of immense consequence for the modern experience was invented during the first half of the 19th century: the camera, with its attendant art of photography. From the time that Frenchman Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1789–1851) and Englishman William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877) announced the first practical photographic processes in 1839, people have celebrated photography's ability to make convincing pictures of humans, animals, places, and things. The relative ease of the process, even in its earliest and most primitive form, seemed a dream come true for 19th-century scientists and artists, who for centuries had grappled with less satisfying methods of capturing accurate images of their subjects. Photography also perfectly suited an age that saw the emergence of Realism as an art movement and a pronounced shift of artistic patronage away from the elite few toward a broader base of support. The growing and increasingly powerful middle class embraced both the comprehensible images of the new medium and their lower cost.

For the traditional artist, photography suggested new answers to the great debate about what is real and how to represent the real in art. Because photography easily and accurately made possible the

MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Daguerreotypes, Calotypes, and Wet-Plate Photography

The earliest widely adopted photographic processes were the *daguerreotype* (FIGS. 27-49 and 27-50), named after L.-J.-M. Daguerre, and the *calotype* (FIG. 27-54), the term coined by W.H.F. Talbot.

Daguerre was an architect and theatrical set painter and designer. This background led Daguerre and a partner to open a popular entertainment called the Diorama. Audiences witnessed performances of "living paintings" created by changing the lighting effects on a "sandwich" composed of a painted backdrop and several layers of painted translucent front curtains. Daguerre used a camera obscura for the Diorama, but he wanted to find a more efficient and effective procedure. Through a mutual acquaintance, he met Joseph Nicéphore Niépce (1765–1833), who in 1826 had successfully made a permanent picture of the cityscape outside his upper-story window by exposing, in a camera obscura, a metal plate covered with a light-sensitive coating. Niépce's process, however, had the significant drawback that it required an eight-hour exposure time. After Niépce died in 1833, Daguerre continued his work, making two important discoveries. Latent development—that is, bringing out the image through treatment in chemical solutions—considerably shortened the length of time needed for exposure. Daguerre also discovered a better way to "fix" the image by chemically stopping the action of light on the photographic plate, which otherwise would continue to darken until the image turned solid black.

The daguerreotype reigned supreme in photography until the 1850s, but the second major photographic invention, the ancestor of the modern negative-print system, eventually replaced it. On January 31, 1839, less than three weeks after Daguerre unveiled his method in Paris, Talbot presented a paper on his "photogenic drawings" to the Royal Institution in London. As early as 1835, Talbot made "negative" images by placing objects on sensitized paper and exposing the arrangement to light. This created a design of light-colored silhouettes recording the places where opaque or translucent objects had blocked light from darkening the paper's emulsion. In his experiments, Talbot next exposed sensitized papers inside simple cameras and, with a second sheet, created "positive" images. He further improved the process with more light-sensitive chemicals and a chemical development of the negative image. Thus this technique could produce multiple prints. However, in Talbot's process, which he named the calotype (from the Greek word *kalos,* "beautiful"), the photographic images incorporated the texture of the paper. This produced a slightly blurred, grainy effect very different from the crisp detail and wide tonal range available with the daguerreotype. Also discouraging widespread adoption of the calotype were the stiff licensing and equipment fees charged for many years after Talbot patented his new process in 1841.

One of the earliest masters of an improved kind of calotype photography was the multitalented Frenchman known as Nadar (FIGS. 27-50A and 27-51). He used glass negatives and albumen (egg-white-based) printing paper (FIGS. 27-52 and 27-53), which could record finer detail and a wider range of light and shadow than Talbot's calotype process. The new "wet-plate" technology (so named because the photographic plate was exposed, developed, and fixed while wet) almost at once became the universal way of making negatives until 1880. However, *wet-plate photography* had drawbacks. The plates had to be prepared and processed on the spot. Working outdoors meant taking along a portable darkroom—a wagon, tent, or box with light-tight sleeves for the photographer's arms.

Refinements of these early processes served photographers well for a century and a half, but have been almost completely supplanted today by digital photography (for example, FIG. 32-28).

1 in.

27-49 Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre, *Still Life in Studio,* 1837. Daguerreotype, $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$. Société Française de Photographie, Paris.

One of the first plates Daguerre produced after perfecting his new photographic process was this still life, in which he was able to capture amazing detail and finely graduated tones of light and shadow.

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reproduction of three-dimensional objects on a two-dimensional surface, the new medium also challenged the place of traditional modes of pictorial representation originating in the Renaissance. Artists as diverse as Delacroix, Ingres, Courbet, and the Impressionist Camille Pissarro (FIG. 28-6) welcomed photography as a helpful auxiliary to painting. Other artists, however, feared that the camera was a mechanism that would displace the painstaking work of skilled painters. From the moment of its invention, photography threatened to expropriate the realistic image, until then the exclusive property of painting. But just as some painters looked to the new medium of photography for answers on how best to render an image in paint, so some photographers looked to painting for suggestions about ways to enhance the photographic image with qualities beyond simple reproduction. Indeed, the first subjects that photographers chose to record were traditional painting themes—for example, still lifes and portraits—in part to establish photography as a legitimate artistic medium on a par with painting. A debate immediately began over whether the photograph was an art form or whether the camera was merely a scientific instrument. An 1862 court case provided the answer: photography was an art, and photographs were entitled to copyright protection (FIG. 27-50A).

Artists themselves were instrumental in the development of the new photographic technology. The camera obscura was familiar to 17th- and 18th-century artists, including Vermeer (FIG. 25-18B) and Canaletto (FIG. 26-22). In 1807, the invention of the *camera lucida* ("lighted room") replaced the enclosed chamber of the camera obscura. Now the photographer aimed a small prism lens, hung on a stand, downward at an object. The lens projected the image of the object onto a sheet of paper. Artists using either of these devices found the process long and arduous, no matter how accurate the resulting work. All yearned for a more direct way to capture a subject's image. Two very different scientific inventions that accomplished this—the daguerreotype and the calotype (see "Daguerreotypes, Calotypes, and Wet-Plate Photography," page 842)—appeared almost simultaneously in France and England in 1839.

Daguerreotypes. The French government presented the new daguerreotype process at the Academy of Science in Paris on January 7, 1839, with the understanding that its details would be made available to all interested parties without charge (although the inventor received a large annuity in appreciation). Soon, people worldwide began making pictures with the daguerreotype "camera" (a name shortened from camera obscura) in a process almost immediately christened "photography," from the Greek *photos* ("light") and *graphos* ("writing or drawing"). From the start, the possibilities of the process as a new art medium intrigued painters. Paul Delaroche (1797–1856), a leading academic painter of the day, wrote in an official report to the French government that anticipated the 1862 legal ruling:

> Daguerre's process completely satisfies all the demands of art, carrying certain essential principles of art to such perfection that it must become a subject of observation and study even to the most accomplished painters. The pictures obtained by this method are as remarkable for the perfection of the details as for the richness and harmony of the general effect. Nature is reproduced in them not only with truth, but also with art.[13]

Unlike photographs that people make today, whether printed from traditional film negatives or from digital images, each daguerreotype is a unique work. *Still Life in Studio* (FIG. 27-49) is one of the first successful plates Daguerre produced after perfecting his method. The process captured every detail in Daguerre's carefully constructed tableau: the subtle forms, the varied textures, the finely graduated tones of light and shadow—everything save for color, the one area in which photographs could not rival paintings. The inspiration for Daguerre's composition came from 17th-century Dutch vanitas still lifes, such as those of Pieter Claesz (FIG. 25-1). Like Claesz, Daguerre arranged his objects to reveal their textures and shapes clearly. Unlike a painter, Daguerre could not alter anything within his arrangement to create a stronger image. However, he could suggest a symbolic meaning through his choice of objects. Like the skull and timepiece in Claesz's painting, Daguerre's sculptural and architectural fragments and the framed print of a couple embracing suggest that even art is vanitas and will not endure forever.

Hawes and Southworth. In the United States, photographers began to make daguerreotypes within two months of Daguerre's presentation in Paris. Two particularly avid and resourceful advocates of the new medium were JOSIAH JOHNSON HAWES (1808–1901), a painter, and ALBERT SANDS SOUTHWORTH (1811–1894), a pharmacist and teacher. Together, they ran a daguerreotype studio in Boston specializing in portraiture, then popular due to the shortened exposure time required for the process (although it was still long enough to require head braces to help subjects remain motionless while photographers recorded their images).

The partners also took their equipment outside the studio to record places and events of particular interest to them. One resultant image is *Early Operation under Ether, Massachusetts General Hospital* (FIG. 27-50). This

1 in.

27-50 JOSIAH JOHNSON HAWES and ALBERT SANDS SOUTHWORTH, *Early Operation under Ether, Massachusetts General Hospital,* ca. 1847. Daguerreotype, $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$. Massachusetts General Hospital Archives and Special Collections, Boston.

In this early daguerreotype, which predates Eakins's *Gross Clinic* (FIG. 27-37) by almost 30 years, Hawes and Southworth demonstrated the documentary power of the new medium of photography.

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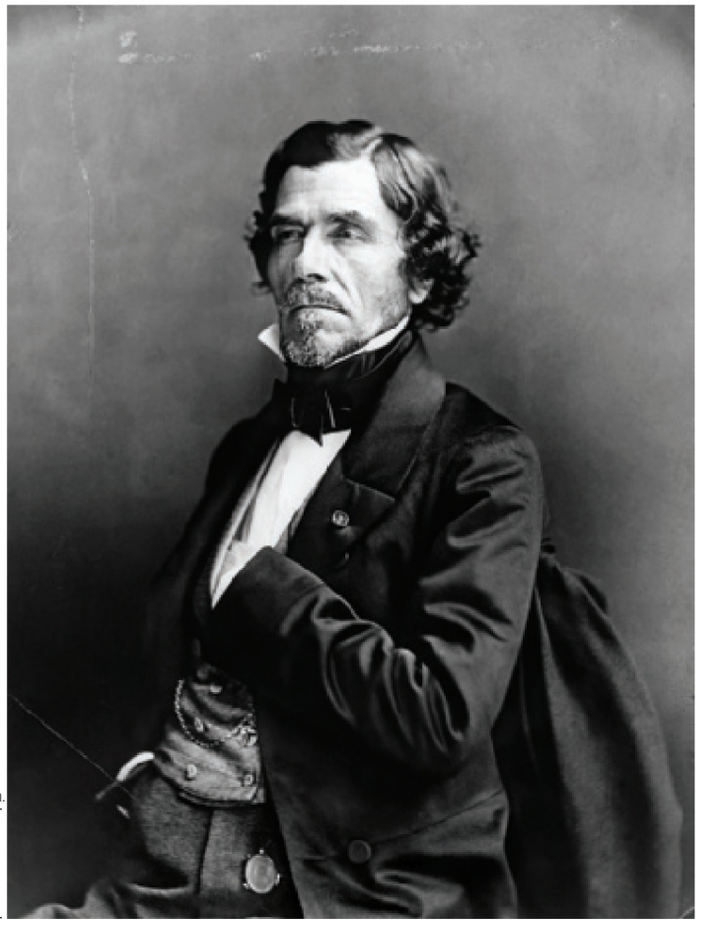
daguerreotype, taken from the vantage point of the gallery of a hospital operating room, puts the viewer in the position of medical students looking down on the type of lecture-demonstration that was typical throughout the 19th century. An image of historical record, this early daguerreotype predates Eakins's *Gross Clinic* (FIG. 27-37) by almost three decades, but the theme had been explored in painting much earlier by Rembrandt (FIG. 25-12). The focus of attention in *Early Operation* is the white-draped patient surrounded by a circle of darkly clad doctors. The details of the figures and the room's furnishings are in sharp focus, but the slight blurring of several of the figures betrays motion during the exposure. The elevated viewpoint flattens the spatial perspective and emphasizes the relationships of the figures in ways that the Impressionists, especially Degas (FIG. 28-9), found intriguing.

Nadar. Portraiture was one of the first photography genres to use the new wet-plate technology that improved on the calotype. Making portraits was an important economic opportunity for most photographers, as Southworth and Hawes proved, but the greatest early portrait photographer was undoubtedly Gaspar-Félix Tournachon. Known simply as NADAR (1820–1910), Tournachon was a French novelist, journalist, enthusiastic balloonist (FIG. 27-50A), and caricaturist, who became an early champion of photography. Photographic studies for his caricatures led Nadar to open a portrait studio. So talented was he at capturing the essence of his subjects that the most important people in France, including Delacroix, Daumier, Courbet, and Manet, flocked to his studio to have their portraits made. Nadar said that he sought in his work "that instant of understanding that puts you in touch with the model—helps you sum him up, guides you to his habits, his ideas, and character and enables you to produce . . . a really convincing and sympathetic likeness, an intimate portrait."[14]

27-50A DAUMIER, *Nadar Raising Photography,* 1862.

Nadar's *Eugène Delacroix* (FIG. 27-51) shows the painter at the height of his career. In this photograph, the artist appears with remarkable presence. Even in half-length, his gesture and expression create a mood that seems to reveal much about him. Perhaps Delacroix responded to Nadar's famous gift for putting his clients at ease by assuming the pose that best expressed his personality. The new photographic materials made possible the rich range of tones in Nadar's images.

Julia Margaret Cameron. Among the most famous portrait photographers in 19th-century England was JULIA MARGARET CAMERON (1815–1879), who did not take up photography seriously until the age of 48. Although she produced images of many well-known men of the period, including Charles Darwin, Alfred



1 in.

27-51 **NADAR, *Eugène Delacroix,* ca. 1855. Modern print, $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{2}{3}''$, from the original negative. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.**

Nadar was one of the earliest portrait photographers. His photographs of the leading artists of the day, such as this one of Eugène Delacroix, reveal the sitters' personalities as well as record their features.

1 in.

27-52 **JULIA MARGARET CAMERON, *Ophelia, Study No. 2,* 1867. Albumen print, $1' 1'' \times 10\frac{2}{3}''$. George Eastman House, Rochester (gift of Eastman Kodak Company; formerly Gabriel Cromer Collection).**

Cameron was a prominent 19th-century photographer who often depicted her female subjects as characters in literary or biblical narratives. The slightly blurred focus is a distinctive feature of her work.

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Tennyson, and Thomas Carlyle, she photographed more women than men, as was true of many women photographers. *Ophelia, Study No. 2* (FIG. 27-52) typifies her portrait style. Cameron often depicted her female subjects as characters in literary or biblical narratives. The slightly blurred focus also became a distinctive feature of her work—the by-product of photographing with a lens with a short focal length, which allowed only a small area of sharp focus. The blurriness adds an ethereal, dreamlike tone to the photographs, appropriate for Cameron's fictional "characters." Her photograph of Ophelia has a mysterious, fragile quality reminiscent of Pre-Raphaelite paintings (FIG. 27-42) of literary heroines.

Timothy O'sullivan. Photographers were quick to realize the documentary power of their new medium. Thus began the story of photography's influence on modern life and of the immense changes that it brought to communication and information management. With photography, historical events could for the first time be recorded in permanent form on the spot. The photographs taken of the Crimean War (1856) by Roger Fenton (1819–1869) and of the American Civil War by Mathew B. Brady (1823–1896), ALEXANDER GARDNER (1821–1882), and TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN (1840–1882) remain unsurpassed as incisive accounts of military life, unsparing in their truthful detail and poignant as expressions of human experience.

Of the Civil War photographs, the most moving are the records of combat deaths. Perhaps the most reproduced of these Civil War photographs is Gardner's print of O'Sullivan's *A Harvest of Death, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania* (FIG. 27-53). Although viewers could regard this image as simple reportage, it also functions to impress on people the high price of war. Corpses litter the battlefield as far and wide as the eye can see. As O'Sullivan's photograph modulates from the precise clarity of the bodies of Union soldiers in the foreground, boots stolen and pockets picked, to the indistinct corpses in the distance, the suggestion of innumerable other dead soldiers is unavoidable. This "harvest" is far more sobering and depressing than that in Winslow Homer's Civil War painting *Veteran in a New Field* (FIG. 27-36). Though it was years before photolithography could reproduce photographs such as this one in newspapers, photographers exhibited them publicly. They made an impression that newsprint engravings never could.

27-53 TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN, *A Harvest of Death, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania,* 1863. Negative by Timothy O'Sullivan. Albumen print by ALEXANDER GARDNER, $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$. New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Rare Books and Manuscript Division), New York.

Wet-plate technology enabled photographers to record historical events on the spot—and to comment on the high price of war, as in this photograph of dead Union soldiers at Gettysburg in 1863.

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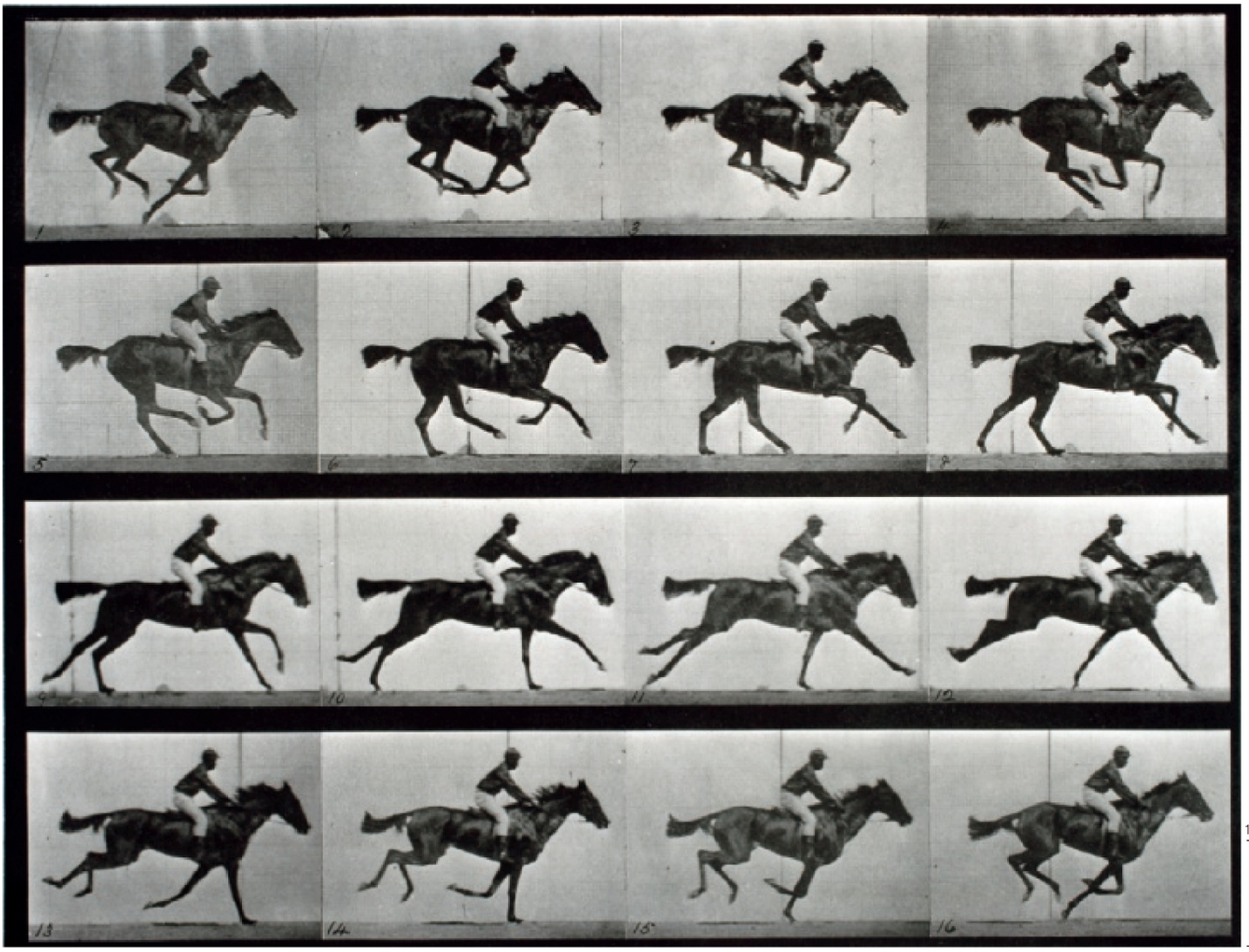

27-54 Eadweard Muybridge, *Horse Galloping,* **1878. Calotype print, 9″ × 12″. George Eastman House International Museum of Photography and Film, Rochester.**

Muybridge specialized in photographic studies of the successive stages in human and animal motion—details too quick for the human eye to capture. Modern cinema owes a great deal to his work.

Eadweard Muybridge. The Realist photographer and scientist Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904) came to the United States from England in the 1850s and settled in San Francisco, where he established a prominent international reputation for his photographs of the western United States. In 1872, the governor of California, Leland Stanford (1824–1893), sought Muybridge's assistance in settling a bet about whether, at any point in a stride, all four feet of a horse galloping at top speed are off the ground. Through his sequential photography, as seen in *Horse Galloping* (fig. 27-54), Muybridge proved that racing horses did in fact at times have all four feet in midair. This experience was the beginning of Muybridge's photographic studies of the successive stages in human and animal motion—details too quick for the human eye to capture. These investigations culminated in 1885 at the University of Pennsylvania with a series of multiple-camera motion studies that produced separate photographs of progressive moments in a single action. Muybridge's discoveries received extensive publicity through the book *Animal Locomotion* (1887), and his motion photographs earned him a place in the history of science as well as art. These sequential motion studies, along with those of Eakins and Marey, influenced many other artists, including their contemporary, the painter and sculptor Edgar Degas (fig. 28-9), and 20th-century artists such as Marcel Duchamp (fig. 30-3).

Muybridge presented his work to scientists and general audiences with a device called the *zoopraxiscope,* which he invented to project his sequences of images (mounted on special glass plates) onto a screen. The result was so lifelike that one viewer said it "threw upon the screen apparently the living, moving animals. Nothing was wanting but the clatter of hoofs upon the turf."[15] The illusion of motion in Muybridge's photographic exhibits was the result of a physical fact of human eyesight called "persistence of vision." Stated simply, it means that the brain retains whatever the eye sees for a fraction of a second after the eye stops seeing it. Thus viewers saw a rapid succession of different images merging one into the next, producing the illusion of continuous change. This illusion lies at the heart of the motion-picture industry that debuted in the 20th century. Thus, with Muybridge's innovations in photography, yet another new art form was born—cinema.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Romanticism, Realism, Photography: Europe and America, 1800 to 1870

Art under Napoleon

- As emperor of the French from 1804 to 1815, Napoleon embraced the Neoclassical style in order to associate his regime with the empire of ancient Rome. Roman temples were the models for La Madeleine in Paris, which Pierre Vignon built as a temple of glory for France's imperial armies.
- Napoleon chose Jacques-Louis David as First Painter of the Empire. David recorded Napoleon's coronation and commemorated the general's triumphant crossing of the Alps at the head of his army. Antonio Canova, the leading Neoclassical sculptor, carved portraits of the imperial family.
- The beginning of a break from Neoclassicism can already be seen in the work of several of David's students, including Antoine-Jean Gros, Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson, and J.-A.-D. Ingres, all of whom painted exotic subjects reflecting Romantic taste.

Vignon, La Madeleine, Paris, 1807–1842

Romanticism

- The roots of Romanticism are in the 18th century, but usually the term more narrowly denotes the artistic movement that flourished from 1800 to 1840, between Neoclassicism and Realism. Romantic artists gave precedence to feeling and imagination over Enlightenment reason. Romantic painters explored the exotic, erotic, and fantastic in their art.
- In Spain, Francisco Goya's *Caprichos* series celebrated the unleashing of imagination, emotions, and even nightmares. In France, Eugène Delacroix led the way in depicting Romantic narratives set in faraway places. François Rude celebrated the heroism of the volunteers of 1792 in the allegorical *La Marseillaise.*
- Romantic painters often chose landscapes as an ideal subject to express the theme of the soul unified with the natural world. Masters of the transcendental landscape include Friedrich in Germany, Constable and Turner in England, and Cole, Bierstadt, and Church in the United States.

Rude, *La Marseillaise,* 1833–1836

Realism

- Realism developed as an artistic movement in mid-19th-century France. Its leading proponent was Gustave Courbet, whose paintings of menial laborers and ordinary people exemplify his belief that painters should depict only their own time and place. Honoré Daumier boldly confronted authority with his satirical lithographs commenting on the plight of the urban working class. Édouard Manet shocked the public with his paintings' subjects—for example, a naked prostitute—and with his technique, especially his rough brushstrokes, which emphasized the flatness of the painting surface.
- Among the leading American Realists were Winslow Homer, Thomas Eakins, and John Singer Sargent. Eakins's painting of surgery in progress was too brutally realistic for the Philadelphia art jury that rejected it.

Courbet, *The Stone Breakers,* 1849

Architecture

- Territorial expansion, the Romantic interest in exotic locales and earlier eras, and nationalistic pride led to the revival in the 19th century of older architectural styles, especially the Gothic, exemplified by London's Houses of Parliament.
- By the middle of the century, many architects had already abandoned sentimental and Romantic designs from the past in favor of exploring the possibilities of cast-iron construction, as in Henri Labrouste's Sainte-Geneviève Library in Paris and Joseph Paxton's prefabricated Crystal Palace in London.

Labrouste, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, 1843–1850

Photography

- In 1839, Daguerre in Paris and Talbot in London invented the first practical photographic processes. In 1862, a French court formally recognized photography as an art form subject to copyright protection.
- Many of the earliest photographers, including Nadar and Cameron, specialized in portrait photography, but others, including Hawes, Southworth, and O'Sullivan in the United States, quickly realized the documentary power of the new medium. Muybridge's sequential photos of human and animal motion were the forerunners of modern cinema.

Daguerre, *Still Life in Studio,* 1837

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◀**28-1a** In summer 1874, Manet recorded Monet painting—*en plein air* directly on canvas without any preliminary sketch—in his floating studio on the Seine at Argenteuil, 22 minutes from Paris by train.

▶**28-1b** In the distance are the factories and smokestacks of Argenteuil. Manet thus recorded the two poles of modern life—the leisure activities of the bourgeoisie and the industrialization along the Seine.

▲**28-1c** In this painting, Manet adopted not only Monet's Impressionist subject matter but also the younger artist's short brushstrokes and fascination with the reflection of sunlight on water.

28-1 **Édouard Manet, *Claude Monet in His Studio Boat,* 1874. Oil on canvas, 2′ 8″ × 3′ 3¼″. Neue Pinakothek, Munich.**

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IMPRESSIONISM, POST-IMPRESSIONISM, SYMBOLISM: EUROPE AND AMERICA, 1870 TO 1900

28

FRAMING THE ERA

Impressions of Modern Life

Between 1800 and 1900, the population of Europe's major cities exploded. In Paris, for example, the number of residents expanded from 500,000 to 2,700,000. It was there, around 1870, that the art movement called *Impressionism* was born, an aesthetic by-product of the sometimes brutal and chaotic transformation of French life, which made the world seem unstable and insubstantial. As the poet and critic Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) observed in his 1860 essay *The Painter of Modern Life*: "[Modernity is] the ephemeral, the fugitive, the contingent, the half of art whose other half is the eternal and the immutable."[1] Accordingly, Impressionist paintings represent an attempt to capture a fleeting moment—not in the absolutely fixed, precise sense of a Realist painting but by conveying the elusiveness and impermanence of images and conditions.

In 1872, the painter Claude Monet (1840–1926), a leading Impressionist, moved to Argenteuil, a prosperous industrial town on the Seine (map 28-1) that was also a favorite leisure destination of the city dwellers of Paris—only 22 minutes by train from the Saint-Lazare train station (fig. 28-3). Situated at a point where the river widened into a deep basin, Argenteuil was an ideal spot for boating of all kinds, from casual rowing to formal regattas. In 1873, after accumulating enough money from recent sales of his paintings, the underappreciated and financially strapped Monet was able to purchase a small boat, which he equipped with a tiny wood cabin and a striped awning and used as his floating studio.

During the summer of 1874, Édouard Manet (figs. 27-33 and 27-34) joined Monet at Argenteuil and painted side by side with the younger artist. One day, Manet recorded Monet in his studio boat (fig. 28-1) at work on *Sailboats on the Seine, Argenteuil,* a painting now in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. Monet, wearing a straw hat, sits at the front of the boat with his easel before him. Camille Doncieux, Monet's wife (compare fig. 28-2A), is at once the painter's admirer and his muse. In the distance are the factories and smokestacks that represent the opposite pole of life at Argenteuil. In capturing both the leisure activities of the bourgeoisie and the industrialization along the Seine in the 1870s on the same canvas, Manet, like Monet, was fulfilling Baudelaire's definition of "the painter of modern life."

Claude Monet in His Studio Boat is also noteworthy as a document of Monet's preference for painting outdoors (*en plein air*)—a radical practice at the time—in order to record his "impression" of the Seine by placing colors directly on a white canvas without any preliminary sketch—also a sharp break from traditional studio techniques. The painting further attests to Monet's influence on his older friend Manet, who here adopted the younger painter's subject matter, short brushstrokes, and fascination with the reflection of light on water.

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INDUSTRIALIZATION AND MODERNISM

The momentous developments of the early 19th century in Europe—urbanization, industrialization, and increased economic and political interaction worldwide—matured during the latter half of the century. The Industrial Revolution that began in England spread so rapidly to the Continent and the United States that historians often refer to the scientific advances that occurred during the third quarter of the 19th century as the second Industrial Revolution. Whereas the first Industrial Revolution centered on textiles, steam, and iron, the second focused on steel, electricity, chemicals, and oil. The discoveries in these fields provided the foundation for developments in plastics, machinery, building construction, and automobile manufacturing and paved the way for the invention of the radio, telephone, electric lightbulb, and electric streetcar.

Expanding industrialization was closely tied to rapid urbanization. The number and size of European cities grew dramatically during the latter part of the 19th century, mainly due to migration from the countryside. Farmers in large numbers relocated to urban centers because expanded agricultural enterprises squeezed smaller property owners from their land. The widely available work opportunities in the cities, especially in the factories, were also a major factor in this population shift. Improving health and living conditions in the cities further contributed to their explosive growth.

Marxism and Darwinism. The rise of the urban working class was fundamental to the ideas of Karl Marx (1818–1883), one of the era's dominant figures. Born in Trier, Germany, Marx received a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Berlin. After moving to Paris, he met fellow German Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), who became his lifelong collaborator. Together they wrote *The Communist Manifesto* (1848), which called for the working class to overthrow the capitalist system. Marx believed that in all societies, those who controlled the means of production conflicted with those whose labor they exploited for their own enrichment—a dynamic he called "dialectical materialism." Marx advocated the creation of a socialist state in which the working class seized power and destroyed capitalism. This new political, social, and economic system—Marxism—held great appeal for the working poor as well as for many intellectuals.

Equally influential was the English naturalist Charles Darwin (1809–1882), who postulated the theory of natural selection. Darwin and his compatriot Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913), working independently, proposed a rational model for the process of evolution, rather than attributing evolution to random chance or God's plan. They argued that evolution was the natural result of a competitive system in which only the fittest survived. Darwin's controversial ideas, as presented in *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* (1859), contradicted the biblical narrative of creation and were greeted with widespread hostility.

Modernism. Marx's emphasis on social conflict and Darwin's ideas about evolution were consistent with the growing sense of the world's impermanence and of a constantly shifting reality, which Baudelaire insisted was the essential characteristic of the modern world and the proper subject of a modernist painter (see "Impressions of Modern Life," page 849). *Modernism* in art, however, transcends the simple depiction of the contemporary world—the goal of Realism. Modernists also critically examine the premises of art itself.

In an important 1965 article, Clement Greenberg (1909–1994), an influential American art critic who wrote about the revolutionary art movements of the decades following World War II (see "Greenbergian Formalism," page 962), explained modernism as follows:

> The essence of Modernism lies . . . in the use of the characteristic methods of a discipline to criticize the discipline itself—not in order to subvert it, but to entrench it more firmly in its area of competence. . . . [T]he unique and proper area of competence of each art coincide[s] with all that [is] unique to the nature of its medium. . . . Realistic, illusionist art had dissembled the medium, using art to conceal art. Modernism used art to call attention to art. The limitations that constitute the medium of painting—the flat surface, the shape of the support, the properties of pigment—were treated by the Old Masters as negative factors that could be acknowledged only implicitly or indirectly. Modernist painting has come to regard these same limitations as positive factors that are to be acknowledged openly. . . . [For example, the Impressionists abandoned] underpainting and glazing, to leave the eye under no doubt as to the fact that the colors used were made of real paint that came from pots or tubes.[2]

IMPRESSIONISM

A hostile critic applied the term *Impressionism* in response to *Impression: Sunrise* (FIG. 28-2), one of the paintings exhibited in the first Impressionist show in 1874 (see "Academic Salons and Independent Art Exhibitions," page 853). Although the critic intended the label to be derogatory, by the third Impressionist show in 1878, the artists had embraced it and were calling themselves Impressionists. Both artists and critics had used the term before, but only in relation to sketches. Impressionist paintings do incorporate the qualities of sketches—abbreviation, speed, and spontaneity—but the artists considered their sketchlike works to be finished paintings, a radically modernist idea at the time.

IMPRESSIONISM, POST-IMPRESSIONISM, SYMBOLISM: EUROPE AND AMERICA, 1870 TO 1900

1870–1880

- Claude Monet and the Impressionists mount their first independent exhibition in Paris
- The Impressionists paint subjects that capture the transitory nature of modern life in urbanized Paris and its suburbs
- European artists begin to collect Japanese prints and emulate Japanese compositions
- Gustave Moreau explores eroticism and fantasy in Symbolist paintings

1880–1890

- Édouard Manet completes his career with paintings in the Impressionist mode
- Georges Seurat investigates color theory and develops pointillism
- Vincent van Gogh moves to France and explores the expressive power of color
- Auguste Rodin receives the commission for *The Gates of Hell*
- Alexandre-Gustave Eiffel constructs the iron Eiffel Tower in Paris

1890–1900

- Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec pioneers the art of the poster
- Paul Cézanne seeks "to do Poussin over entirely from nature"
- The Art Nouveau movement emerges in architecture and the decorative arts
- Gustav Klimt's paintings reflect fin-de-siècle culture in Austria
- Louis Sullivan builds skyscrapers of steel, glass, and stone in America

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Painting Impressions of Light and Color

In striking contrast to traditional studio artists, Monet began and completed *Impression: Sunrise* (FIG. 28-2)—a view of the harbor of his boyhood home in Le Havre—outdoors. Closer to Paris, he often set up his easel on the banks of the Seine (FIG. 28-2A) or in a boat on the river (FIG. 28-1). Painting en plein air was how Monet was able to meet his goal of capturing an instantaneous representation of atmosphere and climate, which he concluded was impossible to do in a studio. Of course, landscape painters had always drawn and made preliminary color studies outdoors and then used those sketches to produce formal paintings in their studios. Finishing as well as beginning his landscapes outdoors sharpened Monet's focus on the roles that light and color play in the way nature appears to the eye. The systematic investigation of light and color and the elimination of the traditional distinction between a sketch and a formal painting enabled Monet to paint images that truly conveyed a sense of the momentary and transitory. Lilla Cabot Perry (1848–1933), a student of Monet's late in his career, gave this description of Monet's approach:

28-2A MONET, *Bank of the Seine, Bennecourt,* 1868.

> I remember his once saying to me: "When you go out to paint, try to forget what objects you have before you—a tree, a house, a field, or whatever. Merely think, here is a little square of blue, here an oblong of pink, here a streak of yellow, and paint it just as it looks to you, the exact color and shape, until it gives your own naïve impression of the scene before you."*

Another factor encouraging Monet and some of his contemporaries to paint outdoors was the introduction of premixed pigments conveniently sold in easily portable tubes. These readily available oil paints gave artists new colors for their work and heightened their sensitivity to the multiplicity of colors in nature. After scrutinizing the effects of light and color on forms, Monet and other late-19th-century painters concluded that *local color*—an object's color in white light—becomes modified by the quality of the light shining on it, by reflections from other objects, and by the effects that juxtaposed colors produce. Shadows do not appear gray or black, as many earlier painters thought, but seem to be composed of colors modified by reflections or other conditions. If artists use complementary colors side by side over large enough areas, the colors intensify each other, unlike the effect of small quantities of adjoining mixed pigments, which blend into neutral tones. Furthermore, the "mixing" of colors by juxtaposing them directly on a white canvas without any preliminary sketch—also a sharp break from traditional painting practice—produces a more intense hue than the same colors mixed on the palette. Monet exclusively used colors directly from the tube, placing them next to each other to create other colors (blue next to yellow, for example, to create green). In this way, he achieved remarkably brilliant effects with his characteristically short, choppy brushstrokes, which so accurately catch the vibrating quality of light. The reason for much of the early adverse criticism leveled at Monet's paintings was that they lacked the polished surfaces and sharp contours of academic painting. In Monet's canvases, in marked contrast to traditional oil paintings, the forms take on clarity only when the eye fuses the brushstrokes at a certain distance.

*Quoted in Linda Nochlin, *Impressionism and Post-Impressionism 1874–1904: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1966), 35.

1 in.

28-2 CLAUDE MONET, ***Impression: Sunrise,* 1872. Oil on canvas, 1′ 7½″ × 2′ 1½″. Musée Marmottan, Paris.**

Fascinated by reflected sunlight on water, Monet broke with traditional studio practice and painted his "impression" en plein air, using short brushstrokes of pure color on canvas without any preliminary sketch.

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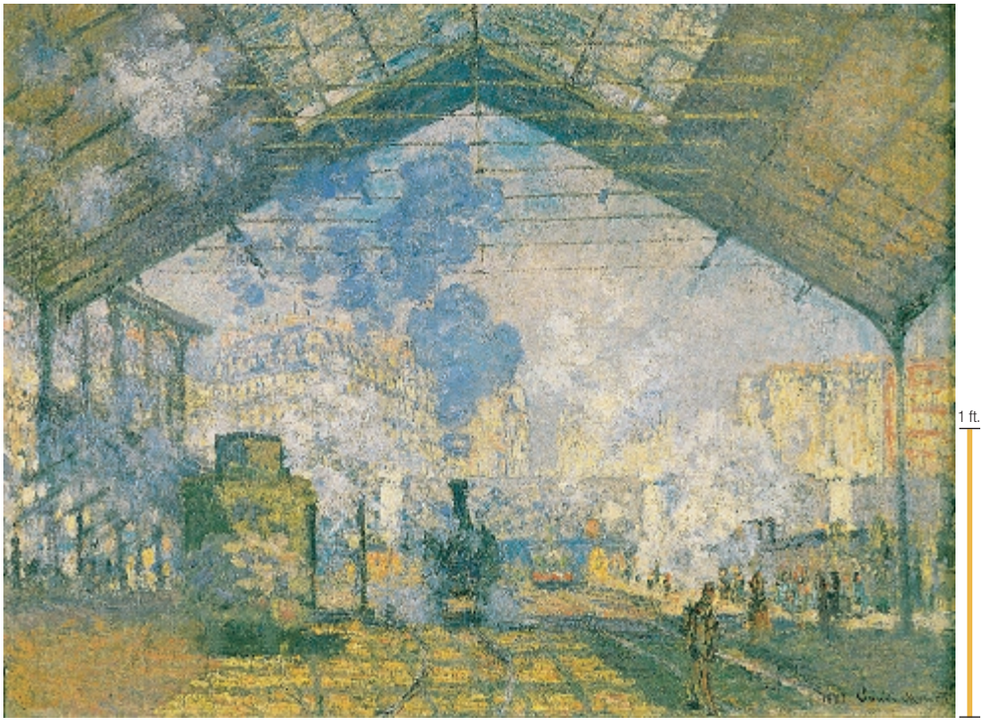

28-3 Claude Monet, *Saint-Lazare Train Station,* 1877. Oil on canvas, 2′ 5¾″ × 3′ 5″. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

The Impressionists often painted scenes of the new urbanized Paris, the heart of modern life in France. Monet's agitated application of paint contributes to the sense of energy in this railway terminal.

Claude Monet. The painter of *Impression: Sunrise* was Claude Monet (1840–1926), whose works have become synonymous with Impressionism, although other Impressionists adopted different painting styles while choosing similar contemporary subjects. Monet grew up on the Normandy coast of France at Le Havre, the great seaport at the mouth of the Seine, where his father sold groceries in bulk to shipping companies. Monet began to paint at an early age, and moved to Paris in late 1862 to pursue a career as an artist, returning to Le Havre on several occasions. *Impression: Sunrise,* which is a view of that harbor, represented a sharp break from traditional landscape painting. In recording the boats, water, and sky en plein air—that is, outdoors (see "Painting Impressions of Light and Color," page 851)—Monet made no attempt to disguise the brushstrokes or blend the pigment to create smooth tonal gradations, as traditional painters did. This concern with acknowledging the paint and the canvas surface continued the modernist exploration that the Realists had begun.

Saint-Lazare. Although he is most famous for his landscapes, Monet, like the other Impressionists, also painted scenes set in Paris, the heart of modern life in France. *Saint-Lazare Train Station* (FIG. 28-3) depicts a characteristic aspect of the contemporary urban scene. The expanding railway network had made travel more convenient, bringing large numbers of people into Paris and enabling city dwellers to reach suburban areas, such as Argenteuil (FIG. 28-1) and Bennecourt (FIG. 28-2A), quickly (MAP 28-1). In his "impression" of the Saint-Lazare railway terminal, Monet captured the energy and vitality of Paris's modern transportation hub. The train, emerging from the steam and smoke it emits, rumbles into the station. In the background haze are the tall buildings that were becoming a major component of the Parisian landscape. Monet's agitated paint application contributes to the sense of energy and conveys the atmosphere of urban life.

Georges Rivière (1855–1943), an art critic and friend of some of the Impressionists, saw this painting in the third Impressionist exhibition and recorded the essence of what Monet had tried to achieve:

> Like a fiery steed, stimulated rather than exhausted by the long trek that it has only just finished, [the locomotive] tosses its mane of smoke, which lashes the glass roof of the main hall. . . . We see the vast and manic movements at the station where the ground shakes with every

MAP 28-1 France around 1870 with towns along the Seine.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Academic Salons and Independent Art Exhibitions

For both artists and art historians, modernist art stands in marked contrast to, indeed in forceful opposition to, academic art—that is, to the art promoted by the established art schools such as the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in France (founded in 1648) and the Royal Academy of Arts in Britain (founded in 1768). These academies provided instruction for art students and sponsored exhibitions, exerting tight control over the art scene. The annual exhibitions, called "Salons" in France, were highly competitive, as was membership in these academies. Subsidized by the government, the French Royal Academy supported a limited range of artistic expression, focusing on traditional subjects and highly polished technique. Because of the challenges that modernist art presented to established artistic conventions, the juries for the Salons and other exhibitions routinely rejected the works that more adventurous artists wished to display, thereby preventing the public from viewing any art other than the officially sanctioned forms of expression. When, however, the 1855 jury rejected some of Gustave Courbet's paintings, the artist reacted by setting up his own Pavilion of Realism (see "Courbet on Realism," page 823). Years later, he wrote:

> [I]t is high time that someone have the courage to be an honest man and that he say that the Academy is a harmful, all-consuming institution, incapable of fulfilling the goal of its so-called mission.*

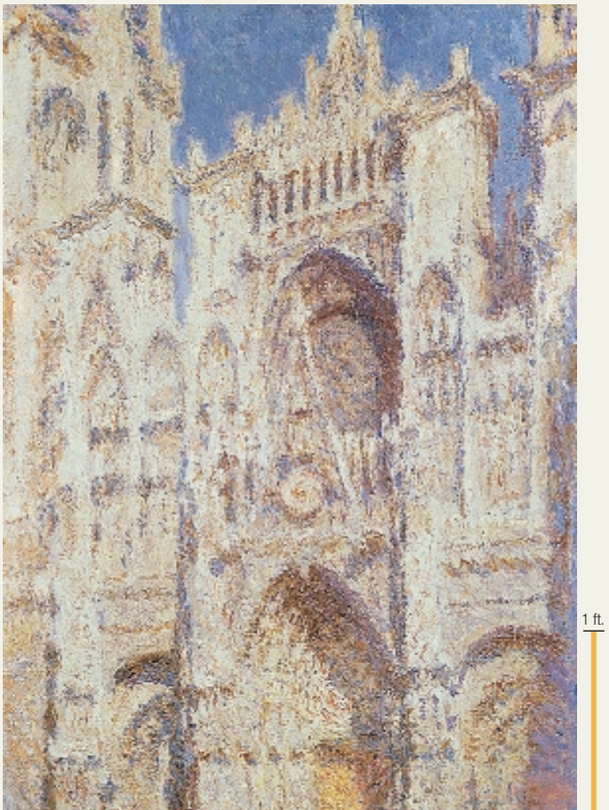
Growing dissatisfaction with the French Academy's jurors prompted Napoleon III in 1863 to establish the Salon des Refusés (Salon of the Rejected) to show all of the works not accepted for the regular Salon. Édouard Manet's *Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* (FIG. 27-33) was among them. The public greeted it and the entire exhibition with contempt. One reviewer of the rejected works summed up the prevailing attitude:

> This exhibition, at once sad and grotesque, . . . offers abundant proof . . . that the jury always displays an unbelievable leniency. Save for one or two questionable exceptions there is not a painting which deserves the honor of the official galleries . . . There is even something cruel about this exhibition; people laugh as they do at a farce.†

In 1867, after further rejections, Manet, following Courbet, mounted a private exhibition of 50 of his paintings outside the world's fair held in Paris that year. Six years later, Claude Monet and the other Impressionists formed their own society—essentially a painters' union modeled on other workers' unions of the era—and began mounting shows of their works in Paris. This action provided the Impressionists with great freedom because they did not have to contend with the Academy's authoritative and confining viewpoint, which condemned not only the Impressionists' techniques but their modernist subject matter as well. Salon jurors regarded landscapes and cityscapes and the leisure pursuits of the middle class as unworthy themes for important artworks. The Impressionist exhibitions took place at one- or two-year intervals from 1874 until 1886. The Impressionists also displayed their work in private venues, such as the Parisian gallery owned by Paul Durand-Ruel (1831–1922), who was one of the first to recognize the important innovations of Monet (FIG. 28-4) and the other Impressionists.

Another group of artists unhappy with the official Salon's conservative nature adopted the same renegade idea. In 1884, these artists formed the Société des Artistes Indépendants (Society of Independent Artists) and held annual Salons des Indépendants. One of the founding members of the Independents' Salon was Georges Seurat, who exhibited his most famous painting—*A Sunday on La Grande Jatte* (FIG. 28-18)—in August 1886 in the second Independents' Salon a few months after its unveiling in the eighth (and last) Impressionist show.

As the art market expanded, venues for the exhibition of art increased. Dealers became more aggressive in promoting the artists they represented by mounting exhibitions in a variety of spaces. Even nightclub owners displayed paintings for sale to their customers, following the example of Dutch innkeepers of the Baroque era (see "Middle-Class Patronage and the Art Market in the Dutch Republic," page 739). All of these proliferating opportunities for exhibition gave French artists alternatives to the traditional constraints of the Salon and provided fertile breeding ground for the development of radically new art forms and styles.



28-4 Claude Monet, *Rouen Cathedral: The Portal (in Sun)*, 1894. Oil on canvas, 3′ $3\frac{1}{4}$″ × 2′ $1\frac{7}{8}$″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Theodore M. Davis Collection, bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915).

Monet exhibited 20 paintings of Rouen Cathedral in Paul Durand-Ruel's commercial art gallery in Paris. The canvases show the facade at different times of day and under various climatic conditions.

*Letter to Jules-Antoine Castagnary, October 17, 1868. Translated by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 346.

†Maxime du Camp, in *Revue des deux mondes,* 1863, quoted in George Heard Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), 42–43.

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turn of the wheel. The platforms are sticky with soot, and the air is full of that bitter scent exuded by burning coal. As we look at this magnificent picture, we are overcome by the same feelings as if we were really there, and these feelings are perhaps even more powerful, because in the picture the artist has conveyed his own feelings as well.[3]

Rouen Cathedral. Monet's intensive study of the phenomena of light and color is especially evident in several series of paintings he made of the same subject late in his career. In one series, he painted more than 30 views of Rouen Cathedral, northwest of Paris, 20 of which he exhibited for sale in 1895 in a private commercial art gallery (see "Academic Salons and Independent Art Exhibitions," page 853). The subject evoked powerful associations in the popular imagination: the grandeur of France's Gothic past and of its great martyr saint, Joan of Arc, who was executed at Rouen in 1431. However, Monet's concern was not with France's past but with recording the cathedral as it looked at different times of the day and under various climatic conditions. Often, he would work on as many as eight canvases at once, switching from one to another as the atmospheric conditions changed during the course of the day. In the painting illustrated here (FIG. 28-4), Monet depicted the church bathed in bright light. In the series as a whole, he carefully recorded the passing of time as seen in the movement of light over identical forms. To a certain degree, the real subject of Monet's painting—as the title *Rouen Cathedral: The Portal (in Sun)* implies—is not the cathedral, which he showed only in part, but the sunlight on the building's main portal. Consequently, many critics accused Monet of destroying form for fleeting atmospheric effects—an assertion the painter probably would not have disputed, although he would have vigorously defended his approach to representation as well as his rejection of academic standards of judgment.

Gustave Caillebotte. As noted, the Impressionists, like the Realists before them, rejected the religious, historical, and mythological themes favored by academic painters. They focused instead on modern life in and around Paris. Manet, in fact, even proposed to the municipal authorities that he decorate Paris's remodeled city hall with murals depicting the metropolis's railroad stations and other emblems of modernity. (His proposal was rejected.) Indeed, a common interest in recording contemporary life bound the Impressionists together as a group more than did shared style and technique. The work of GUSTAVE CAILLEBOTTE (1849–1893), the heir to a fortune and an early collector of Impressionist paintings, is a case in point. The brushwork in his 1877 *Paris: A Rainy Day* (FIG. 28-5) bears little resemblance to Monet's or Manet's, but the subject is unmistakably Impressionist.

The setting of Caillebotte's painting is a junction of new boulevards resulting from the redesigning of Paris begun in 1852. The city's population had reached close to 1.5 million by midcentury and nearly doubled by 1900. To relieve the overcrowding that many believed was a major cause of the cholera epidemic of 1849—and to facilitate the movement of troops in the event of another revolution—Napoleon III ordered Paris rebuilt. The emperor named Baron Georges Haussmann (1809–1891), superintendent of the Seine district, to oversee the entire project, which the emperor hoped would establish Paris as a world capital surpassing London. In addition to new water and sewer systems, new parks and paved plazas, street lighting, and new residential and commercial buildings, a major component of the new Paris was the creation of the wide, open boulevards seen in Caillebotte's painting. These great avenues, whose construction caused the demolition of thousands of old buildings and streets, transformed medieval Paris into the present-day city, with its superb vistas and wide, uninterrupted arteries for the flow of vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Caillebotte chose

28-5 GUSTAVE CAILLEBOTTE, *Paris: A Rainy Day,* 1877. Oil on canvas, 6′ 9″ × 9′ 9″. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Worcester Fund).

Although Caillebotte did not use Impressionistic broken brushstrokes, in his view of the new "Haussmannized" Paris, the composition featuring cutoff buildings and figures suggests the transitory nature of modern life.

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28-6 Camille Pissarro, *La Place du Théâtre Français,* 1898. Oil on canvas, 2′ $4\frac{1}{2}$″ × 3′ $\frac{1}{2}$″. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles (Mr. and Mrs. George Gard De Sylva Collection).

This Impressionist view of a busy Paris square seen from several stories above street level has much in common with photographs, especially the flattening spatial effect of the high viewpoint.

to focus on these markers of the new Paris and to commemorate them in a canvas of a size that rivaled traditional history painting.

Although Caillebotte did not dissolve his image into the broken color and brushwork characteristic of Monet's version of Impressionism, his composition is, save for the central lamppost, strongly asymmetrical and in violation of academic norms of design. The major building in the painting is at the upper left, a large empty space is at the lower left, and the largest figures are at the lower right. The frame also cuts off parts of Caillebotte's figures, underscoring that the men and women in this painting are moving and that this is a transitory moment in the life of the city and its residents. Significantly, those residents are all well-dressed Parisians of the leisure class—the only ones who could afford to live in the elegant new neighborhoods Haussmann created. Thus, despite the sharp focus of *Paris: A Rainy Day,* the picture is the artist's "impression" of modern urban life. In fact, many city dwellers of the time complained that the new Paris was too impersonal and anonymous. Despite its dramatic population growth, the French capital made many feel dislocated. Caillebotte incorporated that less celebratory view of the modern city by showing the pedestrians moving through Haussmann's Paris on a dreary, rainy day and by depicting all of them in similar dress and carrying identical umbrellas—citizens united in costume but isolated as individuals.

Camille Pissarro. Other Impressionists also found the spacious boulevards and avenues that were the result of the "Haussmannization" of Paris attractive subjects for paintings. *La Place du Théâtre Français* (fig. 28-6) is one of many panoramic scenes of the city painted by Camille Pissarro (1830–1903), the only painter to submit his work to all eight Impressionist exhibitions. Born in the Danish West Indies, he settled in Paris in 1855 and was largely self-taught. Pissarro's approach to recording the new look of Paris was quite different from Caillebotte's. Using larger, rougher brushstrokes and a brighter palette, Pissarro captured his visual sensations of a crowded Parisian square viewed from several stories above street level. Unlike Monet, Pissarro did not seek to record fugitive light effects as much as the fleeting motion of street life, which he achieved through a seemingly casual arrangement of figures and horse-drawn carriages. Ironically, to accomplish this sense of spontaneity, Pissarro sometimes used photography to record the places he wished to paint, as did many of his fellow Impressionists. Indeed, the visual parallels between Impressionist paintings and photographs are striking, including, in *La Place du Théâtre Français,* the flattening spatial effect produced by the high viewpoint.

Pierre-Auguste Renoir. Another feature of Haussmann's new Paris was the dramatic increase in venues for dining and dancing, café-concerts, opera, ballet, and other forms of urban recreation—all of which became mainstays of Impressionism. One Impressionist who turned repeatedly to Parisian cafés and clubs for the subjects of his canvases was Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919), whose father and mother, a tailor and dressmaker in Limoges, moved their large family to Paris in 1844 in search of a better future—the kind of individual decision that, multiplied hundreds of thousands of times, caused the population boom in Paris. Renoir trained as a porcelain painter and then entered the École des Beaux-Arts in 1862. In Paris, he met several of the Impressionists and, in 1874, painted en plein air alongside Monet and Manet at Argenteuil (fig. 28-1). In addition to achieving a reputation as one of the leading Impressionist painters, Renoir also became one of the most eloquent writers on the aims of Impressionism (see "Renoir on the Art of Painting," page 856). His *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette* (fig. 28-7) of 1876, shown in the third Impressionist exhibition, is a prime example of an Impressionist canvas portraying ordinary

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ARTISTS ON ART

Renoir on the Art of Painting

Many 19th-century artists were concerned with the theoretical basis of picture making. One of the most cogent statements on this subject is Pierre-Auguste Renoir's concise summary of how he, as an Impressionist, painted pictures and what he hoped to achieve as an artist.

> I arrange my subject as I want it, then I go ahead and paint it, like a child. I want a red to be sonorous, to sound like a bell; if it doesn't turn out that way, I add more reds and other colors until I get it. I am no cleverer than that. I have no rules and no methods; . . . I have no secrets. I look at a nude; there are myriads of tiny tints. I must find the ones that will make the flesh on my canvas live and quiver.
>
> [I]f they could explain a picture, it wouldn't be art. Shall I tell you what I think are the two qualities of art? It must be indescribable and it must be inimitable. . . . The work of art must seize upon you, wrap you up in itself, carry you away. It is the means by which the artist conveys his passions. . . . I want people to feel that neither the setting nor the figures are dull and lifeless.*

There is certainly nothing dull or lifeless about *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette* (FIG. 28-7), in which Renoir depicted throngs of ordinary working-class people gathered in the popular Parisian dance hall of that name. Some crowd the tables and chatter, while others dance energetically. So lively is the atmosphere that the viewer can virtually hear the sounds of music, laughter, and tinkling glasses. Unlike the Folies-Bergère (FIG. 28-8), a nightclub where people went to seek a new mate or the company of a prostitute, the Moulin de la Galette was a gathering place for friends, here seen on a sunny Sunday afternoon, their only day off from work. Renoir dappled the whole scene with sunlight and shade, artfully blurred into the figures to produce precisely the effect of floating and fleeting light that many Impressionists cultivated. The casual poses and asymmetrical placement of the figures and the suggested continuity of space, spreading in all directions and only accidentally limited by the frame, position the viewer as a participant rather than as an outsider. Whereas the artists favored by the French Academy frequently sought to express universal and timeless qualities (Baudelaire's "other half of art"; see "Impressions of Modern Life," page 849), the Impressionists attempted to depict just the opposite—the incidental, momentary, and passing aspects of reality. For Renoir's friends, that "reality" rang true. Several of them posed for individual figures in the painting.

*Quoted in Eric Protter, ed., *Painters on Painting* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1971), 145.

28-7 **Pierre-Auguste Renoir, *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette,* 1876. Oil on canvas, 4′ 3″ × 5′ 8″. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.**

Renoir's painting of this popular Parisian dance hall is dappled by sunlight and shade, artfully blurred into the figures to produce the effect of floating and fleeting light that many Impressionists cultivated.

Parisians at leisure on Sunday afternoon at an open-air dance club. It was one of the paintings that Caillebotte purchased for himself and bequeathed to France in his will.

Édouard Manet. The immensely versatile Manet, whose career bridged Realism (FIGS. 27-33 and 27-34) and Impressionism (FIG. 28-1), also depicted Parisian nightlife. One of his later works in the Impressionist mode is *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (FIG. 28-8), a seminal canvas in the history of modernist art, but one difficult to interpret (see "Manet at the Folies-Bergère," page 857).

Edgar Degas. Dancing of a very different kind than depicted in Renoir's *Moulin de la Gallette* (FIG. 28-7)—ballet—was one of the favorite subjects of Edgar Degas (1834–1917), the eldest son of a wealthy banker, who studied painting with a pupil of Ingres, attended the École des Beaux-Arts, and traveled extensively in Italy, but eventually rejected classicism in favor of Impressionism—or, at least, in favor of Impressionist subject matter. Unlike Monet, who personifies Impressionism for most museum-goers, Degas was not primarily concerned with light and atmosphere. Indeed, he specialized in indoor subjects and made many preliminary studies for his

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A SECOND OPINION

Manet at the Folies-Bergère

In 1882, Édouard Manet painted his last great work—*A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (FIG. 28-8)—under the influence of the younger Impressionists. The Folies-Bergère was a popular café with music-hall performances, one of the fashionable gathering places for Parisian revelers that many Impressionists frequented. At the center of Manet's composition is a barmaid, who looks out from the canvas but seems disinterested or lost in thought, divorced from her patrons as well as from the viewer. In front of her, Manet painted a marvelous still life of bottles, flowers, and fruit—all for sale to the bar's customers. In the mirror is the reflection of a gentleman wearing a dapper top hat and carrying an elegant walking stick. He has approached the barmaid, perhaps to order a drink, but more likely to ask the price of her company after the bar closes. Also visible in the mirror, at the upper left corner of the canvas, are the lower legs of a trapeze artist and a woman in the nightclub's balcony watching some other performance through opera glasses.

What seems at first to be a straightforward representation of the bar, barmaid, and customers quickly fades as visual discrepancies emerge. For example, is the reflection of the woman on the right the barmaid's? If both figures are the same person, it is impossible to reconcile the spatial relationship between the gentleman, the bar, the barmaid, and her seemingly displaced reflection. How can one explain these visual contradictions, which complement Manet's blurred brushstrokes and rough application of pigment? Together, the ambiguous illusionism and the unpolished technique draw attention to the tactile surface of the canvas, in keeping with Manet's modernist interest in examining the basic premises of the medium, and underscoring the artifice of the act of painting. As in Manet's earlier *Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* (FIG. 27-33), the "irregularities" in *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère* are not "mistakes." They are the artist's deliberate attempts to advocate for a modernist approach to the creation of paintings.

1 ft.

28-8 ÉDOUARD MANET, *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère,* 1882. Oil on canvas, 3′ 1″ × 4′ 3″. Courtauld Gallery, London.

In this painting set in a Parisian café, Manet called attention to the canvas surface by creating spatial inconsistencies, such as the relationship between the barmaid and her apparent reflection in a mirror.

1 in.

finished paintings. Degas's major interests were recording body movement and exploring unusual angles of viewing. He was fascinated by the formalized patterns of motion of the classical ballet performed at the Paris Opéra (FIG. 27-46) and with the training of ballerinas at its ballet school.

In *The Rehearsal* (FIG. 28-9) and similar works, Degas recorded with care the unstable postures of the ballerinas, who

28-9 EDGAR DEGAS, *The Rehearsal,* 1874. Oil on canvas, 1′ 11″ × 2′ 9″. Glasgow Art Galleries and Museum, Glasgow (Burrell Collection).

Degas favored subjects, such as the Paris ballet, that gave him the opportunity to study the human body in motion. The high viewpoint and off-center placement of figures are characteristic aspects of his work.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Japonisme

Despite Europe's and America's extensive colonization in Asia, as elsewhere, during the 19th century, Japan's interactions with the West were very limited until 1853–1854, when Commodore Matthew Perry (1794–1858) and American naval forces exacted trading and diplomatic privileges from the Japanese court. Only then did Europeans become familiar with Japanese art, which, because of both its beauty and its exoticism, greatly appealed to the fashionable segment of Parisian society. In 1867 at the Exposition Universelle in Paris, the Japanese pavilion garnered enormous interest. Soon, Japanese kimonos, fans, lacquer cabinets, tea caddies, folding screens, tea services, and jewelry flooded Paris. Japanese-themed novels and travel books were immensely popular as well. As demand for Japanese merchandise grew in the West, the Japanese began to develop import-export businesses, and the foreign currency flowing into Japan helped finance much of its industrialization.

Artists in particular were great admirers of Japanese art, so much so that the French coined a term—*Japonisme*—to describe the incorporation of Japanese aesthetics into European painting. Among those most influenced by Japanese art were the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, especially Manet, Degas, Mary Cassatt, James Abbott McNeill Whistler, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Paul Gauguin, and Vincent van Gogh. Indeed, van Gogh collected and copied Japanese prints (FIG. 28-18B; compare FIG. 35-1), which were more readily available in the West than any other Asian art form. The Japanese presentation of space in woodblock prints (see "Japanese Woodblock Prints," page 1086) intrigued these artists. Because of the simplicity of the woodblock printing process, the Japanese prints feature broad areas of flat color with a limited amount of modulation or gradation. This flatness captured the imagination of modernist painters, who were seeking ways to call attention to the picture surface. The right side of Degas's *The Tub* (FIG. 28-10), for example, has this two-dimensional quality. Degas, in fact, owned a print by Japanese artist Torii Kiyonaga depicting eight women at a bath in various poses and states of undress. That print inspired Degas's painting. A comparison between Degas's bather and a detail (FIG. 28-11) of a bather from another of Kiyonaga's prints is striking, although Degas did not closely copy any of the Japanese artist's figures. But he did emulate Japanese compositional style and the distinctive angles that Japanese printmakers employed in representing human figures.

The decorative quality of Japanese images also appealed to the artists associated with the Arts and Crafts movement in England. Artists such as William Morris (FIG. 28-36) and Charles Rennie Mackintosh (FIG. 28-37) found Japanese prints attractive because those artworks intersected nicely with two fundamental Arts and Crafts principles: art should be available to the masses, and functional objects should be artistically designed.

1 in.

28-10 **Edgar Degas, *The Tub,* 1886. Pastel, 1′ 11½″ × 2′ 8⅜″. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.**

1 in.

28-11 **Torii Kiyonaga, detail of *Two Women at the Bath,* ca. 1780. Color woodblock print; full print 10½″ × 7½″, detail 3¾″ × 3½″. Musée Guimet, Paris.**

Degas's *The Tub* reveals the influence of Japanese prints, especially the sharp angles that artists such as woodblock print master Torii Kiyonaga used in representing figures. The French painter translated his Japanese model into the Impressionist mode.

stretch, bend, and swivel. But most of the dancers are hidden from the viewer by other figures or by the spiral stairway at the left. *The Rehearsal* is the antithesis of a classically balanced composition. The center is empty, and the floor takes up most of the canvas surface. At the margins, Degas arranged the ballerinas and their teachers in a seemingly random manner. As in other Impressionist paintings, the cutting off of figures at the left and right enhances the sense that the viewer is witnessing a fleeting moment. The implied position of that viewer is elevated, somewhat looking down at the floor and the foreground figures, as opposed to the

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ARTISTS ON ART

Whistler on "Artistic Arrangements"

Underscoring the emerging modernist idea, both in Europe and America, that paintings are independent two-dimensional artworks and not windows opening onto the three-dimensional world, American-born James Abbott McNeill Whistler, who produced his most famous works in London, named many of his paintings not according to the subjects they depicted but in abstract terms—for example, "arrangements" or "nocturnes." *Nocturne in Black and Gold* (FIG. 28-12) is a daring painting with gold flecks and splatters representing an exploded firework punctuating the darkness of the night sky. More interested in conveying the atmospheric effects than in providing details of the scene, Whistler emphasized creating a harmonious arrangement of shapes and colors on the rectangle of his panel, an approach that many 20th-century artists adopted. Whistler's works angered conservative 19th-century critics, however. In England, John Ruskin (see "The Arts and Crafts Movement," page 879) responded to *Nocturne in Black and Gold* by writing a scathing review accusing Whistler of "flinging a pot of paint in the public's face." In reply, Whistler sued Ruskin for libel. During the trial, Ruskin's attorney asked Whistler about the subject of *Nocturne*:

> "What is your definition of a Nocturne?"
>
> "It is an arrangement of line, form, and color first; . . . Among my works are some night pieces; and I have chosen the word Nocturne because it generalizes and amplifies the whole set of them. . . . The nocturne in black and gold is a night piece and represents the fireworks at Cremorne [Gardens in London]."
>
> "Not a view of Cremorne?"
>
> "If it were a view of Cremorne, it would certainly bring about nothing but disappointment on the part of the beholders. It is an artistic arrangement."*

The court transcript notes that the spectators in the courtroom laughed at that response, but Whistler won the case. However, his victory had sadly ironic consequences for him. The judge in the case, showing where his—and the public's—sympathies lay, awarded the artist only one farthing (less than a penny) in damages and required him to pay all of the court costs, which ruined him financially.

1 in.

28-12 JAMES ABBOTT MCNEILL WHISTLER, *Nocturne in Black and Gold* (*The Falling Rocket*), ca. 1875. Oil on panel, 1′ $11\frac{5}{8}$″ × 1′ $6\frac{1}{2}$″. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit (gift of Dexter M. Ferry Jr.).

In this painting, Whistler displayed an Impressionist's interest in conveying the atmospheric effects of fireworks at night, but he also emphasized the abstract arrangement of shapes and colors.

*Quoted in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, *Art in Theory, 1815–1900* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 835–836.

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head-on views of statuesque figures that were the norm in traditional paintings.

Because of his interest in patterns of movement, Degas became fascinated by photography and regularly used a camera to make preliminary studies for his works. Japanese *woodblock* prints, such as those by Suzuki Harunobu (FIG. 35-13), were another inspirational source for paintings such as *The Rehearsal.* Japanese artists used diverging lines not only to organize the flat shapes of figures but also to direct the viewer's attention into the picture space. The Impressionists, and later the Post-Impressionists, who became acquainted with these prints as early as the 1860s as Japan opened to the West, greatly admired the spatial organization, familiar and intimate themes, and flat unmodeled color areas of the Japanese prints, and Degas and others avidly incorporated these features into their own paintings (see "Japonisme," page 858).

The impact of Japanese prints on Degas is evident in *The Tub* (FIG. 28-10), inspired by a Japanese woodblock print similar to the one illustrated here (FIG. 28-11) by TORII KIYONAGA (1752–1815). In Degas's picture, a young woman crouches in a tub as she washes her neck with a sponge, unaware of the viewer's presence (also the case with the dancers in *The Rehearsal*). The angle of vision is so sharp that the floor and the tabletop or shelf at the right almost seem to be vertical surfaces parallel to the picture plane. Degas's combination of the fully modeled figure of the bather and the flatness of the tub and shelf creates a visual perplexity fully consistent with the modernist exploration of the tension between illusionism and the acknowledgment that painting is a two-dimensional art form.

James Whistler. One of the important American expatriate artists in Europe during the closing decades of the 19th century

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Women Impressionists

Two of the best-known Impressionists were women. Although they came from very different backgrounds and their paintings could never be confused, both Mary Cassatt and Berthe Morisot brought a distinctively feminine viewpoint to their work, especially with regard to the subjects they chose and the way they portrayed women.

Cassatt was the daughter of a wealthy Philadelphia banker. From an early age, she was a strong advocate for women's suffrage, but the right to vote was granted to women only a few years before she died. Cassatt was nonetheless fortunate to live at a time when formerly all-male American colleges and art academies were opening their doors to women. She trained at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts and then moved to Europe to study masterworks in France and Italy. Cassatt came to the attention of Degas when he saw a painting of hers in the Salon of 1874. Thereafter, she exhibited regularly with the Impressionists, but as a woman, she could not easily frequent the cafés with her male artist friends. She also had the responsibility of caring for her aging parents, who had moved to Paris to join her. Because of these restrictions, Cassatt's subjects were principally women and children, whom she presented with a combination of objectivity and genuine sentiment.

Cassatt's *The Child's Bath* (FIG. 28-13) invites comparison with Degas's *The Tub* (FIG. 28-10). The two paintings have much in common stylistically. As in Degas's painting, the unseen artist looks down at the bathing scene from above and, similar to the contrast between the bather and the shelf in *The Tub,* the visual solidity of Cassatt's mother and child contrasts with the flattened patterning of the wallpaper and rug. Indeed, *The Child's Bath* owes much to the compositional devices

28-13 MARY CASSATT, *The Child's Bath,* 1893. Oil on canvas, 3′ 3½″ × 2′ 2″. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Robert A. Walker Fund).

Cassatt's compositions owe much to Degas and Japanese prints, but her subjects differ from those of most Impressionists, in part because, as a woman, she could not frequent cafés with her male friends.

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was JAMES ABBOTT MCNEILL WHISTLER (1834–1903), who spent time in Paris before settling finally in London. He met several of the Impressionists, and his art—for example, *Nocturne in Black and Gold,* or *The Falling Rocket* (FIG. 28-12)—incorporates some of their concerns and his own. Whistler shared the Impressionists' fondness for recording contemporary life and the sensations that color produces on the eye. To these interests he added a desire to create harmonies paralleling those achieved in music (see "Whistler on 'Artistic Arrangements,'" page 859). He believed that

> Nature contains the elements, in color and form, of all pictures, as the keyboard contains the notes of all music. But the artist is born to pick, and choose, and group with science, these elements, that the result may be beautiful—as the musician gathers his notes, and forms his chords, until he brings forth from chaos glorious harmony.[4]

Cassatt and Morisot. The Impressionists were a diverse group of artists—women as well as men, from disparate economic, social, national, and religious backgrounds—united by a shared interest in the modern world they experienced daily and a distaste for the stylistic constraints and restricted themes of academic art. The two most accomplished Impressionist women were MARY CASSATT (1844–1926), an American, who painted *The Child's Bath* (FIG. 28-13), and Frenchwoman BERTHE MORISOT (1841–1895), represented here by *Summer's Day* (FIG. 28-14) and *In a Villa at the Seaside* (FIG. 28-14A). Their works, while having much in common with those of their male colleagues, differed from the paintings of Monet, Renoir, Degas, and the other male Impressionists in important ways (see "Women Impressionists," pages 860–861).

POST-IMPRESSIONISM

By the mid-1880s, just as the Impressionists' sketchlike paintings of contemporary life in and around Paris were gaining wider acceptance, a group of younger painters—and even some of the Impressionists themselves—became disillusioned with Impressionism. They felt that in attempting to capture momentary sensations of light and color on canvas, the Impressionists were sacrificing too many

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28-14 Berthe Morisot, *Summer's Day,* 1879. Oil on canvas, 1′ 5 3/4″ × 2′ 5 3/8″. National Gallery, London (Lane Bequest, 1917).

Morisot's subject (Parisians at leisure), bright palette, and sketchy brushstrokes typify Impressionism, but the people who inhabit her paintings are almost exclusively well-dressed, thoughtful women.

of Degas as well as to Degas's sources—Japanese prints. But rather than providing a view of a nude woman unaware of the male artist-voyeur who has intruded into her private sphere, Cassatt's canvas celebrates the tender relationship between a mother and her child, both of whom gaze at their joint reflection in the tub of water.

In contrast to the expatriate American Cassatt, Morisot was raised in an upper-middle-class home in Paris, and she could not study painting at the École des Beaux-Arts because the European academies were still closed to women. Instead, she and her sister Edma took lessons from a private tutor. Berthe enjoyed some early success exhibiting in the official salons, but after meeting Édouard Manet in late 1867 or 1868 (she married his brother, Eugène, in 1874), she came in contact with the Impressionists, and, although Manet discouraged her from doing so, she submitted nine paintings to their first exhibition in 1874 and many more to all but one of the next seven Impressionist shows.

Morisot's subject matter—the leisure activities of Parisians at resorts along the Seine or in Paris's great park called the Bois de Boulogne—typifies the interests of many of the Impressionists. But the people who inhabit her canvases are almost exclusively women and their children, always well dressed and thoughtful, never frivolous or objects of male desire. *Summer's Day* (FIG. 28-14), originally titled *The Lake of the Bois de Boulogne* and shown in the fifth Impressionist exhibition of 1880, depicts two women in a boat on that lake. It is similar in spirit to Claude Monet's *On the Bank of the Seine, Bennecourt* (FIG. 28-2A), but Morisot's focus is the women, not the setting. Morisot herself is in the same boat, unseen, and she represented the women at a sharp angle, with parts of their bodies and most of the boat cut off by the frame, using the compositional format pioneered by Edgar Degas (FIG. 28-9) and adopted also by Cassatt. As in her other works (FIG. 28-14A), Morisot rejected contour lines in favor of patches of color that define the shapes of her figures. The sketchy brushstrokes used to paint the women merge with those of the water, unifying figure and ground in a striking two-dimensional composition that also captures all the freshness of a brightly lit summer day en plein air.

28-14A Morisot, *Villa at the Seaside,* 1874.

important elements of traditional painting. For example, in a conversation with the influential art dealer Ambroise Vollard (1866–1939) in about 1883, Renoir commented: "I had wrung Impressionism dry, and I finally came to the conclusion that I knew neither how to paint nor how to draw. In a word, Impressionism was a blind alley, as far as I was concerned."[5] Renoir's work took a different turn at that point, and other artists began to examine more systematically the properties and expressive qualities of line, pattern, form, and color. Among them were Dutch-born Vincent van Gogh and the French painter Paul Gauguin, who focused their artistic efforts on exploring the expressive capabilities of formal elements, and Georges Seurat and Paul Cézanne, also from France, who were more analytical in orientation. Because their art had its roots in Impressionist precepts and methods, but was not stylistically homogeneous, these artists and others, including Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, became known as the *Post-Impressionists.*

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. One Post-Impressionist who shared the keen interest of some of the Impressionists in Parisian nightlife was Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec (1864–1901). His work, however, has an added satirical edge to it and often borders on caricature.

Descended from the medieval counts of Toulouse in southwestern France, Toulouse-Lautrec began to paint as a child (his father and uncles were all amateur artists). He moved to Paris in 1882 and studied with two little-known painters, and in 1884, he set up his own studio in the Montmartre district. Genetic defects and a childhood injury had stunted his growth and partially crippled him, leading to his self-exile from the high society that his ancient aristocratic name and wealth entitled him to enter. In Paris, he instead embraced the bohemian lifestyle and frequented Montmartre's cafés, dance halls, theaters, and brothels. He became a citizen of the night world, consorting with the underclass of entertainers, prostitutes, and other social outcasts, bringing his sketchbook everywhere, and drinking heavily. Before dying of alcoholism at age 37, Toulouse-Lautrec devoted his brief career to depicting the city's after-hours entertainment centers, such as the Moulin Rouge, the subject of the painting discussed here.

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28-15 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *At the Moulin Rouge,* 1892–1895. Oil on canvas, 4′ × 4′ 7″. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Helen Birch Bartlett Memorial Collection).

Toulouse-Lautrec devoted his brief career to depicting the bohemian lifestyle of Paris at night. The oblique composition, glaring lighting, masklike faces, and dissonant colors of *Moulin Rouge* typify his work.

At the Moulin Rouge (FIG. 28-15) reveals the influences of Degas, of Japanese prints, and of photography in the oblique and asymmetrical composition, the spatial diagonals, and the strong line patterns with added dissonant colors. But although Toulouse-Lautrec based everything he painted on firsthand observation, and the scenes he captured were already familiar to viewers in the work of the Impressionists, he so emphasized or exaggerated each element that the tone is new. Compare, for instance, the mood of *At the Moulin Rouge* with the relaxed and casual atmosphere of Renoir's *Dance at Le Moulin de la Galette* (FIG. 28-7). Toulouse-Lautrec's scene is decadent nightlife, with its glaring artificial light, brassy music, and assortment of corrupt, cruel, and masklike faces. (He included himself in the background—the short man wearing a derby hat accompanying the very tall man, his cousin.) Such distortions by simplification of the figures and faces anticipated Expressionism in the early 20th century (see "German Expressionism," page 891) when artists' use of formal elements—for example, brighter colors and bolder lines than ever before—increased the effect of the images on observers.

Poster Art. Toulouse-Lautrec produced many of his major works using oil-based paints on canvas, the preferred medium of Western art since the Renaissance (see "Tempera and Oil Painting," page 574), but he experimented with other media. Most notably, he explored the new art form of the poster, made possible by the perfection of multicolor lithography (see "Lithography," page 826) in the late 1870s and the development of printing presses capable of handling extra-large sheets of paper. Toulouse-Lautrec became the first great master of poster art, receiving numerous commissions from the concert-hall proprietors he befriended.

Jane Avril (FIG. 28-16), a five-color lithographic poster that appeared on hundreds of walls and windows in Paris in 1893, advertises the celebrated dancer who performed at the Jardin de

28-16 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Jane Avril,* 1893. Color lithograph, 4′ 2½″ × 3′ 1″. San Diego Museum of Art, San Diego (gift of the Baldwin M. Baldwin Foundation).

Multicolor lithography made possible posters such as those Toulouse-Lautrec created to advertise Parisian nightclubs. The composition of *Jane Avril* owes a debt to Degas and Japanese prints.

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Pointillism and 19th-Century Color Theory

In the 19th century, advances in the sciences contributed to changing theories about color and how people perceive it. Many physicists and chemists studied optical reception and the behavior of the human eye in response to light of differing wavelengths. They also investigated the psychological dimension of color. Their discoveries provided a framework within which artists such as Georges Seurat (FIGS. 28-17 and 28-18), the inventor of pointillism, worked.

Discussions of color often focus on *hue* (for example, red, yellow, and blue), but it is important to consider the other facets of color—*saturation* (the hue's brightness or dullness) and *value* (the hue's lightness or darkness). Most artists during the 19th century understood the concepts of *primary colors* (red, yellow, and blue), *secondary colors* (orange, purple, and green), and *complementary colors* (red and green, yellow and purple, blue and orange; see "Color," page 7). Chemist Michel-Eugène Chevreul (1786–1889) extended artists' understanding of color dynamics by formulating the law of *simultaneous contrasts* of colors. Chevreul asserted that juxtaposed colors affect the eye's reception of each, making the two colors as dissimilar as possible, both in hue and value. For example, placing light green next to dark green has the effect of making the light green look even lighter and the dark green darker. Chevreul further provided an explanation of *successive contrasts*—the phenomenon of colored afterimages. When a person looks intently at a color (green, for example) and then shifts to a white area, the fatigued eye momentarily perceives the complementary color (red).

Charles Blanc (1813–1882), who coined the term *optical mixture* to describe the visual effect of juxtaposed complementary colors, asserted that the smaller the areas of adjoining complementary colors, the greater the tendency for the eye to "mix" the colors, so that the viewer perceives a grayish or neutral tint. Seurat used this principle frequently in his paintings. Also influential for Seurat was the work of physicist Ogden Rood (1831–1902), who constructed a diagram of contrasting colors. Further (and particularly significant to Seurat), Rood suggested that artists could achieve color gradation by placing small dots or lines of color side by side, which blended in the eye of the beholder when viewed from a distance.

The color experiments of Seurat and other late-19th-century artists were also part of a larger discourse about human vision and how people see and understand the world. The theories of physicist Ernst Mach (1838–1916) focused on the psychological experience of sensation. He believed that humans perceive their environments in isolated units of sensation that the brain then recomposes into a comprehensible world. Another scientist, Charles Henry (1859–1926), also researched the psychological dimension of color—how colors affect people, and under what conditions. He went even further to explore the physiological effects of perception. Seurat's work, though characterized by a systematic and scientifically minded approach, also incorporated his concerns about the emotional tone of the images.

28-17 Detail of *A Sunday on La Grande Jatte* (FIG. 28-18).

Seurat's color system, called pointillism, involves dividing colors into their component parts and applying those colors to the canvas in tiny dots. The forms become comprehensible only from a distance.

1 ft.

28-18 GEORGES SEURAT, *A Sunday on La Grande Jatte,* 1884–1886. Oil on canvas, 6′ 9″ × 10′. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Helen Birch Bartlett Memorial Collection, 1926).

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Paris cabaret. The composition reveals Toulouse-Lautrec's debt to Degas (FIGS. 28-9 and 28-10) in its oblique view from above, exaggerated foreshortening, and figures cut off by the frame. Most severely truncated is the bass viol player at the lower right, whom the artist reduced to a forearm and head and the upper part of his instrument. In fact, the musician and viol became in Toulouse-Lautrec's hands almost abstract shapes, and the lines extending from the instrument became the frame for the figure of Avril, whose left leg, kicking in the air, redirects the viewer's attention to the viol player. The composition, and especially the flat colors within prominent outlines, also owes a great deal to Japanese woodblock prints (FIGS. 35-13 and 35-13A), which late-19th-century French artists collected and admired (see "Japonisme," page 858) and even copied (FIG. 28-18B).

Georges Seurat. Of much more modest ancestry was the regrettably short-lived GEORGES SEURAT (1859–1891), the son of a customs official. He studied at the École des Beaux-Arts under one of Ingres's pupils, but was more intrigued by Delacroix's use of color. The subjects of Seurat's paintings of the 1880s were essentially Impressionist themes, but unlike the Impressionists and Toulouse-Lautrec, Seurat depicted modern life in a strictly intellectual way. He devised a disciplined and painstaking system of painting focused on color analysis. Seurat was less concerned with the recording of immediate color sensations than he was with their careful and systematic organization into a new kind of pictorial order. He disciplined the free and fluent play of color characterizing Impressionism into a calculated arrangement based on scientific color theory.

Seurat's system, which he called *divisionism,* but which is better known as *pointillism,* involves carefully observing color and separating it into its component parts (see "Pointillism and 19th-Century Color Theory," page 863). The artist then applies these pure component colors to the canvas in tiny dots (points) or daubs. Thus the shapes, figures, and spaces in the image become comprehensible only from a distance, when the viewer's eyes blend the many pigment dots.

Seurat introduced pointillism to the French public at the eighth and last Impressionist exhibition in 1886, where he displayed *A Sunday on La Grande Jatte* (FIGS. 28-17 and 28-18). According to one report, the painting attracted huge crowds, and it was impossible to get close enough to study it. La Grande Jatte is an island in the Seine River near Asnières, one of late-19th-century Paris's rapidly growing industrial suburbs. It is the setting for a typically Impressionist recreational theme, populated by "modern people" from various classes and wearing different kinds of clothes. A sleeveless worker lounges in the left foreground next to a middle-class couple. In the center is a little girl in a spotless white dress accompanied by her fashionably attired nanny. Also present is a woman with a monkey on a leash who is almost certainly a prostitute. In short, the Sunday visitors to La Grande Jatte are a cross-section of Parisian society in the 1880s.

Seurat also shared the Impressionists' interest in analyzing light and color. But his rendition of Parisians at leisure is rigid and impersonal, unlike the spontaneous representations of Impressionism. Seurat's pointillism (FIG. 28-17) produced a carefully composed and painted image, in sharp contrast to Impressionist "sketches," incorporating repeated motifs—for example, similarly dressed women, identical parasols—to establish a rhythmic movement across the huge (almost 7-by-10-foot) canvas. Indeed, the scale of *A Sunday on La Grande Jatte* is firmly in the tradition of the Salon, unlike the intimate easel paintings of most of the Impressionists. Sunshine fills the picture, but Seurat did not break the light into transient patches of color. Light, air, people, and landscape are formal elements in an abstract design in which line, color, value, and shape cohere in a precise and tightly controlled organization.

Vincent van Gogh. In marked contrast to Seurat, VINCENT VAN GOGH (1853–1890) explored the capabilities of colors and distorted forms to express his emotions as he confronted nature. The son of a Dutch Protestant pastor, van Gogh believed he had a religious calling and did missionary work in the coal-mining area of Belgium. Repeated professional and personal failures brought him close to despair. Only after he turned to painting did he find a way to communicate his experiences. He completed his first major work, *The Potato Eaters* (FIG. 28-18A), when he was 32 years old. Five years later, considering himself a failure as an artist and an outcast not only from artistic circles but also from society at large, van Gogh fatally shot himself. Although it is hard to believe today, given his lofty reputation, van Gogh sold only one painting during his lifetime.

28-18A VAN GOGH, *The Potato Eaters,* 1885.

Night Café. Van Gogh moved to Paris in 1886, where he began to collect—and copy (FIG. 28-18B)—Japanese prints. In 1888, he relocated to Arles in southern France, where he painted *Night Café* (FIG. 28-19), one of his most important and innovative canvases. Although the subject is apparently benign, van Gogh invested it with a charged energy. As he stated in a letter to his brother Theo (see "The Letters of Vincent van Gogh," page 865), he wanted the painting to convey an oppressive atmosphere—"a place where one can ruin one's self, go mad, or commit a crime. . . . [I want] to express the power of darkness in a low drinking spot . . . in an atmosphere like a devil's furnace."[6] The room is seen from above, and the floor takes up a large portion of the canvas, as in the paintings of Degas (FIG. 28-9). The ghostlike proprietor stands at the edge of the café's billiard table, disengaged from his customers, as they are from each other. Van Gogh depicted the billiard table in such a steeply tilted perspective that it threatens to slide out of the painting into the viewer's space. He communicated the "madness" of the place by selecting vivid hues whose juxtaposition augmented their intensity.

28-18B VAN GOGH, *Flowering Plum Tree,* 1887.

Van Gogh's insistence on the expressive values of color led him to develop a corresponding expressiveness in his paint application. The thickness, shape, and direction of his brushstrokes created a tactile counterpart to his intense color schemes. He moved the brush vehemently back and forth or at right angles, giving a textilelike effect, or squeezed dots or streaks onto the canvas directly from his paint tubes. This bold, almost slapdash attack enhanced the intensity of his colors.

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ARTISTS ON ART

The Letters of Vincent van Gogh

Throughout his life, Vincent van Gogh wrote letters to his brother Theo van Gogh (1857–1891), a Parisian art dealer, on matters both mundane and philosophical. The letters are precious documents of the ups and downs of the painter's life and reveal his emotional anguish. In many of the letters, van Gogh also forcefully stated his views about art, including his admiration for Japanese prints (FIG. 28-18B). In one letter, he told Theo: "In both my life and in my painting, I can very well do without God but I cannot, ill as I am, do without something which is greater than I, . . . the power to create."*

For van Gogh, the power to create involved the expressive use of color. "Instead of trying to reproduce exactly what I have before my eyes, I use color more arbitrarily so as to express myself forcibly."† Color in painting, he argued, is "not locally true from the point of view of the delusive realist, but color suggesting some emotion of an ardent temperament."‡ "[It is better for a painter to] start from the colors on his palette than from the colors in nature. . . . I study nature, so as not to do foolish things . . . however, I don't care so much whether my color is exactly the same, as long as it looks beautiful on my canvas . . . I repeat, starting from one's palette, from one's knowledge of the harmony of colors is quite different from following nature mechanically and servilely."§

Some of van Gogh's letters contain vivid descriptions of his paintings, which are invaluable to art historians in gauging his intentions and judging his success. For example, about *Night Café* (FIG. 28-19), he wrote:

> I have tried to express the terrible passions of humanity by means of red and green. The room is blood-red and dark yellow with a green billiard table in the middle; there are four citron-yellow lamps with a glow of orange and green. Everywhere there is a clash and contrast of the most disparate reds and greens in the figures of little sleeping hooligans, in the empty, dreary room, in violet and blue. The blood-red and the yellow-green of the billiard table, for instance, contrast with the soft, tender Louis XV green of the counter, on which there is a pink nosegay. The white coat of the landlord, awake in a corner of that furnace, turns citron-yellow, or pale luminous green.**

*Vincent van Gogh to Theo van Gogh, September 3, 1888, in W. H. Auden, ed., *Van Gogh: A Self-Portrait. Letters Revealing His Life as a Painter* (New York: Dutton, 1963), 319.
†August 11, 1888. Ibid., 313.
‡September 8, 1888. Ibid., 321.
§October 2, 1885. Ibid., 253–254.
**September 8, 1888. Ibid., 320.

28-19 VINCENT VAN GOGH, *Night Café,* 1888. Oil on canvas, 2′ 4½″ × 3′. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (bequest of Stephen Carlton Clark).

In *Night Café,* van Gogh explored ways that colors and distorted forms can express emotions. The thickness, shape, and direction of the brushstrokes create a tactile counterpart to the intense colors.

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28-20 Vincent van Gogh, *Starry Night,* 1889. Oil on canvas, 2′ 5″ × 3′ $\frac{1}{4}$″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest).

In this late work, van Gogh painted the vast night sky filled with whirling and exploding stars, with a village below. The painting is an almost abstract pattern of expressive line, shape, and color.

Starry Night. Similarly illustrative of van Gogh's "expressionist" method is *Starry Night* (fig. 28-20), which the artist painted in 1889, the year before his death. At this time, van Gogh was living at the asylum of Saint-Paul-de-Mausole in Saint-Rémy, near Arles, where he had committed himself because he suffered from epilepsy, not, as many believe, because he was insane. In *Starry Night,* the artist did not represent the sky's appearance. Rather, consistent with his enduring religious fervor, he communicated his feelings about the electrifying vastness of the universe by filling the night sky with stars that whirl and explode above a church nestled in the center of a Provençal village. Although the style of *Starry Night* suggests a very personal vision, this work does correspond in many ways to the view available to the painter from the window of his room in Saint-Paul-de-Mausole. The existence of cypress trees, frequently found in Mediterranean cemeteries, and the placement of the constellations have been confirmed as matching the view visible to van Gogh during his stay in the asylum. Still, the artist translated everything he saw into his singular vision. Given van Gogh's determination to "use color . . . to express [him]self forcibly," the dark, deep blue suffusing the entire painting cannot be overlooked. Together with the turbulent brushstrokes, the color suggests a quiet but pervasive depression. A letter van Gogh wrote to his brother on July 16, 1888, reveals his contemplative state of mind:

> Perhaps death is not the hardest thing in a painter's life. . . . [L]ooking at the stars always makes me dream, as simply as I dream over the black dots representing towns and villages on a map. Why, I ask myself, shouldn't the shining dots of the sky be as accessible as the black dots on the map of France? Just as we take the train to get to Tarascon or Rouen, we take death to reach a star.[7]

Paul Gauguin. In 1883, following the stock market crash of 1882, Paul Gauguin (1848–1903) left his unrewarding job at a stock brokerage in Paris to try to make his living as an artist, having painted as an amateur for many years. Three years later, attracted by Brittany's unspoiled culture, its ancient Celtic folkways, the still-medieval Catholic piety of its people, and its much lower cost of living, Gauguin moved to Pont-Aven, which had become a popular artists' colony. Although in the 1870s and 1880s, Brittany had been transformed into a profitable market economy focused on tourism, Gauguin still viewed the Bretons as "natural" men and women, perfectly at ease in what he regarded as their unspoiled peasant environment.

At Pont-Aven, Gauguin painted *Vision after the Sermon* (fig. 28-21), also known as *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel,* his most important early work. The painting shows Breton women, wearing their starched white Sunday caps and black dresses, visualizing the sermon they have just heard in church on Jacob's encounter with the Holy Spirit (Gen. 32:24–30). Joining the women, at the far right, is a tonsured monk who has Gauguin's features. The women and the monk pray devoutly before the apparition, as they would have before the roadside crucifix shrines that were characteristic features of the Breton countryside. Gauguin departed from optical realism and composed the picture elements to focus the

28-21 Paul Gauguin, *Vision after the Sermon* (*Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*), 1888. Oil on canvas, 2′ 4$\frac{3}{4}$″ × 3′ $\frac{1}{2}$″. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Gauguin admired Japanese prints, cloisonné enamels, and stained glass. Their influences are evident in this painting of Breton women, in which firm outlines enclose large areas of unmodulated color.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Gauguin on *Where Do We Come From?*

Paul Gauguin's *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?* (FIG. 28-22), painted in Tahiti in 1897, was, in the artist's judgment, his most important work. The scene is a tropical landscape, populated with native women and children. Despite the setting, most of the canvas surface, other than the figures, consists of broad areas of flat color, which convey a lushness and intensity.

Two of Gauguin's letters to friends contain lengthy discussions of this work and shed important light on the artist's intentions and on the painting's meaning.

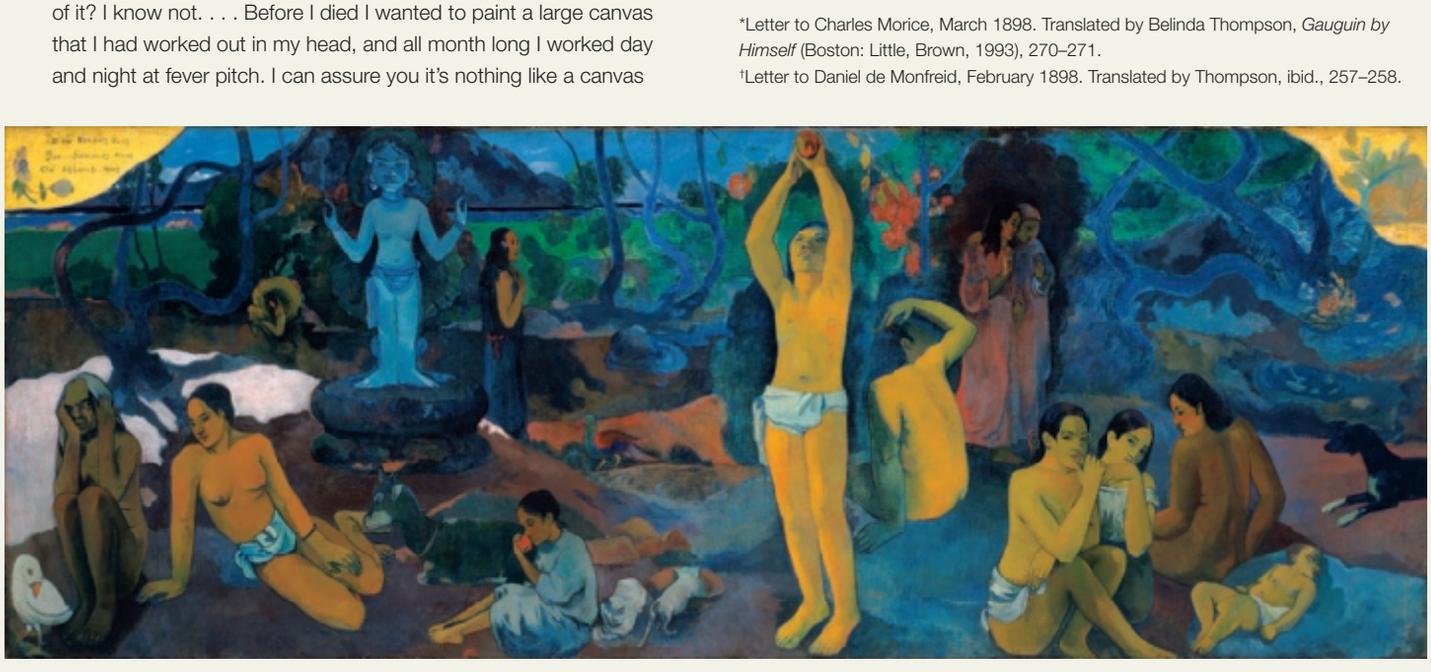
> Where are we going? Near to death an old woman. . . . What are we? Day to day existence. . . . Where do we come from? Source. Child. Life begins. . . . Behind a tree two sinister figures, cloaked in garments of somber color, introduce, near the tree of knowledge, their note of anguish caused by that very knowledge in contrast to some simple beings in a virgin nature, which might be paradise as conceived by humanity, who give themselves up to the happiness of living.*

> I wanted to kill myself. I went to hide in the mountains, where my corpse would have been eaten up by ants. I didn't have a revolver but I did have arsenic . . . Was the dose too large, or was it the fact of vomiting, which overcame the effects of the poison by getting rid of it? I know not. . . . Before I died I wanted to paint a large canvas that I had worked out in my head, and all month long I worked day and night at fever pitch. I can assure you it's nothing like a canvas by Puvis de Chavannes [FIG. 28-25], with studies from nature, then a preparatory cartoon, etc. No, it's all done without a model, feeling my way with the tip of the brush on a piece of sackcloth that is full of knots and rough patches; so it looks terribly unpolished. People will say it is slipshod, unfinished . . . [but] I do believe that not only is this painting worth more than all the previous ones but also that I will never do a better one or another like it. I put all my energy into it before dying, such painful passion amid terrible circumstances . . . and life burst from it.†

Some details of the painting have resisted interpretation because Gauguin's symbolism is so personal, but the general meaning of *Where Do We Come From?* is clear. It is a sobering, pessimistic image of the inevitability of the life cycle, beginning, at the right, with infancy. At the center is a Polynesian Eve in the prime of youth picking fruit from a tree. At the left, with a Tahitian idol in the background, is a crouching old woman contemplating death.

It is noteworthy that, contrary to Gauguin's assertion in the quoted letter, he did make a detailed preliminary drawing, now in the Louvre, for *Where Do We Come From?* He is here altering the facts in order to establish a persona for himself as an inspired genius who created great works without recourse to traditional studio methods. Some scholars have even suggested that he intended his suicide attempt to fail.

*Letter to Charles Morice, March 1898. Translated by Belinda Thompson, *Gauguin by Himself* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993), 270–271.
†Letter to Daniel de Monfreid, February 1898. Translated by Thompson, ibid., 257–258.



28-22 PAUL GAUGUIN, *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?* 1897. Oil on canvas, 4′ 6¾″ × 12′ 3″. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Tompkins Collection).

In search of a place far removed from European materialism, Gauguin moved to Tahiti, where he used native women and tropical colors to present a pessimistic view of the inevitability of the life cycle.

viewer's attention on the idea and to intensify its message. The images are not what the Impressionist eye would have seen and replicated but what Gauguin's memory recalled and his imagination modified. Thus the artist twisted the perspective and allotted most of the space to emphasize the innocent faith of the unquestioning women. A diagonally placed tree trunk separates the women from the much smaller Jacob and the angel. Wrestling matches were regular features at the entertainment held after High Mass, so Gauguin's women are spectators at a contest that was, for them, a familiar part of their culture. Gauguin did

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not unify the picture with a horizon perspective, light and shade, or naturalistic use of color. Instead, he abstracted the scene into a pattern, with the tree symbolically dividing the spiritual from the earthly realm. Pure unmodulated color fills flat planes and shapes bounded by firm line: white caps, black dresses, and the red field of combat.

Gauguin admired Japanese prints and medieval *cloisonné* metalwork (see "Cloisonné," page 321) and *stained glass* (see "Stained-Glass Windows," page 392). These art forms contributed significantly to his daring experiment to transform traditional painting and Impressionism into abstract, expressive patterns of line, shape, and pure color. Like van Gogh—with whom he painted for a brief period in Arles in 1888, but disagreed about many things, including whether an artist should paint from life or memory—Gauguin rejected objective representation in favor of subjective expression. For Gauguin, the artist's power to determine the colors in a painting was a central element of creativity. However, whereas van Gogh's heavy, thick brushstrokes were an important component of his expressive style, Gauguin's color areas appear flatter, like the colored glass of Gothic windows.

Where Do We Come From? In 1888, Gauguin, continuing his restless search for an inexpensive and unspoiled place to live, settled in Tahiti (MAP 37-1). The Polynesian island attracted Gauguin because he believed that it offered him a life far removed from materialistic Europe as well as an opportunity to reconnect with nature. On his arrival, he discovered that Tahiti, under French control since 1842, had been extensively colonized and that its capital, Papeete, was filled with French imports, but also filthy and dangerous. Deeply disappointed, Gauguin tried to maintain his vision of an untamed paradise by moving to the Tahitian countryside, where he expressed his fascination with primitive life in a series of canvases in which he often based the design, though indirectly, on native motifs. The tropical flora of the island inspired the colors he chose for these paintings—unusual harmonies of lilac, pink, and lemon.

Despite the allure of the South Pacific, Gauguin continued to struggle with life. His health suffered, and his art had a hostile reception. In 1897, worn down by these obstacles, Gauguin decided to poison himself, but not before painting a mural-sized canvas titled *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?* (FIG. 28-22), which he wrote about in letters to his friends (see "Gauguin on *Where Do We Come From?*" page 867). His attempt to commit suicide in Tahiti was unsuccessful, but Gauguin died a few years later, in 1903, in the Marquesas Islands. Like van Gogh, Gauguin never gained recognition as an artist during his lifetime.

Paul Cézanne. Trained as a painter in his native Aix-en-Provence in southern France, PAUL CÉZANNE (1839–1906) allied himself early in his career with the Impressionists, especially Pissarro (FIG. 28-6), and participated in the first (1874) and third (1877) Impressionist exhibitions in Paris. Initially, Cézanne accepted the Impressionists' color theories and their faith in subjects chosen from everyday life, but his own studies of traditional works of European art in the Louvre persuaded him that Impressionism lacked form and structure. Cézanne declared that he wanted to "make of Impressionism something solid and enduring like the art in the museum."[8] (see "Making Impressionism Solid and Enduring," page 869).

Basket of Apples. Still life, even more than landscape, proved to be a very effective vehicle for Cézanne's experiments in remaking Impressionism to emphasize the permanent instead of the transitory. In still-life painting, Cézanne could arrange a limited number of selected objects to provide a well-ordered point of departure. So analytical was Cézanne in preparing, observing, and painting still lifes (in contrast to the Impressionist emphasis on spontaneity) that he had to abandon using real fruit and flowers because they tended to rot. In *Basket of Apples* (FIG. 28-23), the objects have lost something of their individual character as bottles and fruit and have almost become cylinders and spheres. Cézanne captured the solidity of each object by juxtaposing color patches. His interest in the study of volume and solidity is evident from the disjunctures in the painting—the table edges are discontinuous, as if seen simultaneously from above and from the front. Some of the objects also are depicted from different vantage points. In his zeal to understand three-dimensionality and to convey the placement of forms relative to the space around them, Cézanne explored his still-life arrangements from different viewpoints. This resulted in paintings that, though conceptually coherent, do not appear optically realistic. Cézanne's approach here is reminiscent of Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (FIG. 28-8).

28-23 **PAUL CÉZANNE, *Basket of Apples*, ca. 1895. Oil on canvas, 2′ $\frac{3}{8}$″ × 2′ 7″. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Helen Birch Bartlett Memorial Collection, 1926).**

Cézanne's still lifes reveal his analytical approach to painting. He captured the solidity of bottles and fruit by juxtaposing color patches, but the resulting abstract shapes are not optically realistic.

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Making Impressionism Solid and Enduring

Paul Cézanne's desire to "make of Impressionism something solid and enduring" led him to formulate a new approach to the art of painting, whether his subject was still life (FIG. 28-23), landscape (FIG. 28-24), or the human figure (FIG. 28-24A). Cézanne's distinctive way of studying nature is evident in *Mont Sainte-Victoire* (FIG. 28-24), one of many views he painted of this mountain near his home in Aix-en-Provence. His aim was not truth in appearance, especially not photographic truth, nor was it the "truth" of Impressionism. Rather, he sought a lasting structure behind the formless and fleeting visual information that the eyes absorb. Instead of employing the Impressionists' random approach when he was face-to-face with nature, Cézanne, like Seurat, developed a more analytical style. His goal was to order the lines, planes, and colors of nature. He constantly and painstakingly checked his painting against the part of the scene—he called it the "motif"—he was studying at the moment.

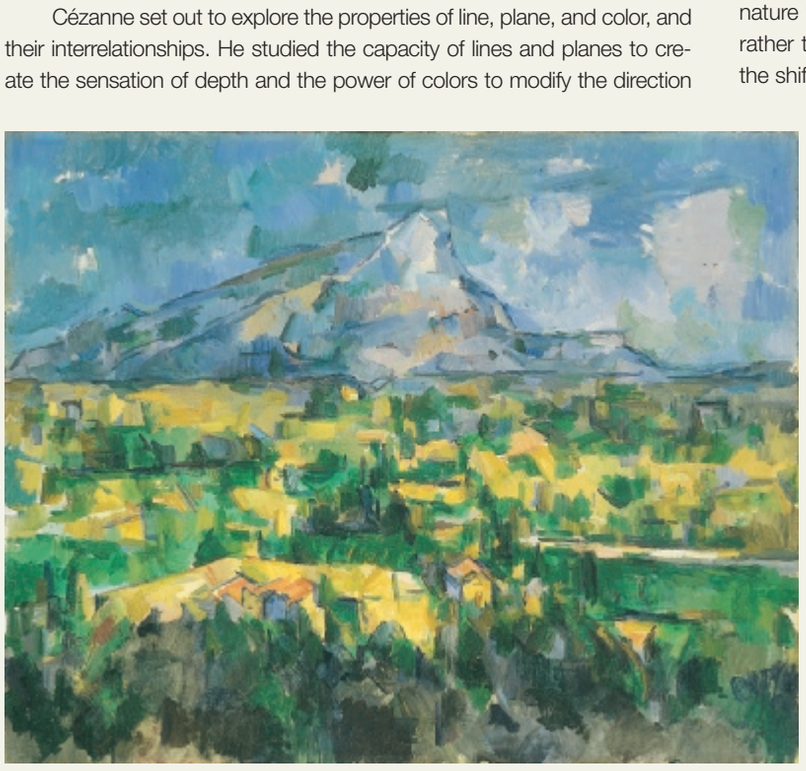
In a March 1904 letter, Cézanne stated his goal as a painter: "[to do] Poussin over entirely from nature . . . in the open air, with color and light, instead of one of those works imagined in a studio, where everything has the brown coloring of feeble daylight without reflections from the sky and sun."* He sought to achieve Poussin's effects of distance, depth, structure, and solidity, not by using traditional perspective and chiaroscuro, but rather by recording the color patterns he deduced from an optical analysis of nature.

Cézanne set out to explore the properties of line, plane, and color, and their interrelationships. He studied the capacity of lines and planes to create the sensation of depth and the power of colors to modify the direction and depth of lines and planes. To create the illusion of three-dimensional form and space, Cézanne focused on carefully selecting colors. He understood that the visual properties—hue, saturation, and value—of different colors vary (see "Color Theory," page 863). Cool colors tend to recede, whereas warm ones advance. By applying to the canvas small patches of juxtaposed colors, some advancing and some receding, Cézanne created volume and depth in his works. On occasion, the artist depicted objects chiefly in one hue and achieved convincing solidity by modulating the intensity (or saturation). At other times, he juxtaposed contrasting colors—for example, green, yellow, and red—of similar saturation to compose specific objects, such as fruit or bowls.

In *Mont Sainte-Victoire,* Cézanne replaced the transitory visual effects of changing atmospheric conditions, effects that preoccupied Monet, with a more concentrated, lengthier analysis of the colors in large lighted spaces. The main space stretches out behind and beyond the canvas plane and includes numerous small elements, such as roads, fields, houses, and the viaduct at the far right, each seen from a slightly different viewpoint. Above this shifting, receding perspective—so different from traditional Renaissance perspective with the viewer standing in a fixed position and with a single vanishing point (see "Linear Perspective," page 599)—the largest mass of all, the mountain, seems simultaneously to be both near and far away, an effect achieved by equally stressing background and foreground contours. Cézanne's rendition of nature approximates the experience a person has when viewing the forms of nature from multiple viewpoints. The relative proportions of objects vary, rather than being fixed by strict linear perspective. Cézanne immobilized the shifting colors of Impressionism into an array of clearly defined planes composing the objects and spaces in his scene. Describing his method in a letter to a fellow painter, he wrote:

> [T]reat nature by the cylinder, the sphere, the cone, everything in proper perspective so that each side of an object or a plane is directed towards a central point. Lines parallel to the horizon give breadth . . . Lines perpendicular to this horizon give depth. But nature for us men is more depth than surface, whence the need of introducing into our light vibrations, represented by reds and yellows, a sufficient amount of blue to give the impression of air.†

*Cézanne to Émile Bernard, March 1904. Quoted in Robert Goldwater and Mario Treves, eds., *Artists on Art, from the XIV to the XX Century* (New York: Pantheon, 1945), 363.
†Cézanne to Émile Bernard, April 15, 1904. Ibid., 363.



28-24 Paul Cézanne, *Mont Sainte-Victoire,* 1902–1904. Oil on canvas, 2′ 3½″ × 2′ 11¼″. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (George W. Elkins Collection).

In his landscapes, Cézanne replaced the transitory visual effects of changing atmospheric conditions—the Impressionists' focus—with careful analysis of the lines, planes, and colors of nature.

Cézanne, like other 19th-century modernist painters, was concerned with the integrity of the painting surface. Viewers of Cézanne's paintings are always aware that the three-dimensional forms they see are in reality two-dimensional patterns of line and color on a flat picture plane. Cézanne's legacy was significant, especially his late works, such as the unfinished *The Large Bathers* (FIG. 28-24A), which profoundly influenced the development of Cubism in the early 20th century (see "Analytic Cubism," page 898).

28-24A Cézanne, *Large Bathers,* 1906.

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Albert Aurier on Symbolism

An early champion of Paul Gauguin, Albert Aurier published an influential essay in March 1891 in the journal *Mercure de France* in which he described the singular contribution of Gauguin to modern painting and used Gauguin's work to define Symbolism in painting. Aurier argued that

> The goal of painting . . . cannot be the direct representation of objects. Its end purpose is to express ideas as it translates them into a special language. Indeed, in the eyes of the artist . . . objects . . . have a significance only insofar as they are objects. The artist sees them only as *signs,* letters of an immense alphabet that only the genius knows how to read. To write one's thought, one's poem, with those signs, all the while remembering that the sign, however indispensable, is nothing in itself and the idea alone is everything—such appears to be the task of the artist whose eye can determine the evocative potential of tangible objects. . . . As a result, certain laws must govern pictorial imitation. The artist, in every form of art, must carefully avoid . . . concrete truth, illusionism, trompe-l'oeil. Indeed, he must not convey in his picture a false impression of nature that would act on the spectator like nature itself. . . . In consequence, the strict duty of the ideist painter is to make a reasoned selection from the multiple elements of objective reality, to use in his work only the lines, forms, general and distinctive colors that enable him to describe precisely the ideic significance of the object . . . To sum up and conclude, the work of art as I have evoked it logically, is *Ideist . . . Symbolist . . . Synthetic . . .* and *Decorative*.*

Although he never formally identified himself with the Symbolists, the French painter Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (1824–1898) became a major inspiration for those artists. In striking contrast to the Impressionists and Post-Impressionists, whose work was routinely rejected by the official Salons, Puvis served as a Salon juror until he resigned in 1872 to protest the narrowness of the other jurors. Puvis, nevertheless, was no admirer of Realism or Impressionism, producing instead an ornamental and reflective art incorporating classical imagery—a categorical rejection of the Realist and Impressionist focus on the everyday world.

In *Sacred Grove* (fig. 28-25), which may have influenced Seurat's *Grande Jatte* (fig. 28-18), Puvis deployed statuesque figures in a tranquil landscape with a Greco-Roman shrine. Suspended in timeless poses, the figures have simple and sharp contours, and their modeling is as shallow as classical sculpture (fig. 5-50). The calm and still atmosphere suggests some consecrated place where all movements and gestures have a permanent ritual significance. The stillness and simplicity of the forms, the linear patterns that their rhythmic contours create, and the suggestion of their symbolic weight constitute a type of anti-Realism. Puvis garnered support from a wide range of artists, from, at one extreme, the conservative members of the French Academy and the government, who applauded his classicism, to the Symbolists, who revered Puvis for his vindication of imagination and his independence from the capitalist world of materialism and the machine.

*Translated by Henri Dorra, ed., *Symbolist Art Theories: A Critical Anthology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 199–200.

28-25 Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Sacred Grove,* 1884. Oil on canvas, 2′ 11½″ × 6′ 10″. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Potter Palmer Collection).

The Symbolists revered Puvis de Chavannes for his rejection of Realism. His statuesque figures in timeless poses inhabit a tranquil landscape, their gestures suggesting a symbolic ritual significance.

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SYMBOLISM

The Impressionists and Post-Impressionists believed that their emotions and sensations were important elements for interpreting the world around them, but the depiction of what they could see—people, buildings and boulevards, landscapes, still lifes—remained their primary focus, as it had for the Realists before them. By the end of the 19th century, however, many artists (as well as writers) turned their attention away from the real world to the imaginary. These artists, seeking to express their individual spirit, rejected the optical world of daily life in favor of a fantasy world, of forms they conjured in their free imagination. Color, line, and shape, divorced from conformity to the optical image, became symbols of personal emotions in response to the world. Deliberately choosing to stand outside of convention and tradition, these artists spoke in signs and symbols.

Many of the artists following this path adopted an approach to subject and form that associated them with a general European movement called *Symbolism.* Symbolists, whether painters or writers, disdained Realism as trivial. The task of Symbolist artists, both visual and verbal, was to see through things to a significance and reality far deeper than what superficial appearance revealed to the eyes, often exploring the dark or irrational imagery of the human psyche.

In so doing, as the poet Arthur Rimbaud (1854–1891) insisted, artists became beings of extraordinary insight. (One group of Symbolist painters called itself the *Nabis,* the Hebrew word for "prophet.") Rimbaud, whose poems had great influence on the artistic community, went so far as to say, in his *Letter from a Seer* (1871), that to achieve the seer's insight, artists must become deranged. In effect, they must systematically unhinge and confuse the everyday faculties of sense and reason, which serve only to blur artistic vision. The artists' mystical vision must convert the objects of the commonsense world into symbols of a reality beyond that everyday world and, ultimately, a reality from within the individual.

Elements of Symbolism were already present in the works of Vincent van Gogh and especially Paul Gauguin—for example, *Vision after the Sermon* (FIG. 28-21) and *Where Do We Come From?* (FIG. 28-22). In fact, one of the most coherent and influential definitions of Symbolist art appeared in an 1891 essay, "Symbolism in Painting: Paul Gauguin," by Albert Aurier (1865–1892), a leading Symbolist poet and art critic (see "Albert Aurier on Symbolism," page 870).

The extreme subjectivism of the Symbolists led them to cultivate all the resources of fantasy and imagination, no matter how deeply buried or obscure. Moreover, they urged artists to stand against the vulgar materialism and conventional values of industrial and middle-class society. Above all, the Symbolists wished to purge literature and art of anything utilitarian, to cultivate an exquisite aesthetic sensitivity. The subjects of the Symbolists, who were conditioned by this reverent attitude toward art and exaggerated aesthetic sensation, became increasingly esoteric and exotic, mysterious, visionary, dreamlike, and fantastic—the opposite of "concrete truth, illusionism, trompe-l'oeil." Perhaps not coincidentally, contemporary with the Symbolists, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), the founder of psychoanalysis, began the age of psychiatry with his *Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), an introduction to the concept and the world of unconscious experience.

Gustave Moreau. One of the foremost Symbolist painters was GUSTAVE MOREAU (1826–1898), who entered the École des Beaux-Arts at age 20. Toward the end of his career, in 1892, Moreau became a professor there, but he lived most of his life as a recluse in his townhouse at 14 rue de la Rochefoucauld in Paris, today the Musée Gustave Moreau. An admirer of Eugène Delacroix, Moreau loved exotic settings and rich colors, but his subjects, often drawn from classical mythology and the Bible, transcend those of Romanticism to embrace the world of imagination and spirituality celebrated by Symbolist writers.

The Apparition (FIG. 28-26), one of two versions of the same subject Moreau submitted to the Salon of 1876, treats a theme that fascinated him and many of his contemporaries—the *femme fatale* ("fatal woman"), the destructive temptress of men. The seductive heroine here is the biblical Salome (Mark 6:21–28), who pleased her stepfather, King Herod, by dancing enticingly before him and demanded in return the head of Saint John the Baptist (compare FIG. 21-8). In Moreau's representation of the story, Herod sits in the background, enthroned not in a Middle Eastern palace but in a classical columnar hall resembling a Roman triumphal arch.

28-26 GUSTAVE MOREAU, *The Apparition,* 1874–1876. Watercolor on paper, 3′ $5\frac{3}{4}$″ × 2′ $4\frac{3}{8}$″. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Moreau's painting of Salome, a biblical femme fatale, combines hallucinatory imagery, eroticism, precise drawing, rich color, and an opulent setting—hallmarks of Moreau's Symbolist style.

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Salome is in the foreground, scantily clad in a gold- and gem-encrusted costume. She points to an apparition hovering in the air at the level of Herod's head. In a radiant circle of light is what Salome desired—the halo-framed head of John the Baptist, dripping with blood but with eyes wide open. The combination of hallucinatory imagery, eroticism, precise drawing, rich color, and opulent setting is the hallmark of Moreau's highly original style. *The Apparition* and Moreau's other major paintings—for example, *Jupiter and Semele* (FIG. 28-26A)—foreshadow the work of the Surrealists in the next century (see "Surrealism," page 915).

28-26A MOREAU, *Jupiter and Semele,* ca. 1875.

Odilon Redon. Like Moreau, fellow French Symbolist ODILON REDON (1840–1916) was a visionary. He had been aware of an intense inner world since childhood, and later wrote of "imaginary things" haunting him. Redon adapted the Impressionist palette and stippling brushstroke for a very different purpose—the representation of dreamlike narratives. In *The Cyclops* (FIG. 28-27), Redon represented the mythological one-eyed giant Polyphemus emerging from behind a rocky outcropping in a landscape with a rich profusion of fresh saturated hues that harmonized with the mood that Redon felt fit the subject. In Homer's *Odyssey,* Polyphemus is a monstrous giant whom the Greek hero Odysseus must vanquish on his journey home from Troy. Redon chose, however, the less familiar tale of Polyphemus's love for the nymph Galatea. Redon's Cyclops is a shy, simpering creature with its single huge loving eye set into a misshapen head. He rises balloonlike above the beautiful sleeping Galatea. The contrast with the Renaissance representation of the same subject in the Villa Farnesina (FIGS. 22-11 and 22-11A) could hardly be more striking. As Redon himself observed: "All my originality consists . . . in making unreal creatures live humanly by putting, as much as possible, the logic of the visible at the service of the invisible."[9]

1 ft.

28-27 **ODILON REDON, *The Cyclops,* 1898. Oil on canvas, 2′ 1″ × 1′ 8″. Kröller-Müller Foundation, Otterlo.**

In *The Cyclops,* the Symbolist painter Odilon Redon represented the mythical one-eyed giant Polyphemus shyly observing the beautiful sleeping Galatea. The rich profusion of hues is the legacy of Impressionism.

Henri Rousseau. The imagination of HENRI ROUSSEAU (1844–1910) engaged a different but equally powerful world of personal fantasy. Gauguin had journeyed to the South Seas in search of primitive innocence. Rousseau was a "primitive" without leaving Paris—a self-taught amateur who turned to painting full-time only after his retirement from service in the French government. Nicknamed "Le Douanier" (the Customs Inspector), he first exhibited in the Salon of 1885 when he was 41. Derided by the critics, Rousseau turned to the Salon des Indépendants in 1886 and thereafter exhibited his works there almost every year until his death. Even in that more liberal showcase, Rousseau still received almost universally unfavorable reviews because of his lack of formal training, imperfect perspective, doll-like figures, and settings resembling constructed theater sets more

1 ft.

28-28 **HENRI ROUSSEAU, *Sleeping Gypsy,* 1897. Oil on canvas, 4′ 3″ × 6′ 7″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (gift of Mrs. Simon Guggenheim).**

In *Sleeping Gypsy,* Rousseau depicted a doll-like but menacing lion sniffing at a recumbent dreaming figure in a mysterious landscape. The painting suggests the vulnerable unconscious during sleep.

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than natural landscapes. Rousseau compensated for his apparent visual, conceptual, and technical naiveté with a natural talent for design and an imagination teeming with exotic, mysterious images.

Tropical landscapes are the setting for two of Rousseau's most famous works, *Sleeping Gypsy* (FIG. 28-28) of 1897 and *The Dream* (FIG. 28-28A), painted 13 years later. In the earlier painting, the recumbent figure occupies a desert world, silent and secret, and dreams beneath a pale, perfectly round moon. In the foreground, a lion resembling a stuffed, but somehow menacing, animal doll sniffs at the gypsy. The imagery suggests the kind of uneasy encounter that a person's vulnerable unconscious self might experience during sleep—a subject of central importance to Rousseau's contemporary, Sigmund Freud. Rousseau's art of drama and fantasy has its own sophistication and, after the artist's death, influenced the development of Surrealism (see "Salvador Dalí," page 918).

28-28A ROUSSEAU, *The Dream,* 1910.

James Ensor. Although the Symbolist movement in art and literature began in France, it quickly expanded throughout Europe. The leading Belgian Symbolist was JAMES ENSOR (1860–1949), the son of an expatriate Englishman and a Flemish mother, who spent most of his life in the seaside resort village of Ostend, far from the artistic centers of Europe. In 1883 he cofounded Les Vingt (The Twenty), a group of Belgian artists who staged unjuried exhibitions in Brussels modeled on the independent salons of Paris. A fervent nationalist, he left the group when it began to exhibit the work of foreign artists. In fact, Ensor's most monumental work, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889* (FIG. 28-29), is very likely a critical response to Georges Seurat's *Grande Jatte* (FIG. 28-18), exhibited by Les Vingt in 1887.

Whereas Seurat's canvas celebrates the leisure activities of contented bourgeois Parisians, a typical Impressionist theme, Ensor's even larger (14-foot-long) painting portrays an event that occurred only in the painter's imagination. In fact, it was a future event that Ensor imagined. *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889,* painted in 1888, is a socialist commentary on the decadence and alienation of urban life at the end of the 19th century. The mural-sized canvas is the artist's pessimistic vision of how Christ would be greeted if he entered the modern Belgian capital. Christ is a small and insignificant figure on a donkey in the background of the painting, ignored by the dense crowd of soldiers and citizens wearing grotesque masks inspired by the papier-mâché carnival masks that Ensor's family sold in their curio shop in Ostend. Some of the people carry banners and signs. One reads "Long Live Jesus, King of Brussels," another "Long Live the Socialist State." Complementing the ugly, grimacing masked faces of the anonymous crowd, which eloquently express Ensor's condemnation of the corrupt values of modern society, are the discordant combination of reds, blues, and greens and the coarse texture of the thickly applied oil pigment. As an indictment of the immorality of modern life, Ensor's *Christ's Entry* has few equals.

28-29 **JAMES ENSOR, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889,* 1888. Oil on canvas, 8′ 3½″ × 14′ 1½″. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.**

Ensor's mural-sized canvas is an indictment of corrupt modern values. Christ enters Brussels on a donkey in 1889, ignored by the dense crowd of soldiers and citizens wearing grotesque, grimacing masks.

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Edvard Munch. Also linked in spirit to the Symbolists were the English artist Aubrey Beardsley (1872–1898; fig. 28-29A) and the Norwegian painter Edvard Munch (1863–1944). Munch felt deeply the pain of human life and believed that people were powerless before the great natural forces of death and love. The emotions associated with those forces—jealousy, loneliness, fear, desire, despair—became the theme of most of his art (see "Painting Psychic Life," below).

28-29A Beardsley, *The Peacock Skirt,* 1894.

Fin-de-Siècle. Historians have adopted the term *fin-de-siècle* (French, "end of the century") to describe European culture of the late 1800s. This designation is not merely chronological but also refers to a certain sensibility. At that time, the increasingly large and prosperous middle classes were aspiring to gain the advantages that the aristocracy traditionally enjoyed. The masses, striving to live "the good life," embraced a culture of decadence and indulgence. Characteristic of the fin-de-siècle period was an intense preoccupation with sexual drives, powers, and perversions. People at the end of the century also immersed themselves in the exploration of the unconscious. This culture was unrestrained and freewheeling, but the determination to enjoy life masked an anxiety prompted by

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

Painting Psychic Life

Few painters in history have been as successful as Edvard Munch in portraying primal emotions in works of art. In 1877, as a teenager, Munch endured the painful, slow death of his sister from tuberculosis, a wrenching experience that inspired his *Sick Child* of 1886 (not illustrated). Munch's mother had died of the same disease a decade earlier, and those tragic events profoundly shaped the painter's outlook on life and his artistic vision.

Munch's goal as an artist was, in his own words, to describe the conditions of "modern psychic life." To achieve that goal, Realist and Impressionist techniques were inappropriate, focusing as they did on the tangible world. Instead, in the spirit of Symbolism, Munch used color, line, and figural distortion for expressive ends. Influenced by Gauguin, whose paintings he saw in an 1884 exhibition in Oslo, Munch produced both paintings and prints whose high emotional charge was a major source of inspiration for the German Expressionists in the early 20th century (compare fig. 29-6).

Munch's *The Scream* (fig. 28-30), painted in 1893 when he was 30 years old, exemplifies his style and remains to this day one of the most potent symbols of the unbearable pressures of modern life on individual people. The image—a man standing on a bridge—belongs to the real world. In fact, the inspiration for the painting came after Munch had experienced a fit of anxiety after walking, intoxicated, beside the Oslo fjord on a summer evening. However, his depiction of the scene departs significantly from visual reality.

The Scream evokes a powerful emotional response from the viewer because of the painter's dramatic presentation. The man in the foreground, simplified to almost skeletal form, emits a primal scream. The landscape's sweeping curvilinear lines reiterate the shapes of the man's mouth and head, almost like an echo, as the cry seems to reverberate through the setting. The fiery red and yellow stripes that give the sky an eerie glow also contribute to this work's resonance.

Munch wrote a revealing epigraph to accompany the painting:

> I was walking along the road with two friends. The sun was setting. I felt a breath of melancholy—Suddenly the sky turned blood-red. I stopped, and leaned against the railing, deathly tired—looking out across the flaming clouds that hung like blood and a sword over the blue-black fjord and town. My friends walked on—I stood there, trembling with fear. And I sensed a great, infinite scream pass through nature.*

Appropriately, the original title of this work was *Despair*.

*Quoted in Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *Nineteenth-Century European Art,* 3d ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson, 2011), 515.

28-30 Edvard Munch, *The Scream,* 1893. Tempera and pastels on cardboard, 2′ 11¾″ × 2′ 5″. National Gallery, Oslo.

Although grounded in the real world, *The Scream* departs significantly from visual reality. Munch used color, line, and figural distortion to evoke a strong emotional response from the viewer.

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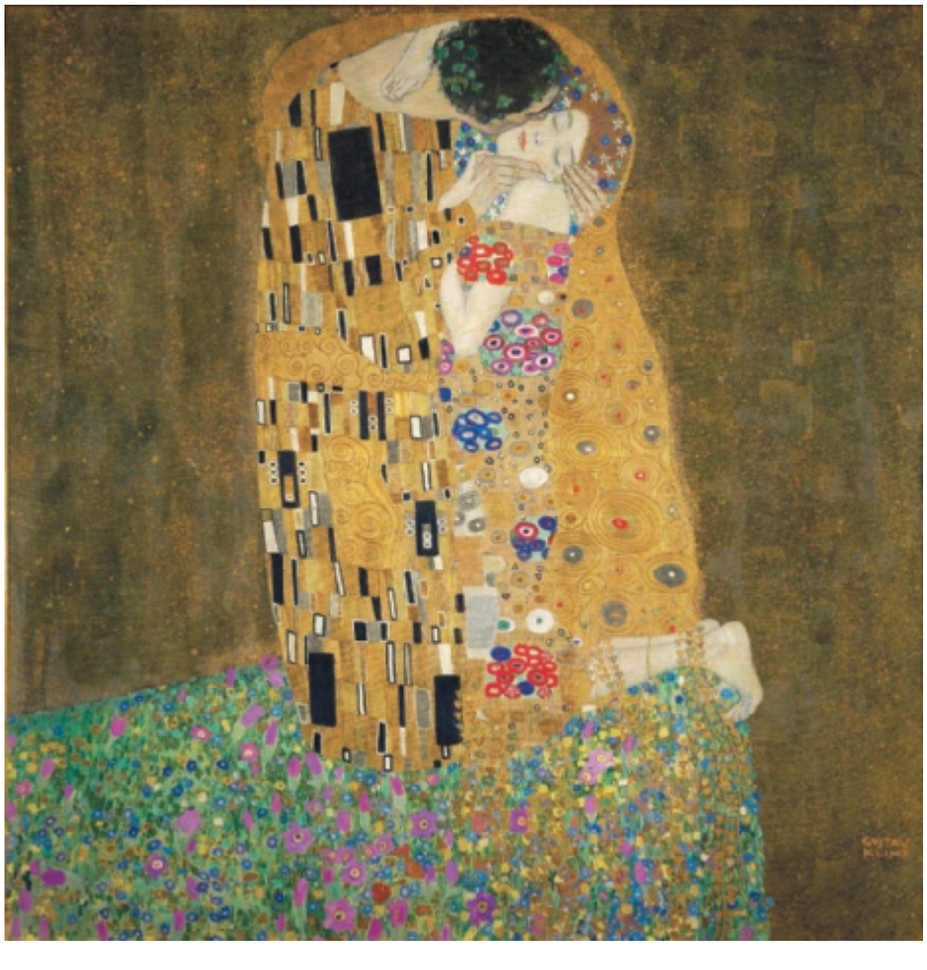

28-31 Gustav Klimt, *The Kiss,* 1907–1908. Oil on canvas, 5′ 10 3/4″ × 5′ 10 3/4″. Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna.

Klimt's paintings exemplify the Viennese fin-de-siècle spirit. In *The Kiss,* he revealed only a small segment of each lover's body. The rest of the painting dissolves into shimmering, extravagant flat patterning.

significant political upheaval and an uncertain future. The country most closely associated with fin-de-siècle culture was Austria.

Gustav Klimt. The Viennese artist Gustav Klimt (1863–1918) captured this period's flamboyance in his work, but tempered it with unsettling undertones. In *The Kiss* (fig. 28-31), his best-known work, Klimt depicted a kneeling couple locked in an embrace. The setting is ambiguous, an indeterminate place apart from time and space, perhaps a flower garden. Moreover, all that the viewer sees of the man and woman is a small segment of each body—and virtually nothing of the man's face. The rest of the canvas dissolves into shimmering, extravagant flat patterning. This patterning has clear ties to Art Nouveau and to the Arts and Crafts movement (discussed later) and also evokes the tension between two- and three-dimensionality intrinsic to the work of Degas and other modernists. In *The Kiss,* however, those patterns also signify gender contrasts—rectangles for the man's garment, circles for the woman's. Yet the patterning also unites the two lovers into a single formal entity, underscoring their erotic union.

Gertrude Käsebier. Photography, which during the 19th century most people regarded as the ultimate form of Realism, could also be manipulated by artists to produce effects more akin to painting than to factual records of contemporary life. After the first great breakthroughs (see "Daguerreotypes, Calotypes, and Wet-Plate Photography," page 842), which bluntly showed what was before the eye, some photographers began to pursue new ways of using the medium as a vehicle of artistic expression. A leading practitioner of what might be called the pictorial style in photography was the American Gertrude Käsebier (1852–1934), who took up the camera in 1897 after raising a family and working as a portrait painter. She soon became famous for photographs with Symbolist themes, such as *Blessed Art Thou among Women* (fig. 28-32). The title repeats the phrase that the angel Gabriel used to announce to the Virgin Mary that she would be the mother of the Savior. In the context of Käsebier's photography, the words suggest a parallel between the biblical Mother of God and the modern mother in the image, who both protects and sends forth her daughter from her secure home into the unfamiliar world at large. The white setting and the mother's pale gown shimmer in soft focus behind the girl, who wears darker tones and whom the photographer captured with sharper focus. Käsebier deliberately combined an out-of-focus background with a sharp or almost-sharp foreground, thereby blurring the entire image slightly. In *Blessed Art Thou,* the soft focus invests the scene with an aura of otherworldly peace. The photograph showcases Käsebier's ability to inject a sense of the spiritual and the divine into scenes from everyday life.

28-32 Gertrude Käsebier, *Blessed Art Thou among Women,* 1899. Platinum print on Japanese tissue, 9 3/8″ × 5 1/2″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (gift of Mrs. Hermine M. Turner).

Symbolist Käsebier injected a sense of the spiritual and the divine into scenes from everyday life. The deliberately soft focus of this photograph invests the scene with an aura of otherworldly peace.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Rodin on Movement in Art and Photography

Photography had a profound effect on 19th-century art, and many artists used photographs as an aid in capturing "reality" on canvas or in stone. Eadweard Muybridge's photographs of a galloping horse (FIG. 27-54), for example, definitively established that at certain times, all four hooves of the animal are in the air, although that reality was not apparent to the naked eye.

Not all artists believed that photography was "true to life," however. Among the doubters was the sculptor Auguste Rodin, who argued that art is truthful and photographs lie:

> I have always sought to give some indication of movement [in my statues]. I have very rarely represented complete repose. I have always endeavored to express the inner feelings by the mobility of the muscles. . . . The illusion of life is obtained in our art by good modeling and by movement. . . . [M]ovement is the transition from one attitude to another. . . . Have you ever attentively examined instantaneous photographs of walking figures? . . . [Photographs] present the odd appearance of a man suddenly stricken with paralysis and petrified in his pose. . . . If, in fact, in instantaneous photographs, the figures, though taken while moving, seem suddenly fixed in mid-air, it is because, all parts of the body being reproduced exactly at the same twentieth or fortieth of a second, there is no progressive development of movement as there is in art. . . . [I]t is the artist who is truthful and it is photography which lies, for in reality time does not stop.*

In *Walking Man* (FIG. 28-33), a preliminary study for the sculptor's *Saint John the Baptist Preaching,* Rodin succeeded in representing a fleeting moment in cast bronze. He portrayed a headless and armless figure in midstride at the moment when weight is transferred across the pelvis from the back leg to the front. In addition to capturing the sense of the transitory, Rodin demonstrated his mastery of realistic detail in his meticulous rendition of muscle, bone, and tendon.

*Translated by Robin Fedden, in Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, ed., *From the Classicists to the Impressionists: Art and Architecture in the 19th Century* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966; reprint 1986), 406–409.

28-33 AUGUSTE RODIN, *Walking Man,* 1905. Bronze, 6′ $11\frac{3}{4}$″ high. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

In this study for a statue of Saint John the Baptist, Rodin depicted a headless and armless figure in midstride. *Walking Man* demonstrates Rodin's mastery of anatomy and ability to capture transitory motion.

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SCULPTURE

The names of the sculptors of the late 19th century are not as familiar as those of the painters of the same era, in part because their work was less revolutionary in nature, in part because their biographies are not as colorful as the tormented and nomadic lives of van Gogh and Gauguin. But there can be no doubt about the high quality of late-19th-century statuary and relief sculpture.

Auguste Rodin. The leading French sculptor of the later 19th century was AUGUSTE RODIN (1840–1917), who conceived and executed his sculptures with a Realist sensibility. The human body in motion fascinated Rodin, as it did Eakins and Muybridge (FIG. 27-54) before him (see "Rodin on Movement in Art and Photography," above). Rodin was also well aware of the Impressionists' innovations. Although color was not a significant factor in Rodin's work, the influence of Impressionism is evident in the artist's interest in the effect of light on sculpted surfaces. When focusing on the human form, he joined his profound knowledge of anatomy and movement with special attention to the body's exterior, saying, "The sculptor must learn to reproduce the surface, which means all that vibrates on the surface, soul, love, passion, life. . . . Sculpture is thus the art of hollows and mounds, not of smoothness, or even polished planes."[10] Primarily a modeler of pliable material rather than a stone-carver, Rodin worked his surfaces with fingers sensitive to the subtlest variations of texture, catching the fugitive play of constantly shifting light on cast bronze. In his studio, he often would have a model move around in front of him while he created preliminary versions of his sculptures with coils of clay.

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Gates of Hell. Rodin also made many nude and draped studies for each of the figures in two of his most ambitious works—the life-size group *Burghers of Calais* (FIG. 28-33A) and *The Gates of Hell* (FIG. 28-34), which occupied the sculptor for two decades. After he failed to gain admission to the École des Beaux-Arts, Rodin enrolled in the École Impériale Spéciale de Dessin et Mathématiques (Special Imperial School of Drawing and Mathematics), the French school of decorative arts, known as the Petit École (Little School) because it was a lesser version of the more prestigious Beaux-Arts academy. However, Rodin's talent could not be suppressed by rejection. He soon gained attention for the outstanding realism of some of his early sculptures, and on August 16, 1880, received a major governmental commission to design a pair of doors for a planned Museum of Decorative Arts in Paris. The museum was never built, however. (The Musée d'Orsay now occupies the intended site.) It was not until after the sculptor's death that others cast his still-unfinished doors in bronze.

The commission granted Rodin permission to choose his own subject. He selected *The Gates of Hell,* based on Dante's *Inferno* and Baudelaire's *Flowers of Evil.* Originally inspired by Lorenzo Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* (FIG. 21-10), which he had seen in Florence, Rodin quickly abandoned the idea of a series of framed narrative panels and decided instead to cover each of the doors with a continuous writhing mass of tormented men and women, sinners condemned to Dante's second circle of Hell for their lust. Because of the varying height of the

28-33A RODIN, *Burghers of Calais,* 1884–1889.

28-34 AUGUSTE RODIN, *The Gates of Hell,* begun 1880; cast in 1917. Bronze, 20′ 10″ × 13′ 1″. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Rodin's most ambitious work, inspired by Dante's *Inferno* and Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* (FIG. 21-10), presents nearly 200 tormented sinners in relief below *The Three Shades* and *The Thinker*.

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28-35 Camille Claudel, *The Waltz,* 1895. Bronze, 1′ 4 7/8″ high. Private collection, Paris.

The Waltz was a bold work for a woman artist because it portrays male nudity. The textures and movement are hallmarks of Rodin, but the conception of spiritual and physical union is Claudel's own.

relief, the complex poses, and the effect of light on the highly textured surfaces, the figures seem to be in flux, moving in and out of an undefined space in a reflection of their psychic turmoil. The dreamlike (or rather, the nightmarish) vision connects Rodin with the Symbolists, and the pessimistic mood and sensuality embody the fin-de-siècle spirit. The swirling composition and emotionalism recall Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus* (FIG. 27-15) and Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (FIG. 22-19). Rodin's work defies easy stylistic classification.

The nearly 200 figures of *The Gates of Hell* spill over onto the jambs and the lintel. Rodin also included freestanding figures, which, cast separately in multiple versions, are among his best-known works. Above the doors, *The Three Shades* is a trio of twisted nude male figures, essentially the same figure with elongated arms in three different positions. The group evokes Carpeaux's *Ugolino and His Children* (FIG. 27-32), as does *The Thinker,* Rodin's famous seated nude man with a powerful body who rests his chin on his clenched right hand, pondering the fate of the tormented souls on the doors below. *The Thinker* is the alter-ego of both Dante and Rodin.

The *Gates of Hell,* more than 20 feet tall, was Rodin's most ambitious project. It greatly influenced the painters and sculptors of the Expressionist movements of the early 20th century (compare FIG. 29-9B). Rodin's ability to capture the quality of the transitory through his highly textured surfaces while revealing larger themes and deeper, lasting sensibilities is another reason he had a strong influence on 20th-century artists. Because many of his works, such as *Walking Man,* were deliberate fragments, he was also instrumental in creating a taste for the incomplete, an aesthetic that many later sculptors embraced enthusiastically.

Camille Claudel. Because of the physical strength required for carving stone, throughout history women who pursued careers as artists almost universally became painters rather than sculptors. Two important exceptions are Edmonia Lewis (FIG. 27-40) and Camille Claudel (1864–1943), who met Rodin in 1883 when she was an apprentice in another sculptor's studio. She became his assistant, model, and lover in 1885. Although Claudel produced life-size sculptures for public commissions, she specialized in small-scale bronzes for display in private homes.

The Waltz (FIG. 28-35), produced over several years in a number of variations, is a characteristic, extremely bold work for a woman artist of this era because it portrays male nudity. It deserves comparison with Klimt's *Kiss* (FIG. 28-31) in its unbridled fin-de-siècle passion and eroticism. But unlike the Austrian painter's kneeling lovers, Claudel's embracing couple is swept up in the motion of their dance, their spiraling movement underscored and enhanced by the flowing drapery of the seminude woman. The influence of Rodin is evident in the variegated texture of the bronze statuette and in Claudel's interest in the movement of the human body, but *The Waltz* is her own conception of spiritual as well as physical union between a man and a woman.

28-35A Saint-Gaudens, *Adams Memorial,* 1886–1891.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Outside France, the most renowned sculptor of the late 19th century was an American, Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848–1907), whose subjects and style differed markedly from those of his French counterparts. Saint-Gaudens produced monumental statues expressing the majestic calm of ancient Greek and Roman sculpture, such as his *Adams Memorial* (FIG. 28-35A) in Washington, D.C.

DECORATIVE ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

The decisive effects of industrialization were impossible to ignore, and although many artists embraced this manifestation of "modern life" or at least explored its effects, other artists decried the impact of rampant industrialism. Most notable were those associated with the Arts and Crafts movement in England, spearheaded by John Ruskin and William Morris (1834–1896; see "The Arts and Crafts Movement," page 879).

Charles Rennie Mackintosh. Numerous Arts and Crafts societies in America, England, and Germany carried on the ideal of artisanship championed by Ruskin and Morris. In Scotland, Charles Rennie Mackintosh (1868–1929) designed a number of tea rooms,

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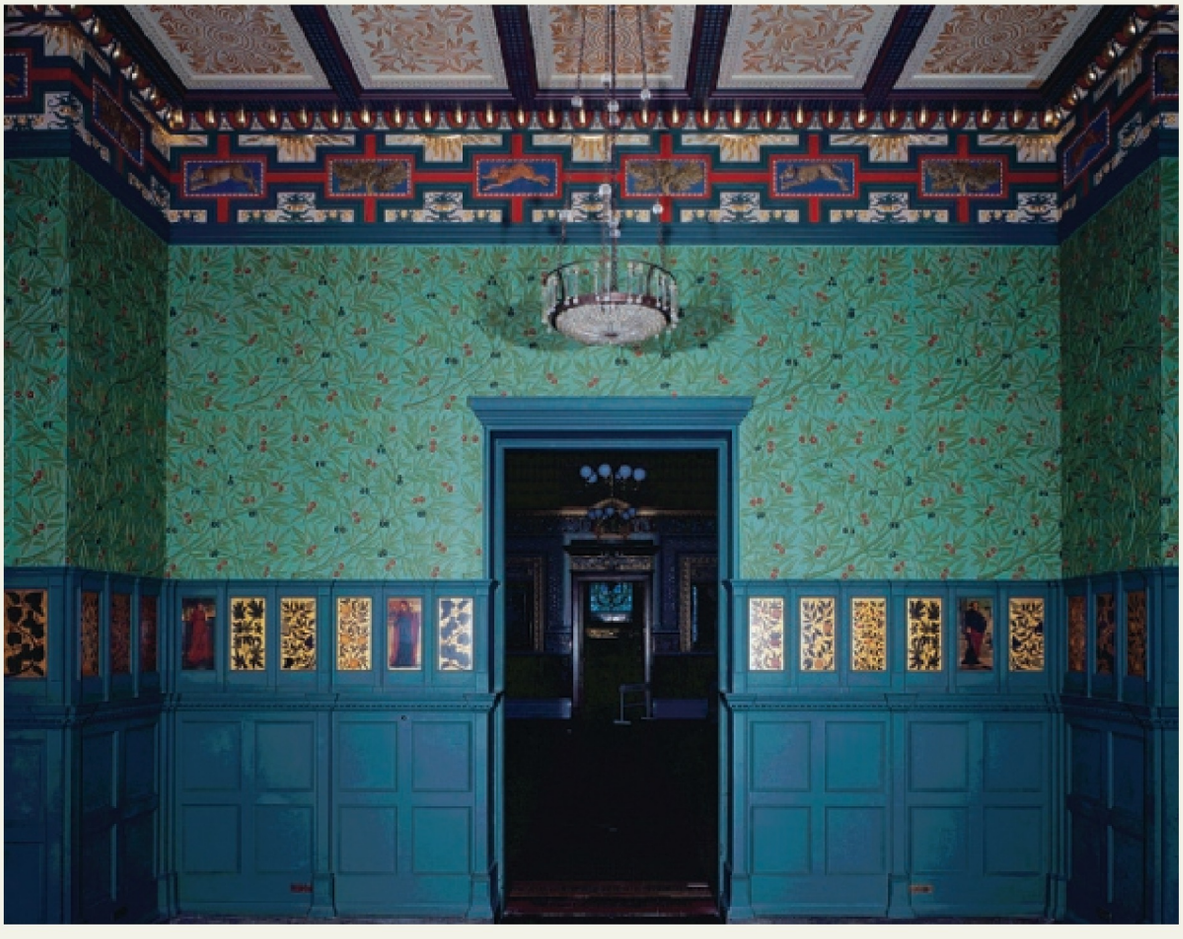
The Arts and Crafts Movement

One of the clearest cases in history of social, economic, and technological changes giving birth to new art forms is the Arts and Crafts movement in 19th-century England. This movement was shaped by the ideas of John Ruskin, the critic who skewered Whistler's "arrangements" (see "Whistler," page 859), and the artist William Morris. Both men shared a distrust of machines and industrial capitalism, which they believed alienated workers from their own nature. Accordingly, they advocated an art "made by the people for the people as a joy for the maker and the user."* This condemnation of capitalism and support for manual laborers were also consistent with the tenets of socialism, and many artists in the Arts and Crafts movement, especially in England, considered themselves socialists and participated in the labor movement.

This democratic, or at least populist, attitude carried over to the art they produced. Members of the Arts and Crafts movement dedicated themselves to making functional objects with high aesthetic value for a wide public. They advocated a style based on natural, rather than artificial, forms, which often consisted of repeated designs of floral or geometric patterns. For Ruskin, Morris, and others in the Arts and Crafts movement, who despised the inferior machine-made products that were flooding the market in England, high-quality artisanship and honest labor were crucial ingredients of superior works of decorative art.

To promote these ideals, Morris formed a decorating firm dedicated to Arts and Crafts principles: Morris, Marshall, Faulkner, and Company, Fine Arts Workmen in Painting, Carving, Furniture, and Metals. His company did a flourishing business producing wallpaper, textiles, tiles, furniture, books, rugs, stained glass, and pottery. In 1867, Morris received the commission to decorate the Green Dining Room (FIG. 28-36) at London's South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria & Albert Museum), the center of public art education and home of decorative art collections. The range of room features that Morris created for this unified, beautiful, and functional environment was all-encompassing: wallpaper, ceiling panels, doors, *wainscoting* (paneling on the lower part of interior walls), and lighting. Nothing escaped his eye. Morris's design for this room also reveals the penchant of Arts and Crafts designers for intricate patterning of vegetal and floral motifs.

*Quoted in Eileen Boris, *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 7.



28-36 William Morris, Green Dining Room, South Kensington Museum (now Victoria & Albert Museum), London, England, 1867.

William Morris was a founder of the Arts and Crafts movement. His Green Dining Room exemplifies the group's dedication to creating intricately patterned yet unified and functional environments.

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28-37 Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh, Ladies' Luncheon Room, Ingram Street Tea Room, Glasgow, Scotland, 1900–1912. Reconstructed (1992–1995) in the Glasgow Art Galleries and Museum, Glasgow.

The Mackintoshes' Ladies' Luncheon Room in Glasgow features functional and exquisitely designed Arts and Crafts decor, including stained-glass windows and pristinely geometric furnishings.

28-38 Victor Horta, staircase in the Van Eetvelde House, Brussels, Belgium, 1895.

The Art Nouveau movement was an attempt to create art and architecture based on natural forms. Here, every detail conforms to the theme of the twining plant and functions as part of a living whole.

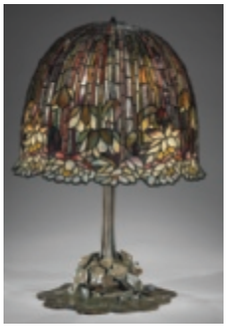
including the Ladies' Luncheon Room (fig. 28-37) located in the Ingram Street Tea Room in Glasgow. The room decor is consistent with Morris's vision of a functional, exquisitely designed art. The chairs, stained-glass windows, and large panels of colored *gesso* with twine, glass beads, thread, mother-of-pearl, and tin leaf—made by Margaret Macdonald Mackintosh (1864–1933), an artist-designer and Mackintosh's wife, who collaborated with him on many projects—are all pristinely geometric and rhythmical in design.

Art Nouveau. An important international architectural and design movement that developed out of the ideas that the Arts and Crafts movement promoted was *Art Nouveau* (New Art), which took its name from a shop in Paris called L'Art Nouveau, owned by Siegfried Bing, who was a major promoter of Japanese art and the dealer from whom van Gogh purchased his woodblock prints (fig. 28-18B). Known by that name in France, Belgium, Holland, England, and the United States, the style had other names in other places: *Jugendstil* in Austria and Germany (after the magazine *Der Jugend,* "youth"), *Modernismo* in Spain, and *Stile Floreale* in Italy. Proponents of this movement tried to synthesize all the arts in a determined attempt to create art based on natural forms that could be mass-produced for a large audience. The Art Nouveau style adapted the twining-plant form to the needs of architecture, painting, sculpture, and all the decorative arts.

Victor Horta. The mature Art Nouveau style of the 1890s is on display in the houses designed by the Belgian architect Victor Horta (1861–1947). A characteristic example is the staircase (fig. 28-38) in the Van Eetvelde House, which Horta built in Brussels in 1895, three years after designing the Tassel House (fig. 28-38A), his first major commission. Every detail of the Van Eetvelde interior functions as part of a living whole. Furniture, drapery folds, veining in the lavish stone paneling, and the patterning of the door moldings join with real plants to provide graceful counterpoints for the twining-plant theme. Metallic tendrils curl around the railings and posts, delicate metal tracery fills the glass dome, and floral and leaf motifs spread across the fabric panels of the screen. Flower and plant motifs also figure prominently in the immensely popular stained-glass lamps (fig. 28-38B) of Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848–1933).

The Art Nouveau style reflects several influences. In addition to the rich, foliated two-dimensional ornamentation of Arts and Crafts design

28-38A Horta, Tassel House, Brussels, 1892–1893.



28-38B Tiffany, water lily lamp, 1904–1915.

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and that movement's respect for materials, the sinuous whiplash curve of Japanese print designs (FIG. 35-14) inspired Art Nouveau artists. Art Nouveau also borrowed from the expressively patterned styles of van Gogh (FIGS. 28-19 and 28-20), Gauguin (FIGS. 28-21 and 28-22), and their Post-Impressionist and Symbolist contemporaries (compare, for example, Toulouse-Lautrec's posters; FIG. 28-16). In addition, the style is a distant descendant of the Rococo aesthetic (FIGS. 26-2 and 26-3), which was also derived from natural forms.

Antonio Gaudí. Art Nouveau achieved its most personal expression in the work of the Spanish architect ANTONIO GAUDÍ (1852–1926). Before becoming an architect, Gaudí had trained as an ironworker. Like many young artists of his time, he longed to create a style both modern and appropriate to his country. Taking inspiration from Moorish architecture and from the simple architecture of his native Catalonia, Gaudí developed a distinctive personal aesthetic. He conceived a building as a whole and molded it almost as a sculptor might shape a figure from clay, approaching architectural design as if buildings were organic, living forms. Although work on his designs proceeded slowly under the guidance of his intuition and imagination, Gaudí was a master who invented many new structural techniques that facilitated construction of his visions.

Gaudí's Barcelona apartment house, Casa Milá (FIG. 28-39), is a wondrously free-form mass wrapped around a street corner. Lacy iron railings enliven the swelling curves of the cut-stone facade, which are echoed in the undulating walls of the interior courtyard. Dormer windows peep from the serpentine wall beneath the tiled roof, from which fantastically writhing chimneys poke energetically into the air above. The rough surfaces of the stone walls suggest naturally worn rock. The entrance portals look like eroded sea caves. Their design also may reflect the excitement that swept Spain following the 1879 discovery of Paleolithic cave paintings at Altamira (FIG. 1-8).

Alexandre-Gustave Eiffel. In the later 19th century, new technologies and the changing needs of urbanized, industrialized society affected architecture throughout the Western world. Since the 18th century, bridges had been built of cast iron (the first was erected at Coalbrookdale in England in 1776–1779; FIG. 26-12), which enabled engineering advancements in the construction of larger, stronger, and more fire-resistant structures. Steel, available after 1860, made it possible for architects to enclose ever larger spaces, such as those found in railroad stations (FIG. 28-3) and exposition halls. The Realist impulse also encouraged architectural designs that honestly expressed a building's purpose, rather than elaborately disguising its function.

28-39 ANTONIO GAUDÍ, Casa Milá (looking north), Barcelona, Spain, 1907.

Spanish Art Nouveau architect Gaudí conceived this Barcelona apartment house as if it were a gigantic sculpture to be molded from clay. Twisting chimneys cap the undulating roof and walls.

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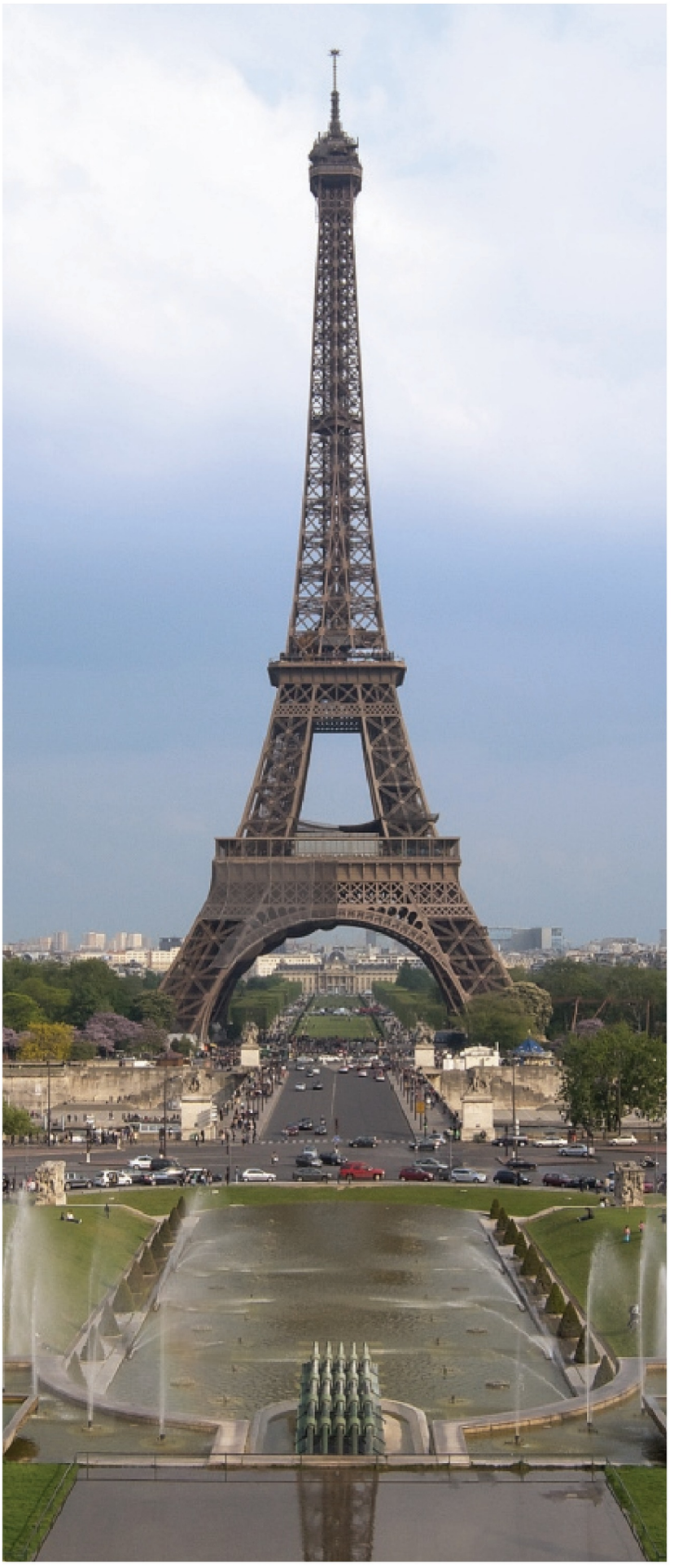

The elegant metal-skeleton structures of the French engineer-architect Alexandre-Gustave Eiffel (1832–1923) were responses to this idea, and they constituted an important contribution to the development of the 20th-century skyscraper. A native of Burgundy, Eiffel trained in Paris before beginning a distinguished career designing exhibition halls, bridges, and the interior armature for France's anniversary gift to the United States—the *Statue of Liberty* by Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi (1834–1904).

Eiffel designed his best-known work, the Eiffel Tower (fig. 28-40), for an exhibition in Paris in 1889. Although the tower pays tribute to traditional architectural forms, such as the Roman arch and the Gothic spire, it immediately—and justly—became the iconic symbol of modern Paris. Eiffel's elegant iron tower thrusts its needle shaft 984 feet above the city, making it at the time of its construction until the erection of the Empire State Building in New York City in 1931 the world's tallest structure. The tower rests on four giant supports connected by gracefully arching open-frame skirts that provide a pleasing mask for the heavy horizontal girders needed to strengthen the legs as well as anchor the structure against powerful wind gusts. Visitors can take two successive elevators to the top, or they can use the internal staircase. Either way, the view of Paris and the Seine from the tower is incomparable, as is the design of the tower itself. The transparency of Eiffel's structure blurs the distinction between interior and exterior to an extent never before achieved or even attempted. This interpenetration of inner and outer space became a hallmark of 20th-century art and architecture. Eiffel's tower and the earlier iron skeletal frames designed by Labrouste (fig. 27-47), Burton and Turner (fig. 27-47B), and Paxton (fig. 27-48) jolted the architectural profession into a realization that modern materials and processes made possible a completely new style and a radically innovative approach to architectural design (see "Prefabricated Architecture," page 841).

American Skyscrapers. The desire for greater speed and economy in building, as well as for a reduction in fire hazards, prompted the use of iron for many building programs, especially commercial ones. Designers in both England and the United States enthusiastically developed cast-iron architecture until a series of disastrous fires in the early 1870s in New York, Boston, and Chicago demonstrated that cast iron by itself was far from impervious to fire. This discovery led to encasing the metal in masonry, combining the first material's strength with the second's fire resistance (see "The First Skyscrapers," page 883).

28-40 Alexandre-Gustave Eiffel, Eiffel Tower (looking southeast), Paris, France, 1889.

New materials and technologies and the modernist aesthetic fueled radically new architectural designs in the late 19th century. Eiffel jolted the world with the exposed iron skeleton of his tower.

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The First Skyscrapers

In cities, convenience required closely grouped buildings, and increased property values forced architects literally to raise the roof. Even an attic could command high rent if the builders installed one of the new elevators, used for the first time in the Equitable Building in New York, constructed between 1868 and 1871. Iron and steel, which could support these towering structures, gave birth to the American skyscraper.

One of the pioneers in designing these modern commercial towers was Henry Hobson Richardson (1838–1886), but he also had a profound respect for earlier architectural styles. Because Richardson had a special fondness for the Romanesque architecture of the Auvergne area in France, he frequently used heavy round arches and massive masonry walls. Architectural historians sometimes consider his work to constitute a Romanesque revival related to the Neo-Gothic style (figs. 27-44 and 27-44A). This designation, however, does not do justice to the originality and quality of most of the buildings that Richardson designed during his brief 18-year practice. Trinity Church in Boston and his smaller public libraries, residences, railroad stations, and courthouses in New England and elsewhere best demonstrate his vivid imagination.

Nevertheless, Richardson's most important and influential building was the Marshall Field wholesale store (fig. 28-41) in Chicago, begun in 1885 and demolished in 1930. In this vast building, which occupied an entire city block, Richardson solved the problem of designing a structure to satisfy the needs of commerce while paying homage to historical styles without imitating them—an approach that would be revived a century later in *postmodern* architecture (see "After Modernism: Postmodernist Architecture," page 957). The tripartite elevation of a Renaissance palace (fig. 21-35) or of the Roman aqueduct (fig. 7-33) near Nîmes, France, may have influenced Richardson's design. But he used no classical ornamentation, made much of the massive courses of masonry, and, in the strong horizontality of the windowsills and the interrupted courses defining the levels, stressed the long sweep of the building's lines, as well as the edifice's ponderous weight. Although the structural frame still lay behind and in conjunction with the masonry screen, the great glazed arcades opened up the walls of the mammoth store. They pointed the way to 20th-century skyscrapers characterized by the total penetration of walls and the transformation of them into mere screens or curtains that serve both to echo the underlying structural grid and to protect the interior spaces from the weather (compare fig. 31-46).

28-41 Henry Hobson Richardson, Marshall Field wholesale store, Chicago, 1885–1887 (demolished 1930).

Richardson was a pioneer in designing commercial structures using a cast-iron skeleton encased in fire-resistant masonry. This construction technique enabled the insertion of large windows in the walls.

Louis Henry Sullivan. As skyscrapers proliferated, architects refined the visual vocabulary of the new inhabitable towers. Louis Henry Sullivan (1856–1924), whom many architectural historians call the first truly modern architect, arrived at a synthesis of industrial structure and ornamentation that perfectly expressed the spirit of late-19th-century commerce.

To achieve this, Sullivan used the latest technological developments to create light-filled, well-ventilated office buildings, but also incorporated more traditional ornamental motifs on both the exterior and interior. Such decoration served to connect commerce and culture, and imbued these white-collar work spaces with a sense of refinement and taste.

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28-42 Louis Henry Sullivan, Guaranty (Prudential) Building (looking southwest), Buffalo, New York, 1894–1896.

Sullivan drew on the latest technologies to create this light-filled, well-ventilated Buffalo office building. He added traditional surface ornamentation to impart a sense of refinement and taste.

28-43 Louis Henry Sullivan, Sullivan Center (formerly Carson, Pirie, Scott Building; looking southeast), Chicago, 1899–1904.

Sullivan's architectural motto was "form follows function." He tailored the design of this steel, glass, and stone Chicago department store to meet the needs of its employees and customers.

These characteristics are evident in Sullivan's Guaranty (Prudential) Building (FIG. 28-42) in Buffalo, built between 1894 and 1896, and in his earlier Wainwright Building (FIG. 28-42A) in St. Louis. The Buffalo skyscraper is steel, sheathed with terracotta. The imposing scale of the building and the regularity of the window placements served as an expression of the large-scale, refined, and orderly office work taking place within. Sullivan tempered the severity of the structure with lively ornamentation, both on the piers and cornice on the exterior of the building and on the stairway balustrades, elevator cages, and ceiling in the interior. The Guaranty Building illustrates Sullivan's famous dictum "form follows function," which became the slogan of many early-20th-century architects. Still, Sullivan did not advocate a rigid and doctrinaire correspondence between exterior and interior design. Rather, he espoused a free and flexible relationship—one that his pupil Frank Lloyd Wright later described as similar to that between the hand's bones and tissue (see "Frank Lloyd Wright on Organic Architecture," page 953).

28-42A Sullivan, Wainwright Building, St. Louis, 1890–1891.

Sullivan also designed the Carson, Pirie, Scott Building (FIG. 28-43) in Chicago. Built between 1899 and 1904, this department store required broad, open, well-illuminated display spaces. Sullivan again used a minimal structural steel skeleton to achieve this goal. The architect gave over the lowest two levels of the building to an ornament in cast iron (of his invention) made of wildly fantastic motifs. He regarded the display windows as pictures, which merited elaborate frames. As in the Guaranty Building, Sullivan revealed his profound understanding of the maturing consumer economy and tailored the Carson, Pirie, Scott Building to meet the functional and symbolic needs of its users.

Thus, in architecture as well as in the pictorial arts, the late 19th century was a period during which artists challenged traditional modes of expression, often emphatically rejecting the past. Architects, painters, and sculptors as different as Sullivan, Monet, van Gogh, Cézanne, and Rodin, each in his own way, contributed significantly to the entrenchment of modernism as the new cultural orthodoxy of the early 20th century.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Symbolism: Europe and America, 1870 to 1900

Impressionism

- A hostile critic applied the term *Impressionism* to the paintings of Claude Monet because of their sketchy quality. The Impressionists—Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Edgar Degas, and others—were a diverse group. Some strove to capture fleeting moments and transient effects of light and climate on canvas. Others focused on recording the contemporary urban scene in Paris, frequently painting bars, dance halls, the ballet, wide boulevards, and railroad stations. What united them was not a uniform style or technique but an interest in depicting the transitory nature of modern life.
- Impressionist canvases vary in composition as well as technique, but many feature figures seen at sharply oblique angles and arbitrarily cut off by the frame. These compositions reflect the influence of Japanese prints and of photography.

Renoir, *Dance at Le Moulin de la Gallette,* 1876

Post-Impressionism and Symbolism

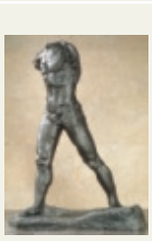
- Post-Impressionism is not a unified style. The term refers to the group of late-19th-century artists, including Georges Seurat, Vincent van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, and Paul Cézanne, who followed the Impressionists and took painting in new directions.
- Seurat refined the Impressionist approach to color and light into pointillism—the disciplined application of pure color in tiny daubs. Van Gogh explored the capabilities of colors and distorted forms to express emotions. Gauguin moved away from Impressionism in favor of large areas of flat color bounded by firm lines, as in the Japanese prints that he and his contemporaries admired. Cézanne replaced the transitory visual effects of the Impressionists with a rigorous analysis of the lines, planes, and colors that make up landscapes and still lifes.
- Gustave Moreau, Odilon Redon, and Henri Rousseau were the leading French Symbolists. They disdained Realism as trivial and sought to depict a reality beyond that of the everyday world, rejecting materialism and celebrating fantasy and imagination. The subjects of their paintings were often mysterious, exotic, and sensuous.

Van Gogh, *Starry Night,* 1889

Rousseau, *Sleeping Gypsy,* 1897

Sculpture

- The leading sculptors at the end of the 19th century were Auguste Rodin and Camille Claudel in France and Augustus Saint-Gaudens in the United States. Rodin explored Realist themes and the representation of movement. His vision of tormented, writhing figures in Hell connects his work with that of the Symbolists. Rodin also made statues that were deliberate fragments, creating a taste for the incomplete that appealed to many later sculptors. Claudel's *Waltz* exemplifies fin-de-siècle passion and eroticism. Saint-Gaudens's works, by contrast, feature classical calm.



Rodin, *Walking Man,* 1905

Decorative Arts and Architecture

- Not all artists embraced the industrialization transforming daily life during the 19th century. The Arts and Crafts movement in England and the international Art Nouveau style formed in opposition to modern mass production. Both schools advocated natural forms and high-quality craftsmanship.
- New technologies and the changing needs of urbanized, industrialized society transformed architecture in the late 19th century. The exposed iron skeleton of the Eiffel Tower jolted architects into realizing that modern materials and processes could revolutionize architectural design. Henry Hobson Richardson and Louis Sullivan were pioneers in designing the first metal, stone, and glass skyscrapers.

Sullivan, Guaranty Building, Buffalo, 1894–1896

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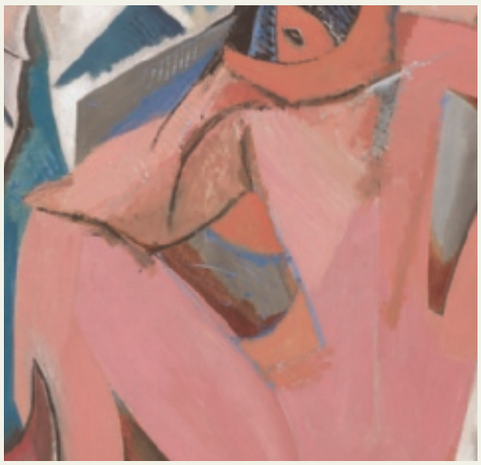
29-1 **Pablo Picasso, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon,* 1907. Oil on canvas, 8′ × 7′ 8″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest).**

▲**29-1a** Picasso's radical break with traditional Western norms of pictorial representation was inspired in part by ancient Iberian sculptures—his sources for the features of the three young women at the left.

▲**29-1b** The striated features of the distorted heads of the two young Avignon Street prostitutes at the right grew directly from Picasso's increasing fascination with African artworks, which he studied and collected.



▲**29-1c** By breaking the figures of the demoiselles into ambiguous planes, as if the viewer were seeing them from more than one place in space at once, Picasso disrupted the standards of Western art since the Renaissance.

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MODERNISM IN EUROPE, 1900 TO 1945

29

FRAMING THE ERA

Picasso Disrupts the Western Pictorial Tradition

An artist whose importance to the history of art is uncontested, Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) was blessed with boundless talent and an inquisitive intellect that led him to make groundbreaking contributions to Western pictorial art. In 1907, with *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (*The Young Ladies of Avignon*; fig. 29-1), he opened the door to a radically new method of representing forms in space. Picasso began the work as a symbolic picture to be titled *Philosophical Brothel,* portraying two male clients (who, based on surviving drawings, had features resembling Picasso's) intermingling with women in the reception room of a brothel on Avignon Street in Barcelona. One was a sailor. The other carried a skull, an obvious reference to death. By the time the artist finished, he had eliminated both men and simplified the room's details to a suggestion of drapery and a schematic foreground still life. Picasso had become wholly absorbed in the problem of finding a new way to represent the five women in their interior space. Instead of depicting the figures as continuous volumes, he fractured their shapes and interwove them with the equally jagged planes representing drapery and empty space. Indeed, the space, so entwined with the bodies, is virtually illegible. The tension between Picasso's representation of three-dimensional space and his modernist conviction that a painting is a two-dimensional design on the surface of a stretched canvas is a tension between representation and abstraction.

Picasso extended the radical nature of *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* even further by depicting the figures inconsistently. Ancient Iberian sculptures inspired the calm, ideal features of the three prostitutes at the left. The energetic, violently striated features of the heads of the two women at the right emerged late in Picasso's production of the work and grew directly from his increasing fascination with African sculpture. Perhaps responding to the energy of these two new heads, Picasso also revised the women's bodies. He broke them into more ambiguous planes suggesting a combination of views, as if the observer were seeing the figures from more than one place in space at once. The woman seated at the lower right shows these multiple angles most clearly, seeming to present the observer simultaneously with a three-quarter back view from the left, another from the right, and a front view of the head that suggests seeing the figure frontally as well. Gone is the traditional Renaissance concept of an orderly, constructed, and unified pictorial space mirroring the world. In its place are the rudimentary beginnings of a new approach to representing the world—as a dynamic interplay of time and space. Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* was nothing less than a dramatic departure from and disruption of the Western pictorial tradition. It set the stage for many other artistic revolutions in the 20th century.

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GLOBAL UPHEAVAL AND ARTISTIC REVOLUTION

The first half of the 20th century was a period of significant upheaval worldwide. Between 1900 and 1945, the major industrial powers fought two global wars (MAP 29-1); witnessed the rise of Communism, Fascism, and Nazism; and suffered the Great Depression. These decades were also a time of radical change in the arts when painters and sculptors challenged some of the most basic assumptions about the purpose of art and what form an artwork should take. Throughout history, artistic revolution has often accompanied political, social, scientific, and economic upheaval, but never before had the new directions that artists explored been as pronounced or as long lasting as those born during the early to mid-1900s.

Avant-Garde. Like other members of society, artists felt deeply the effects of the political and economic disruptions of the early 20th century. As the old social orders collapsed and new ones, from Communism to corporate capitalism, took their places, artists searched for new definitions of and uses for art in a changed world. This fundamental questioning of the nature and goals of artistic production had many precedents in the 19th century, when each successive modernist movement had challenged artistic conventions with ever-greater intensity. This relentless questioning

MAP 29-1 Europe at the end of World War I.

MODERNISM IN EUROPE, 1900 TO 1945

1900–1910

- Henri Matisse and the Fauves free color from its descriptive function
- The expressive possibilities of color are also an important concern of the German Expressionists. Die Brücke artists produce paintings featuring distorted forms
- The "primitive" art of Africa and Oceania inspires Pablo Picasso and others to break away from traditional forms of representation in Western art

1910–1920

- Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque develop a radically new way of making pictures with their Cubist fragmentation of forms
- The Italian Futurists celebrate dynamic motion and modern technology in paintings and statues
- Vassily Kandinsky, inspired by scientists' questioning of Newtonian physics, pursues abstraction in painting
- The Dadaists explore the role of chance in often irreverent artworks

1920–1930

- In the wake of World War I, German Neue Sachlichkeit painters depict the horrors of global conflict
- The Surrealists seek ways to visualize the world of the unconscious and investigate automatism as a means of creating art
- De Stijl artists create "pure plastic art" using simple geometric forms and primary colors
- The Bauhaus advocates the integration of all the arts in its vision of "total architecture"

1930–1945

- Joan Miró is the leading proponent of Biomorphic Surrealism
- Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore promote abstraction in sculpture
- The Nazis mount a traveling "degenerate art" exhibition in Germany and Austria
- Wifredo Lam's style draws on Cubism and Surrealism but reflects his Cuban-African heritage

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of the status quo gave rise to the notion of an artistic *avant-garde.* The term, which means "front guard," derives from 19th-century French military usage. The avant-garde were the troops sent ahead of the army's main body to scout the enemy's position and strength. Politicians who deemed themselves visionary and forward thinking subsequently adopted the term. It then migrated to the art world in the 1880s, when artists and critics used it to refer to the Realists, Impressionists, and Post-Impressionists—artists who were ahead of their time and who transgressed the limits of established art forms. Today, art historians generally use the term to describe more narrowly the modernist art movements of the opening decades of the 20th century.

FAUVISM

In 1905, at the third Salon d'Automne (Autumn Salon) in Paris, a group of young painters exhibited canvases so simplified in design and so shockingly bright in color that a startled critic, Louis Vauxcelles (1870–1943), described the artists as *Fauves* ("wild beasts"). The Fauves were totally independent of the French Academy and the "official" Salon (see "Academic Salons and Independent Art Exhibitions," page 853). Their aim was to develop an art having the directness of Impressionism but employing intense color juxtapositions for expressive ends. Building on the legacy of artists such as Vincent van Gogh and Paul Gauguin, the Fauves went even further in liberating color from its descriptive function and exploring the effects that different colors have on emotions. The Fauves produced portraits, landscapes, still lifes, and nudes of spontaneity and verve, with rich surface textures, lively linear patterns, and, above all, bold colors. In an effort to release internal feelings, they employed startling contrasts of vermilion and emerald green and of cerulean blue and vivid orange held together by sweeping brushstrokes and bold patterns.

The Fauve painters never officially organized, and within five years, most of the artists had departed from a strict adherence to Fauve principles and developed their own more personal styles. During its brief existence, however, *Fauvism* made a significant contribution to the direction of art by demonstrating color's structural, expressive, and aesthetic capabilities.

Henri Matisse

The dominant Fauve artist was Henri Matisse (1869–1954), who believed that color could play a primary role in conveying meaning, and consequently focused his efforts on developing this notion. In an early painting, *Woman with the Hat* (fig. 29-2), Matisse depicted his wife, Amélie, in a rather conventional manner compositionally, but the seemingly arbitrary colors immediately startle the viewer, as does the sketchiness of the forms. The entire image—the woman's face, clothes, hat, and background—consists of patches and splotches of color juxtaposed in ways that sometimes produce jarring contrasts. Matisse explained his approach in this painting and his contemporary *Le Bonheur de Vivre* (fig. 29-2A): "What characterized Fauvism was that we rejected imitative colors, and that with pure colors we obtained stronger reactions."[1]

29-2A Matisse, *Le Bonheur de Vivre,* 1905–1906.

1 ft.

29-2 Henri Matisse, *Woman with the Hat,* 1905. Oil on canvas, 2′ 7 3/4″ × 1′ 11 1/2″. San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco (bequest of Elise S. Haas).

Matisse's portrayal of his wife, Amélie, features patches and splotches of seemingly arbitrary colors. He and the other Fauve painters used color not to imitate nature but to produce a reaction in the viewer.

For Matisse and the Fauves, therefore, color became the formal element most responsible for pictorial coherence and the primary conveyor of meaning (see "Henri Matisse on Color," page 890).

Harmony in Red. These color discoveries reached maturity in Matisse's *Red Room* (*Harmony in Red*; fig. 29-3). The subject is the interior of a comfortable, prosperous household with a maid placing fruit and wine on the table, but Matisse's canvas is radically different from traditional paintings of domestic interiors (for example, figs. 25-19 and 25-19A). The Fauve painter depicted objects in simplified and schematized fashion and flattened out the forms. For example, Matisse eliminated the front edge of the table, rendering the table, with its identical patterning, as flat as the wall behind it. The window at the upper left could also be a painting on the wall, further flattening the space. Everywhere, the colors contrast richly and intensely. Matisse's process of overpainting reveals the importance of color for striking the right chord in the viewer. Initially, this work was predominantly green. Then Matisse repainted it blue, but blue also did not seem appropriate to him. Not until he repainted the canvas red did Matisse feel that he had found the right color for the "harmony" he wished to compose.

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Henri Matisse on Color

In an essay titled "Notes of a Painter," published in the Parisian journal *La Grande Revue* on Christmas Day, 1908, Henri Matisse responded to his critics and set forth his principles and goals as a painter. The following excerpts help explain what Matisse was trying to achieve in paintings such as *Harmony in Red* (FIG. 29-3).

> What I am after, above all, is expression. . . . Expression, for me, does not reside in passions glowing in a human face or manifested by violent movement. The entire arrangement of my picture is expressive: the place occupied by the figures, the empty spaces around them, the proportions, everything has its share. Composition is the art of arranging in a decorative manner the diverse elements at the painter's command to express his feelings. . . .
>
> Both harmonies and dissonances of color can produce agreeable effects. . . . Suppose I have to paint an interior: I have before me a cupboard; it gives me a sensation of vivid red, and I put down a red which satisfies me. A relation is established between this red and the white of the canvas. Let me put a green near the red, and make the floor yellow; and again there will be relationships between the green or yellow and the white of the canvas which will satisfy me. . . . A new combination of colors will succeed the first and render the totality of my representation. I am forced to transpose until finally my picture may seem completely changed when, after successive modifications, the red has succeeded the green as the dominant color. I cannot copy nature in a servile way; I am forced to interpret nature and submit it to the spirit of the picture. From the relationship I have found in all the tones there must result a living harmony of colors, a harmony analogous to that of a musical composition. . . .
>
> The chief function of color should be to serve expression as well as possible. . . . My choice of colors does not rest on any scientific theory; it is based on observation, on sensitivity, on felt experiences. . . . I simply try to put down colors which render my sensation. There is an impelling proportion of tones that may lead me to change the shape of a figure or to transform my composition. Until I have achieved this proportion in all parts of the composition I strive towards it and keep on working. Then a moment comes when all the parts have found their definite relationships, and from then on it would be impossible for me to add a stroke to my picture without having to repaint it entirely.*

*Translated by Jack D. Flam, *Matisse on Art* (London: Phaidon, 1973), 32–40.

29-3 HENRI MATISSE, *Red Room (Harmony in Red)*, 1908–1909. Oil on canvas, 5′ 11″ × 8′ 1″. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.

Matisse believed that painters should choose compositions and colors that express their feelings. Here, the table and wall seem to merge because they are the same color and have identical patterning.

André Derain

The landscape setting of Matisse's *Le Bonheur de Vivre* (FIG. 29-2A) is Collioure, on the southeastern coast of France near the border with Spain. In 1905, Matisse painted there beside his friend and fellow Fauve ANDRÉ DERAIN (1880–1954). Although Derain also produced many figure studies, at Collioure he frequently painted pure landscapes in the open air, as did the Impressionists before him. In *Mountains at Collioure* (FIG. 29-4), Derain succeeded in capturing the vast panorama of the Mediterranean mountains, olive groves, and sky seen from a high vantage point. The painting owes much not only to Impressionist and Post-Impressionist landscapes but also to Derain's close study of the works of Vincent van Gogh (FIG. 28-20), whose influence is evident in the Fauve painter's use of short, energetic brushstrokes of vivid color and the alternation of staccato strokes of green with exposed white canvas in the foreground.

Mountains at Collioure is no mere synthesis of earlier styles, however. Derain went further than either van Gogh or Gauguin in

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29-4 **André Derain, *Mountains at Collioure,* 1905. Oil on canvas, 2′ 8″ × 3′ 3½″. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (John Hay Whitney Collection).**

Mountains at Collioure owes much to the landscapes of the Impressionists, van Gogh, and Gauguin, but Derain went further in liberating color from its traditional role of imitating nature.

29-5 **André Derain, *The Turning Road, L'Estaque,* 1906. Oil on canvas, 4′ 3″ × 6′ 4¾″. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (gift of Audrey Jones Beck).**

Derain used color to express the energy he perceived in the landscape of L'Estaque in southern France. The jarring hues and flattened perspective reflect his study of Gauguin's Post-Impressionist canvases.

liberating color from its traditional role of imitating the appearance of nature. This is even truer of *The Turning Road, L'Estaque* (fig. 29-5), painted the following year. At L'Estaque, Derain used vibrant red, orange, and yellow hues to express the energy he perceived in the landscape. The bold juxtaposition of vivid colors—Derain referred to them as "deliberate disharmonies"—reflects his study of Gauguin's canvases, as does the flattened perspective of the winding road interwoven with the trees (compare fig. 28-21). The jarring combination of colors in *The Turning Road* and other Fauve paintings is precisely what generated the hostility directed at these avant-garde painters when they first presented their work to the public at the Salon d'Automne of 1905.

GERMAN EXPRESSIONISM

The immediacy and boldness of the Fauve images appealed to many artists, including two groups of painters in Germany who called themselves *Die Brücke* (the Bridge) and *Der Blaue Reiter* (the Blue Rider). Together, they produced dramatic and often emotional canvases that art historians classify under the general heading German *Expressionism.* However, although color plays a prominent role in German painting of the early 20th century, the "expressiveness" of many of the German images is due as much to the Expressionists' wrenching distortions of form, ragged outlines, and agitated brushstrokes.

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Die Brücke

Die Brücke, the first group of German Expressionists, gathered in Dresden in 1905 under the leadership of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner (1880–1938). The group members thought of themselves as paving the way for a more perfect age by bridging the old age and the new, hence their name. Kirchner's early studies in architecture, painting, and the graphic arts had instilled in him a deep admiration for German medieval art. Like the British artists associated with the Arts and Crafts movement, such as William Morris (fig. 28-36), Die Brücke artists modeled themselves on medieval craft guilds whose members lived together and practiced all the arts equally. Kirchner described their lofty goals in a ringing 1906 statement published in the form of a *woodcut* titled *Chronik der Brücke*:

> With faith in progress and in a new generation of creators and spectators we call together all youth. As youth, we carry the future and want to create for ourselves freedom of life and of movement against the long-established older forces. Everyone who reproduces that which drives him to creation with directness and authenticity belongs to us.[2]

Die Brücke artists lamented the state of German society at the opening of the 20th century. Kirchner, in particular, focused much of his attention on the detrimental effects of industrialization, such as the alienation of individuals in cities, which he felt fostered a mechanized and impersonal society. The tensions leading to World War I further intensified the discomfort and anxiety of the German Expressionists.

Kirchner's *Street, Dresden* (fig. 29-6) provides a glimpse into the frenzied urban activity of a bustling early-20th-century German city. Rather than offering the distant, panoramic urban view of the Impressionists (fig. 28-5), Kirchner's street scene is jarring and dissonant in both composition and color, conveying the disquieting and alienating character of Dresden in the early 20th century. The women in the foreground loom large, approaching somewhat menacingly. The steep perspective of the street, which threatens to push the women directly into the viewer's space, increases their confrontational nature. Harshly rendered, the women's features make them appear ghoulish, and the garish, clashing colors—juxtapositions of bright orange, emerald green, chartreuse, and pink—add to the expressive impact of the image. Kirchner's perspective distortions, disquieting figures, and color choices reflect the influence of the work of Edvard Munch, who made similar expressive use of formal elements in *The Scream* (fig. 28-30).

29-6 **Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, *Street, Dresden,* 1908 (dated 1907). Oil on canvas, 4′ 11¼″ × 6′ 6⅞″. Museum of Modern Art, New York.**

Kirchner's perspective distortions, disquieting figures, and color choices reflect the influence of the Fauves and of Edvard Munch (fig. 28-30), who made similar expressive use of formal elements.

Der Blaue Reiter

Der Blaue Reiter, the second major German Expressionist group, formed in Munich in 1911. The two founding members, Vassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc, whimsically selected this name because of their mutual interest in the color blue and horses. Like Die Brücke, this group produced paintings that captured their feelings in visual form while also eliciting intense emotional responses from viewers.

Vassily Kandinsky. Born in Russia, Vassily Kandinsky (1866–1944) moved to Munich in 1896 and soon developed a spontaneous expressive style. Indeed, Kandinsky was one of the first artists to reject representation and explore abstraction as the "subject" of his paintings, as in *Improvisation 28* (fig. 29-7). Kandinsky adopted musical metaphors as titles for his paintings in an effort to deflect figural association with his works (compare Matisse's *Harmony in Red*; fig. 29-3). Kandinsky's elimination of recognizable forms from his canvases grew in part from his interest in theosophy (a religious and philosophical belief system incorporating a wide range of tenets from, among other sources, Buddhism and mysticism) and the occult, but it also reflected his interest in the latest advances in science. A true intellectual, widely read in philosophy, religion, history, and the other arts, especially music, Kandinsky was also one of the few early modernist artists to read with some comprehension the new scientific theories of the era (see "Science and Art in the Early 20th Century," page 893), which convinced him that material objects had no real substance, thereby shattering his belief in a world of tangible things. He articulated his ideas in an influential treatise, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art,* published in 1912, the same year he painted *Improvisation 28.* Artists, Kandinsky believed, must express their innermost feelings by orchestrating color, form, line, and space, much as composers create music out of notes, which do not mimic the sounds of nature. Through his close association with Austrian composer Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951), he theorized relationships between sound and color. In his *Improvisation* series,

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Science and Art in the Early 20th Century

In the early 20th century, radical new ways of thinking emerged in both science and art, forcing people to revise how they understood the world. In particular, the values and ideals that were the legacy of the Enlightenment began to yield to new perspectives. Intellectuals countered 18th- and 19th-century assumptions about progress and reason with ideas challenging traditional notions about the physical universe, the structure of society, and human nature. Modernist artists fully participated in this reassessment and formulated innovative theoretical bases for their work. Accordingly, much early-20th-century European art is a rejection of traditional limitations and definitions both of art and of the universe.

Fundamental to the Enlightenment was faith in science (see "Joseph Wright of Derby and the Industrial Revolution," page 780). Because of its basis in empirical, or observable, fact, science provided a mechanistic conception of the universe, which reassured a populace that was finding traditional religions less certain. As promoted in the classic physics of Isaac Newton (1642–1727), the universe was a huge machine consisting of time, space, and matter. In the early 20th century, many scientists challenged this model of the universe in what amounted to a second scientific and technological revolution. Particularly noteworthy was the work of physicists Max Planck (1858–1947), Albert Einstein (1879–1955), Ernest Rutherford (1871–1937), and Niels Bohr (1885–1962). With their discoveries, each of these scientists shattered the existing faith in the objective reality of matter and, in so doing, paved the way for a new model of the universe.

Planck's quantum theory (1900) raised questions about the emission of atomic energy. In his 1905 paper "The Electrodynamics of Moving Bodies," Einstein carried Planck's work further by introducing his theory of relativity. He argued that space and time are not absolute, as postulated in Newtonian physics. Rather, Einstein explained, time and space are relative to the observer and linked in what he called a four-dimensional space-time continuum. He also concluded that matter was not a solid, tangible reality but another form of energy. Einstein's famous equation, $E = mc^2$, where E stands for energy, m for mass, and c for the speed of light, provided a formula for understanding atomic energy. Rutherford's and Bohr's exploration of atomic structure between 1906 and 1913 contributed to this new perception of matter and energy.

Together, all these scientific discoveries constituted a changed view of physical nature and contributed to the growing interest in abstraction, as opposed to naturalism—the representation of the world as it appears to the eye—among early-20th-century artists, especially Vassily Kandinsky (FIG. 29-7).

29-7 Vassily Kandinsky, *Improvisation 28* (second version), 1912. Oil on canvas, 3′ $7\frac{7}{8}$″ × 5′ $3\frac{7}{8}$″. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York (gift of Solomon R. Guggenheim, 1937).

The theories of Einstein and Rutherford convinced Kandinsky that material objects had no real substance. He was one of the first painters to reject representation in favor of abstraction in his canvases.

Kandinsky sought to convey feelings solely by color juxtapositions, intersecting lines, and implied spatial relationships. Ultimately, Kandinsky saw these abstractions as evolving blueprints for a more enlightened and liberated society emphasizing spirituality.

Franz Marc. Like many of the other German Expressionists, Franz Marc (1880–1916), the cofounder of Der Blaue Reiter, grew increasingly pessimistic about the state of humanity, especially as World War I loomed on the horizon. His perception of human beings as deeply flawed prompted him to turn to the animal world for his subjects. Animals, he believed, were more pure than humans and thus more appropriate vehicles for expressing an inner truth. In his quest to imbue his paintings with greater emotional intensity, Marc focused on color and developed a system of correspondences between specific colors and feelings or ideas. In a letter to a fellow Blue Rider, Marc explained: "Blue is the *male* principle, severe and spiritual. Yellow is the *female* principle, gentle, happy and sensual. Red is *matter,* brutal and heavy."[3]

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1 ft.

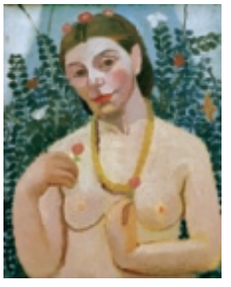
29-8 Franz Marc, *Fate of the Animals,* 1913. Oil on canvas, 6′ 4¾″ × 8′ 9½″. Kunstmuseum Basel, Basel.

Marc developed a system of correspondences between specific colors and feelings or ideas. In this apocalyptic scene of animals trapped in a forest, the colors of severity and brutality dominate.

Fate of the Animals (fig. 29-8) represents the culmination of Marc's efforts to create, in a sense, an iconography of color. Painted in 1913, when the horrific tension of impending warfare had pervaded society, the animals appear trapped in a forest amid falling trees, some apocalyptic event destroying both the forest and the animals inhabiting it. The painter distorted the entire scene and, influenced by the work of the French Cubists (see "Analytic Cubism," page 898, and fig. 29-13), shattered it into fragments. Significantly, the lighter and brighter colors—the passive, gentle, and cheerful ones—are absent, and the colors of severity and brutality dominate the work. On the back of the canvas, Marc wrote: "All being is flaming suffering." The artist discovered just how well his painting portended war's anguish and tragedy when he ended up at the front the following year. His experiences in battle prompted him to tell his wife in a letter: "[*Fate of the Animals*] is like a premonition of this war—horrible and shattering. I can hardly conceive that I painted it."[4] Marc's contempt for people's inhumanity and his attempt to express that through his art ended, with tragic irony, in his death in action in 1916.

Käthe Kollwitz and Paula Modersohn-Becker

The emotional range of German Expressionism extends from passionate protest and satirical bitterness to the poignantly expressed pity for the poor in the prints of Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1945)—for example, *Woman with Dead Child* (fig. 29-9). Kollwitz and her younger contemporary Paula Modersohn-Becker (1876–1907; fig. 29-9A) studied at the Union of Berlin Women Artists and had no formal association with any Expressionist group. Working in a variety of printmaking techniques, including woodcut, lithography, and etching, Kollwitz explored a range of issues from the overtly political—she was passionate about the plight of workers—to the deeply personal.



29-9A Modersohn-Becker, *Self-Portrait,* 1906.

One image that Kollwitz explored in depth was of a mother and her dead child, which she produced in a number of print variations. Although she initially derived the theme from the Christian *Pietà,* Kollwitz transformed it into a universal statement of maternal loss and grief. In the etching and lithograph illustrated here (fig. 29-9), she replaced the reverence and grace pervading most depictions of Mary holding the dead Christ (fig. 22-12) with an animalistic passion. The grieving mother ferociously grips the body of her dead child. The primal nature of the undeniably powerful image is in keeping with the aims of the Expressionists. Not since the Gothic age in Germany (fig. 13-52) had any artist produced a mother-and-son group with a comparable emotional impact. Because Kollwitz used her younger son, Peter, as the

1 in.

29-9 Käthe Kollwitz, *Woman with Dead Child,* 1903. Etching and soft-ground etching, overprinted lithographically with a gold-tone plate, 1′ 4⅝″ × 1′ 7⅛″. British Museum, London.

The theme of the mother mourning over her dead child comes from images of the Pietà, in Christian art, but Kollwitz transformed it into a powerful universal statement of maternal loss and grief.

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model for the dead child, the image was no doubt all the more personal to her. The print stands as a poignant premonition. Peter died fighting in World War I at age 21.

Egon Schiele and Wilhelm Lehmbruck

Another painter of highly expressive works featuring distorted forms but not associated with any German Expressionist group was the Austrian artist Egon Schiele (1890–1918), who during his tragically brief but prolific career produced more than 3,000 paintings and drawings. The bulk of them are nude figure studies of men and women in *gouache* and watercolor on paper, including approximately a hundred self-portraits exemplifying early-20th-century Expressionist painters' intense interest in emotional states. As a teenager, Schiele watched the slow, painful deterioration of his father, who contracted syphilis and died when Egon was 15. The experience had a profound impact on the artist, who ever after associated sex with physical and emotional pain and death.

Schiele began formal art training the year after his father died. He enrolled in Vienna's Academy of Fine Art in 1906, where he became a protégé of Gustav Klimt (fig. 28-31), who invited Schiele to exhibit some of his works with his own and those of, among others, Vincent van Gogh and Edvard Munch. The emotional content of their work made a deep impression on Schiele, who nonetheless produced paintings that have no parallels in Post-Impressionism or Symbolism, nor even in the statues of his contemporary, Wilhelm Lehmbruck (1881–1919; fig. 29-9B), in the portrayal of emaciated bodies and tormented psyches.

29-9B Lehmbruck, *Seated Youth,* 1917.

Schiele's 1910 nude portrait of himself grimacing (fig. 29-10) is a characteristic example of his mature work. He stands frontally, staring at himself in the large mirror he kept in his studio. There is no background. The edges of the paper sever his lower legs and right elbow. In some portraits, Schiele portrayed himself with amputated limbs, and his body is always that of a malnourished man whose muscles show through transparent flesh. The pose is awkward, twisted, and pained. The elongated fingers of the hands seem useless, incapable of holding anything. It is hard to imagine a nude body breaking more sharply with the classical tradition of heroic male nudity. Schiele's self-portrait is that of a martyr who has suffered both physically and psychologically. (He portrayed himself in several paintings as Saint Sebastian pierced by arrows.) Schiele's unhappy life ended when he contracted the Spanish flu in 1918. He was only 28 years old.

CUBISM

The Expressionist departure from any strict adherence to illusionism in art was a path that other early-20th-century artists followed. Among those who most radically challenged prevailing artistic conventions and moved most deliberately into the realm of abstraction was Pablo Picasso (see "Picasso Disrupts the Western Pictorial Tradition," page 887).

Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque

Born in Spain four years after Gustave Courbet's death, Picasso had mastered all aspects of late-19th-century Realist technique by the time he entered the Barcelona Academy of Fine Art in the late 1890s.

1 in.

29-10 Egon Schiele, *Nude Self-Portrait, Grimacing,* 1910. Gouache, watercolor, and pencil on paper, 1′ 10″ × 1′ 2 3/8″. Albertina, Vienna.

Breaking sharply with the academic tradition of heroic male nudity, Schiele, a Viennese Expressionist, often portrayed himself with an emaciated body, twisted limbs, and a grimacing expression.

His restless mind and limitless energy led him to experiment with a wide range of visual expression, first in Spain and then in Paris, where he settled in 1904. Perhaps the most prolific artist in history, Picasso explored virtually every artistic medium during his lengthy career, but remained a traditional artist in making careful preparatory studies for each major work. Nonetheless, Picasso exemplified modernism in his enduring quest for innovation, which resulted in sudden shifts from one style to another. By the time Picasso settled permanently in Paris, his work had evolved from Spanish painting's sober Realism through an Impressionistic phase to the so-called Blue Period (1901–1904), when, in a melancholy state of mind, he used primarily blue colors to depict worn, pathetic, and alienated figures. In 1904, Picasso's palette changed to lighter and brighter colors during his Rose (or Pink) Period (1904–1906), but some of the canvases he painted during those years, such as *Family of Saltimbanques* (fig. 29-10A), retain the pessimistic overtones of the Blue Period.

29-10A Picasso, *Family of Saltimbanques,* 1905.

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Gertrude and Leo Stein and the Avant-Garde

One of the many unexpected developments in the history of art is that two Americans—Gertrude (1874–1946) and Leo (1872–1947) Stein—played pivotal roles in the history of the European avant-garde. The Steins provided a hospitable environment in their Paris home for artists, writers, musicians, collectors, and critics to socialize and discuss progressive art and ideas. Born in Pennsylvania, the Stein siblings moved to 27 rue de Fleurus in Paris in 1903. Gertrude's experimental writing stimulated her interest in the latest developments in the arts. Conversely, the avant-garde ideas discussed in her home influenced Gertrude's unique poetry, plays, and other works. She is perhaps best known for *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933), a unique memoir written in the persona of her lover and longtime companion.

The Steins' interest in the exciting and invigorating debates taking place in avant-garde circles led them to welcome visitors to their Saturday salons, which included lectures, thoughtful discussions, and spirited arguments. Often, these gatherings lasted until dawn and included not only their French friends but also visiting Americans, Britons, Swedes, Germans, Hungarians, Spaniards, Poles, and Russians. Among the hundreds who visited the Steins were artists Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, Mary Cassatt, Marcel Duchamp, Alfred Stieglitz, and Arthur B. Davis; writers Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, John dos Passos, Jean Cocteau, and Guillaume Apollinaire; art dealers Daniel Kahnweiler and Ambroise Vollard; critics Roger Fry and Clive Bell; and collectors Sergei Shchukin and Ivan Morozov.

The Steins were themselves avid art collectors, and the works they hung in their home attracted many visitors. One of the first paintings that Leo purchased was Matisse's notorious *Woman with the Hat* (FIG. 29-2), and he subsequently bought many more by Matisse—including *Le Bonheur de Vivre* (FIG. 29-2A)—along with works by Gauguin, Cézanne, Renoir, Picasso, and Braque. Sarah Stein and her husband, Michael, who was Leo and Gertrude's older brother, were also major, if more focused, collectors. They acquired many works by Matisse and lent some of them to the 1913 Armory Show in New York, which introduced avant-garde European art to America (see "The Armory Show," page 935).

29-11 **Pablo Picasso, *Gertrude Stein,* 1906–1907. Oil on canvas, 3′ 3 3/8″ × 2′ 8″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (bequest of Gertrude Stein, 1947).**

Picasso had left this portrait of his friend and patron unfinished until he decided to incorporate the planar simplicity of ancient Iberian stone sculptures into his depiction of her face.

Gertrude developed an especially close relationship with Picasso, who painted her portrait (FIG. 29-11) in 1907. Gertrude loved the painting so much that she kept it by her all her life and bequeathed it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art only upon her death in 1946.

Gertrude Stein. By 1906, Picasso was searching restlessly for new ways to depict form. He found clues in the ancient Iberian sculpture of his homeland, which prompted him to return to an unfinished portrait he had been preparing for Gertrude Stein (FIG. 29-11), his friend and patron (see "Gertrude and Leo Stein and the Avant-Garde," above). Stein had posed for more than 80 sittings earlier in the year, but Picasso was still not satisfied with the results. On resuming work, Picasso painted Stein's head as a simplified planar form, incorporating aspects derived from Iberian stone heads. Although the disparity between the style of the face and the rest of the figure is striking, together they provide an insightful portrait of a forceful, confident woman. More important, Picasso had discovered a new approach to the representation of the human form.

Demoiselles d'Avignon. Later in 1907, Picasso carried his new approach to the representation of human form much further in his *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (FIG. 29-1). Although Picasso's painting has affinities with many European paintings of nude women, including Cézanne's *Large Bathers* (FIG. 28-24A) and Matisse's *Bonheur de Vivre* (FIG. 29-2A), and also includes a variation on an Archaic Greek *kouros* statue (FIG. 5-9) for the standing woman at the left, *Demoiselles* stands apart from the Western pictorial tradition. It also breaks sharply from the norm in the representation of nude women as threatening rather than as passive figures on display for the pleasure of male viewers. Picasso's rethinking of the premises of Western art was largely inspired by his fascination with "primitive" art, which he had studied in Paris's Trocadéro ethnography museum and collected and kept in his Paris studio (see "Primitivism and Colonialism," page 897).

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Primitivism and Colonialism

The art of Africa, Oceania, and the native peoples of the Americas was a major source of inspiration for many early-20th-century modernist artists. Art historians have traditionally referred to the incorporation of stylistic elements from these non-Western cultures as *primitivism.* Unfortunately, *primitive* and *non-Western* are adjectives that imply the superiority of Western civilization and Western art. However, many modernist artists admired the artworks of these cultures precisely because they embodied different stylistic preferences and standards. Some artists—for example Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso (FIG. 29-12)—became enthusiastic collectors of "primitive art." Picasso included in his collection ancient Iberian as well as non-European pieces. Yet artists did not need to be collectors, because all of them could view non-Western objects in the many European and American anthropological and ethnographic museums that had begun to proliferate during the second half of the 19th century.

In 1882, the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (now the Musée du quai Branly) in Paris opened its doors to the public. The Musée Permanent des Colonies (now the Musée national des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie) in Paris also provided the public with a wide array of objects—weapons, tools, basketwork, headdresses—from colonial territories, as did the Musée Africain in Marseilles. In Berlin, the Museum für Völkerkunde housed almost 10,000 African artifacts by 1886, when it opened for public viewing. Even the Expositions Universelles—regularly scheduled exhibitions in France designed to celebrate industrial progress—included products from Oceania and Africa after 1851. By the beginning of the 20th century, significant non-Western collections were on view in museums in Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Vienna, Berlin, Munich, Leiden, Copenhagen, and Chicago.

The formation of these collections was a by-product of the frenzied imperialist expansion central to the geopolitical dynamics of the 19th century and much of the 20th century. Most of the Western powers maintained colonies as sources of raw materials, as manufacturing markets, and as territorial acquisitions largely in the service of developing international capitalism. For example, the United States, France, and Holland all kept a colonial presence in the Pacific. Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Spain, and Portugal divided up the African continent.

Social Darwinists, most notably Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), justified this colonization in terms of the survival of the most economically fit industrialized countries. Europeans and Americans often perceived the cultures they colonized as "primitive" and referred to many of the non-Western artifacts displayed in museums as "artificial curiosities" or "fetish objects." Indeed, the exhibition of these objects collected during expeditions to the colonies served to reinforce the "need" for a colonial presence in these countries. Colonialism often had a missionary dimension. These objects, which often depicted strange gods or creatures, reinforced the perception that these peoples were "barbarians" who needed to be "civilized" or "saved," and this perception justified colonialism and its missionary aspects worldwide.

Whether avant-garde artists were aware of the imperialistic implications of their appropriation of non-Western culture is unclear. Certainly, however, many artists reveled in the energy and freshness of non-Western images and forms. These different cultural products provided Western artists with new ways of looking at their own art. Matisse always maintained that he saw African sculptures as simply "good sculptures . . . like any other."* Picasso, by contrast, believed that "the masks weren't just like any other pieces of sculpture. Not at all. They were magic things. . . . mediators" between humans and the forces of evil, and he sought to capture their power as well as their forms in his paintings. "[In the Trocadéro] I understood why I was a painter. . . . All alone in that awful museum, with masks, dolls . . . *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* [FIG. 29-1] must have come to me that day."† "Primitive art" seemed to embody a directness, closeness to nature, and honesty that appealed to modernist artists determined to reject conventional models. Non-Western art served as an important revitalizing and energizing force in Western art.

29-12 FRANK GELETT BURGESS, photograph of Pablo Picasso in his studio in the rue Ravignan, Paris, France, 1908. Musée Picasso, Paris.

Picasso was familiar with ancient Iberian art from his homeland and studied African and other "primitive" art in Paris's Trocadéro museum. He kept his own collection of non-Western art in his studio.

*Jean-Louis Paudrat, "From Africa," in William Rubin, ed., *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1984), 1:141.
†Ibid.

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Analytic Cubism. For many years, Picasso showed *Les Demoiselles* only to other painters. One of the first to see it was Georges Braque (1882–1963), a Fauve painter who found it so challenging that he began to rethink his own painting style. Using the painting's revolutionary elements as a point of departure, together Braque and Picasso introduced *Cubism* around 1908 in the belief that the art of painting had to move far beyond the description of visual reality. Cubism represented a radical turning point in the history of art, nothing less than a dismissal of the pictorial illusionism that had dominated Western art since the Renaissance. The Cubists rejected naturalistic depictions, preferring compositions of shapes and forms abstracted from the conventionally perceived world. As Picasso once explained: "I paint forms as I think them, not as I see them."[5] Together, Picasso and Braque pursued the analysis of form central to Cézanne's artistic explorations (see "Paul Cézanne," page 868) by deconstructing objects and people into their constituent parts, and then recomposing them by a new logic of design into a coherent, independent aesthetic picture. The Cubists' rejection of accepted artistic practice illustrates both the period's avant-garde critique of pictorial convention and the artists' dwindling faith in a safe, concrete Newtonian world in the face of the physics of Einstein and others (see "Science and Art," page 893).

The new style received its name after Matisse described some of Braque's work to the critic Louis Vauxcelles as having been painted "with little cubes." In his review, Vauxcelles described the new paintings as "cubic oddities."[6] The French writer and theorist Guillaume Apollinaire (1880–1918) summarized well the central concepts of Cubism in 1913:

> Authentic cubism [is] the art of depicting new wholes with formal elements borrowed not from the reality of vision, but from that of conception. This tendency leads to a poetic kind of painting which stands outside the world of observation; for, even in a simple cubism, the geometrical surfaces of an object must be opened out in order to give a complete representation of it. . . . Everyone must agree that a chair, from whichever side it is viewed, never ceases to have four legs, a seat and a back, and that, if it is robbed of one of these elements, it is robbed of an important part.[7]

Most art historians refer to the first phase of Cubism, developed jointly by Picasso and Braque, as *Analytic Cubism,* because in essence it is a painterly analysis of the structure of form with the goal of achieving the kind of total view that Apollinaire described, which cannot be achieved by the traditional method of drawing or painting objects and people from one position.

The Portuguese. Georges Braque's *The Portuguese* (fig. 29-13) is a characteristic Analytic Cubist painting. The subject is a Portuguese musician whom the artist recalled seeing years earlier in a bar in Marseilles. Braque deconstructed the man and his instrument and placed the resulting forms in dynamic interaction with the space around them. Unlike the Fauves and German Expressionists, who used vibrant colors, the Cubists chose subdued hues—here solely brown tones—in order to focus attention on form. In *The Portuguese,* Braque carried his analysis so far that the viewer must work diligently to discover clues to the subject. The large intersecting planes suggest the forms of a man and a guitar. Smaller shapes interpenetrate and hover in the large planes. The way Braque treated light and shadow reveals his departure from conventional artistic practice. Light and dark passages suggest both chiaroscuro modeling and transparent planes that enable the viewer to see through one level to another. Solid forms emerge only to be canceled almost immediately by a different reading of the subject. It is as if Braque has collapsed time and space. For the viewer to see each facet of the man and guitar would require movement and the passage of time, but Braque presented multiple facets on a single painted surface.

The stenciled letters and numbers that Braque included add to the painting's complexity. Letters and numbers are flat shapes, but as elements of a Cubist painting such as *The Portuguese,* they enable the painter to play with the viewer's perception of two- and three-dimensional space. The letters and numbers lie flat on the painted canvas surface, yet the shading and shapes of other forms seem to flow behind and underneath them, pushing the letters and numbers forward into the viewing space. Occasionally, they seem attached to the surface of some object within the painting. Ultimately, the constantly shifting imagery makes it impossible to arrive at any definitive or final reading of the composition. Examining this kind of painting is a disconcerting excursion into ambiguity and doubt, especially because the letters and numbers seem to anchor the painting in the world of representation, thereby heightening the tension between representation and abstraction. Analytic Cubist paintings radically—and intentionally—disrupt expectations about the representation of space and time.

29-13 Georges Braque, *The Portuguese,* 1911. Oil on canvas, 3′ 10 1/8″ × 2′ 8″. Kunstmuseum Basel, Basel (gift of Raoul La Roche, 1952).

The Cubists rejected the pictorial illusionism that had dominated Western art for centuries. Here, Braque concentrated on deconstructing form and placing it in dynamic interaction with space.

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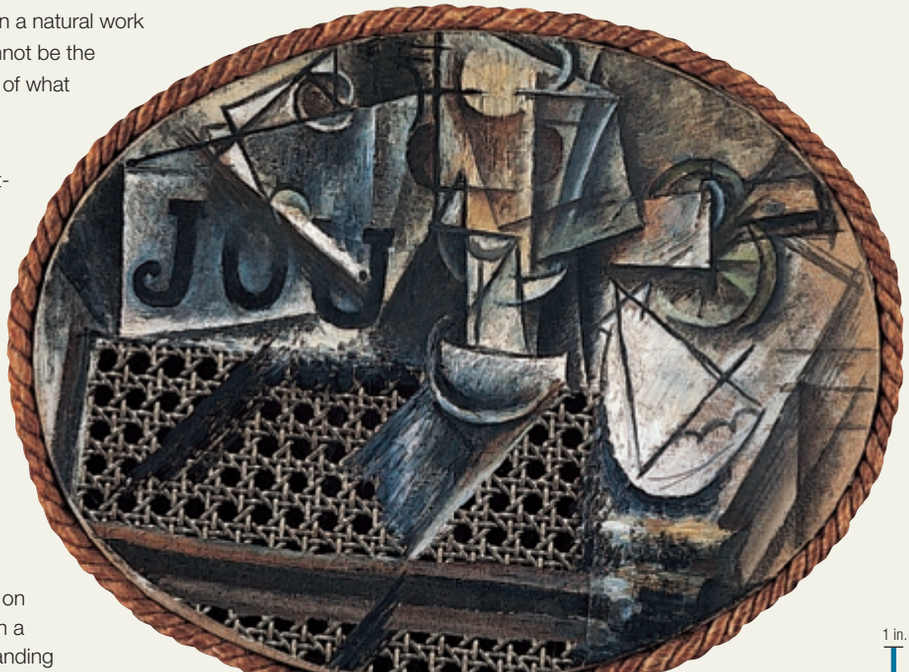
Pablo Picasso on Cubism

In 1923, almost a decade after Picasso and Braque launched an artistic revolution with Analytic (FIG. 29-13) and Synthetic (FIG. 29-14) Cubism, Picasso granted an interview to the painter and critic Marius de Zayas (1880–1961). Born in Mexico, de Zayas had settled in New York City in 1907, and in 1911 had been instrumental in mounting the first exhibition in the United States of Picasso's works. In their conversation, the approved English translation of which appeared in the journal *The Arts* under the title "Picasso Speaks," the artist set forth his views about Cubism and the nature of art in general.

> We all know that Art is not truth. Art is a lie that makes us realize truth, at least the truth that is given us to understand. The artist must know the manner whereby to convince others of the truthfulness of his lies. . . . They speak of naturalism in opposition to modern painting. I would like to know if anyone has ever seen a natural work of art. Nature and art, being two different things, cannot be the same thing. Through art we express our conception of what nature is not. . . .
>
> Cubism is no different from any other school of painting. The same principles and the same elements are common to all. . . . Many think that Cubism is an art of transition, an experiment which is to bring ulterior results. Those who think that way have not understood it. Cubism is not either a seed or a foetus, but an art dealing primarily with forms, and when a form is realized it is there to live its own life. . . . Mathematics, trigonometry, chemistry, psychoanalysis, music, and whatnot, have been related to Cubism to give it an easier interpretation. All this has been pure literature, not to say nonsense . . . Cubism has kept itself within the limits and limitations of painting, never pretending to go beyond it. Drawing, design, and color are understood and practiced in Cubism in the spirit and manner that they are understood and practiced in all other schools. Our subjects might be different, as we have introduced into painting objects and forms that were formerly ignored. . . . [I]n our subjects, we keep the joy of discovery, the pleasure of the unexpected; our subject itself must be a source of interest.*

*Marius de Zayas, "Picasso Speaks," *The Arts* (May 1923), 315–326. Reprinted in Herschel B. Chipp, *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 263–266.



29-14 PABLO PICASSO, *Still Life with Chair-Caning*, 1912. Oil, oilcloth, and rope on canvas, $10\frac{5}{8}'' \times 1' 1\frac{3}{4}''$. Musée Picasso, Paris.

This collage includes a piece of oilcloth and brushstrokes on top of a photolithograph of a cane chair seat. Framed with a piece of rope, the still life challenges the viewer's understanding of reality.

Synthetic Cubism. In 1912, Cubism entered a new phase that art historians have dubbed *Synthetic Cubism*. In this later Cubist style, instead of *deconstructing* forms, artists *constructed* paintings and drawings from objects and shapes cut from paper or other materials. The work marking the point of departure for this new style was Picasso's *Still Life with Chair-Caning* (FIG. 29-14), widely regarded as the first modernist *collage*. From the French word *coller*, meaning "to paste," a collage is a composition of bits of objects, such as newspaper or cloth, glued to a surface. In this seminal work, Picasso placed a piece of oilcloth and brushstrokes on top of a photolithographed pattern of a cane chair seat pasted to the canvas. Framed with rope, this collage challenges the viewer's understanding of reality. The photographically replicated chair caning seems so "real" that the viewer expects the holes to break any brushstrokes laid on it. But the chair caning, although optically suggestive of the real, is only an illusion or representation of an object. By contrast, the painted abstract areas do not refer to tangible objects in the real world. Yet the fact that they do not imitate anything makes them more "real" than the chair caning. No pretense exists. Picasso extended the visual play by making the letter *U* escape from the space of the accompanying *J* and *O* and partially covering it with a cylindrical shape that pushes across its left side. The letters *JOU*, which appear in many Cubist paintings, formed part of the masthead of the daily French newspapers (*journaux*) often found among the objects represented. Picasso and Braque especially delighted in the punning references to *jouer* and *jouir*—the French verbs meaning "to play" and "to enjoy."

Cubism and Anarchism. Although most discussions of Cubism focus on the formal innovations of Picasso and Braque, it is important to note that contemporary critics also viewed the revolutionary nature of Cubism in sociopolitical terms. Many considered

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Cubism's challenge to artistic convention and tradition a subversive attack on 20th-century society. In fact, many modernist artists and writers of the period did ally themselves with various anarchist groups whose social critiques and utopian visions appealed to progressive thinkers. It was, therefore, not difficult to see radical art, such as Cubism, as having political ramifications. The French press consistently equated Cubism's disdain for tradition with anarchism and revolution. Picasso himself, however, never viewed Cubism as a protest movement or even different in kind from traditional painting (see "Pablo Picasso on Cubism," page 899).

Papier Collé. After *Still Life with Chair-Caning,* both Picasso and Braque continued to explore the medium of collage introduced into the realm of "high art" (as opposed to un-self-conscious "folk art") in that work. Braque's *Bottle, Newspaper, Pipe, and Glass* (FIG. 29-15) is a type of collage called *papier collé* ("pasted paper") in which the artist glues assorted paper shapes to a drawing or painting. In Braque's papier collé, charcoal lines and shadows provide clues to the Cubist multiple views of various surfaces and objects. Roughly rectangular strips of printed and colored paper dominate the composition. The paper imprinted with wood grain and moldings provides an illusion whose concreteness contrasts with the lightly rendered objects on the right. Five pieces of paper overlap each other in the center of the composition to create a layering of flat planes that both echo the space that the lines suggest and establish the flatness of the work's surface. All shapes in the image seem to oscillate, pushing forward and dropping back in space. Shading seems to carve space into flat planes in some places and to turn planes into transparent surfaces in others. The pipe in the foreground illustrates this complex visual interplay especially well. Although it appears to lie on the newspaper, it is in fact a form cut through the printed paper to reveal the canvas surface, which Braque lightly modeled with charcoal. The artist thus kept his audience aware that *Bottle, Newspaper, Pipe, and Glass* is an artwork, a visual game to be deciphered, and not an attempt to reproduce nature.

Picasso explained the goals of Cubist collage in this way:

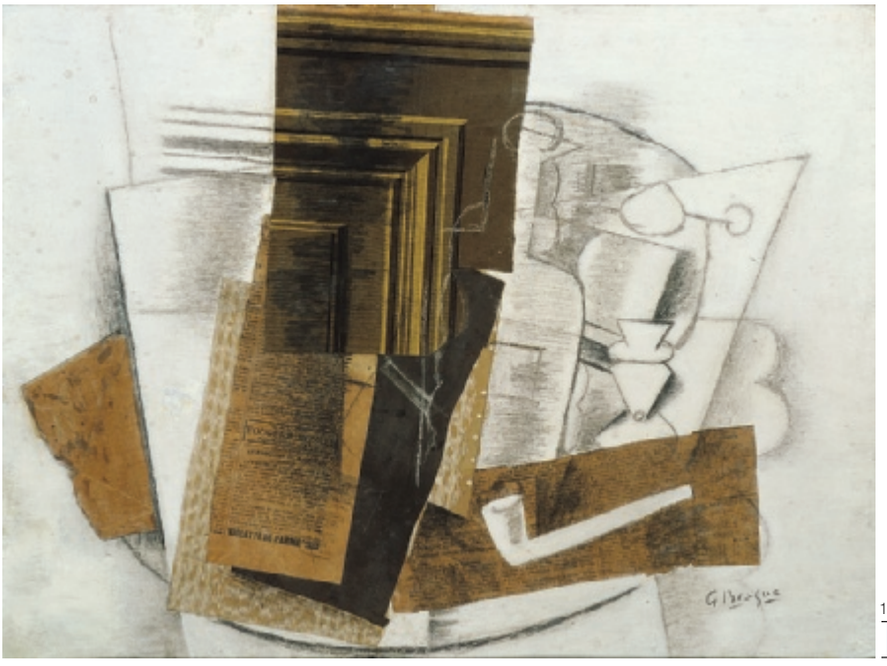
> Not only did we try to displace reality; reality was no longer in the object. . . . [In] the *papier collé* . . . [w]e didn't any longer want to fool the eye; we wanted to fool the mind. . . . If a piece of newspaper can be a bottle, that gives us something to think about in connection with both newspapers and bottles, too.[8]

Like all collage, the papier collé technique was modern in its medium—mass-produced materials never before found in high art—and modern in the way that the artist embedded the art's "message" in the imagery and in the nature of these everyday materials.

Guernica. Picasso continued to experiment with different artistic styles and media right up until his death in 1973. Celebrated primarily for his brilliant formal innovations, in the late 1930s Picasso became openly involved in political issues as he watched his homeland descend into civil war. The result was *Guernica* (FIG. 29-16). At the time, Picasso declared: "[P]ainting is not made to decorate apartments. It is an instrument for offensive and defensive war against the enemy."[9] The artist got the opportunity to use his craft as a weapon in January 1937 when the Spanish Republican government-in-exile in Paris asked Picasso to produce a major work for the Spanish Pavilion at the Paris International Exposition that summer. He did not formally accept the invitation, however, until he received word that Guernica, the capital of the Basque region (an area in southern France and northern Spain populated by Basque speakers), had been almost totally destroyed in an air raid on April 26, 1937. Nazi pilots acting on behalf of the rebel general Francisco Franco (1892–1975) bombed the city at the busiest hour of a market day, killing or wounding many of Guernica's 7,000 citizens as well as leveling buildings. The event jolted Picasso into action. By the end of June, he had completed *Guernica,* a mural-sized canvas of immense power.

Despite the painting's title, Picasso made no specific reference to the event in *Guernica.* The imagery includes no bombs and no German planes. It is a universal outcry of human grief and a condemnation of all wars—a theme taken up centuries before by the Flemish Baroque master Peter Paul Rubens (see "Rubens on *Consequences of War,*" page 743, and FIG. 25-3). In the center, along the lower edge of the painting, lies a slain warrior clutching a broken and useless sword. A gored horse tramples him and rears back in fright as it dies. On the left, a shrieking woman cradles her dead child. On the far right, a woman on fire runs screaming from a burning building, while another woman flees mindlessly. In the upper right corner, a woman, represented by only a head, emerges from the burning building, thrusting forth a light to illuminate the horror. Overlooking the destruction is a bull, which, according to the artist, represents "brutality and darkness."[10]

In *Guernica,* Picasso brilliantly used aspects of his earlier Cubist discoveries to expressive effect, particularly the fragmentation of objects and the dislocation of anatomical features. This Cubist



1 in.

29-15 GEORGES BRAQUE, *Bottle, Newspaper, Pipe, and Glass,* 1913. Charcoal and various papers pasted on paper, 1′ $6\frac{7}{8}$″ × 2′ $1\frac{1}{4}$″. Private collection, New York.

This Cubist collage of glued paper is a visual game to be deciphered. The pipe in the foreground, for example, seems to lie on the newspaper, but it is a cutout revealing the canvas surface.

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1 ft.

29-16 Pablo Picasso, *Guernica,* 1937. Oil on canvas, 11′ 5½″ × 25′ 5¾″. Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofia, Madrid.

Picasso used Cubist techniques, especially the fragmentation of objects and dislocation of anatomical features, to expressive effect in this condemnation of the Nazi bombing of the Basque capital.

1 ft.

29-17 Pablo Picasso, maquette for *Guitar,* 1912. Cardboard, string, and wire (restored), 2′ 1¼″ × 1′ 1″ × 7½″. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

In this model for a sculpture of sheet metal, Picasso presented what is essentially a cutaway view of a guitar, enabling the viewer to simultaneously examine both surface and interior space, both mass and void.

fragmentation gave visual form to the horror of the aerial bombardment of the Basque people. What happened to these figures in the artist's act of painting—the amputation and dislocation of human bodies—paralleled what happened to them in real life. To emphasize the scene's severity and starkness, Picasso reduced his palette to black, white, and shades of gray, suppressing color once again, as he had in his Analytic Cubist works. Today, a tapestry copy of *Guernica* hangs in the United Nations headquarters in New York City as a constant reminder to the world's diplomats of the human tragedy of armed conflict.

Sculpture

Cubism not only opened new avenues for representing form on two-dimensional surfaces but also inspired new approaches to sculpture.

Picasso, *Guitar.* Picasso created *Guitar* (FIG. 29-17) in 1912. Like his Cubist paintings, this sculpture operates at the intersection of two- and three-dimensionality. Picasso took the form of a guitar—an image that surfaces in many of his paintings as well, including *Three Musicians* (FIG. 29-17A)—and explored its volume using only flat pieces of cardboard. (The work reproduced in FIG. 29-17 is Picasso's *maquette,* or model. The finished sculpture was to be made of sheet metal.) By presenting what is essentially a *cutaway* view of a guitar, Picasso enabled the viewer to examine both surface and interior space, both mass and void. This, of course, was completely in keeping with the Cubist program. Some scholars have suggested that Picasso derived the cylindrical form that serves as the sound hole on the guitar from the eyes on masks

29-17A Picasso, *Three Musicians,* 1921.

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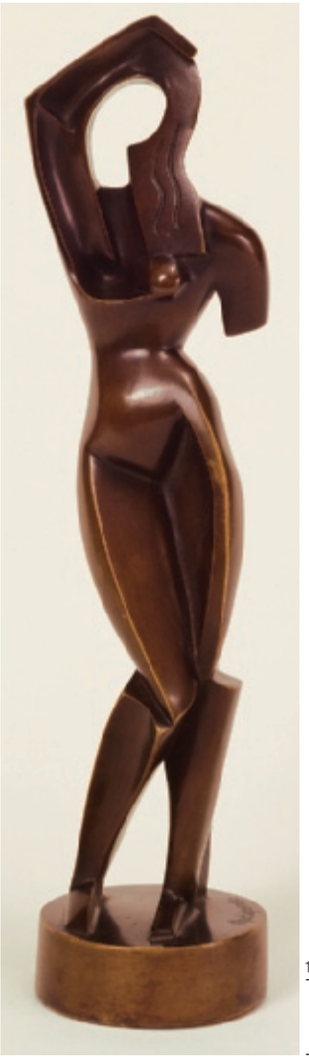
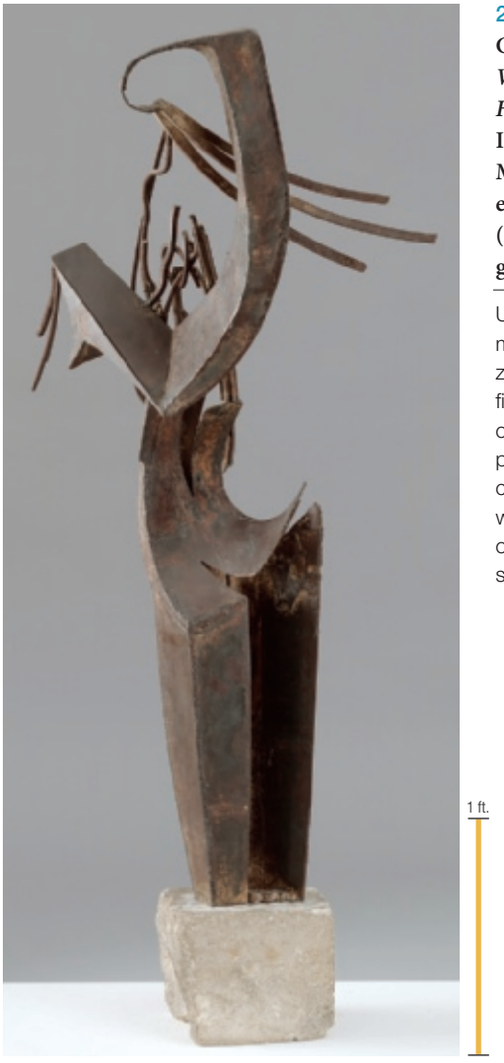


29-18 Aleksander Archipenko, *Woman Combing Her Hair,* 1915. Bronze, 1′ 1¾″ high. Museum of Modern Art, New York (acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest).

In this statuette, Archipenko introduced, in place of the head, a void with a shape of its own that figures importantly in the whole design. The void is not simply the negative counterpart of the volume.



29-19 Julio González, *Woman Combing Her Hair,* 1936. Iron, 4′ 4″ high. Museum of Modern Art, New York (Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund).

Using prefabricated metal pieces, González reduced his figure to an interplay of curves, lines, and planes—virtually a complete abstraction without any vestiges of traditional representational art.

from the Ivory Coast of Africa. African masks were a continuing and persistent source of inspiration for the artist (see "Primitivism," page 897). Here, however, Picasso seems to have transformed the anatomical features of African masks into a part of a musical instrument—dramatic evidence of his unique, innovative artistic vision. Ironically—and intentionally—the sound hole, the central void in a real guitar, is, in Picasso's *Guitar,* the only solid form.

Aleksander Archipenko. The Ukrainian sculptor Aleksander Archipenko (1887–1964), who worked in Paris and ended his career in the United States, similarly explored the Cubist notion of spatial ambiguity and the relationship between solid forms and space. In *Woman Combing Her Hair* (fig. 29-18), Archipenko introduced, in place of the head, a void with a shape of its own that figures importantly in the whole design. Enclosed spaces have always existed in figurative sculpture—for example, the space between the arm and the body when the hand rests on the hip (fig. 21-12). But in Archipenko's statuette, the space penetrates the figure's continuous mass and is a defined form equal in importance to the mass of the bronze. It is not simply the negative counterpart to the volume as it is in traditional statues. Archipenko's *Woman* shows the same fluid intersecting planes seen in Cubist painting, and the relation of the planes to each other is similarly complex. Thus, both in painting and sculpture, the Cubists broke through traditional limits and transformed these media.

29-18A Lipchitz, *Bather,* 1917.

Julio González. Among the other notable sculptors of the early 20th century were Jacques Lipchitz (1891–1973) and Julio González (1876–1942). Lipchitz's works, such as *Bather* (fig. 29-18A), are three-dimensional equivalents of the Analytical Cubist canvases of Picasso and Braque (fig. 29-13). González was a friend of Picasso who shared his interest in the artistic possibilities of new materials and new methods borrowed from both industrial technology and traditional metalworking. Born into a family of metalworkers in Barcelona, González helped Picasso construct a number of welded sculptures. This contact with Picasso in turn enabled González to refine his own sculptural vocabulary. Using prefabricated bars, sheets, or rods of welded or wrought iron and bronze, González created dynamic sculptures with both linear elements and volumetric forms. A comparison between his *Woman Combing Her Hair* (fig. 29-19) and Archipenko's version of the same subject (fig. 29-18) is revealing. Archipenko's figure still incorporates the basic shapes of a woman's body. González reduced his figure to an interplay of curves, lines, and planes—virtually a complete abstraction without any vestiges of traditional representational art. Although González's sculpture received only limited exposure during his lifetime, his work greatly influenced later abstract artists working in welded metal (fig. 31-17).

ORPHISM AND THE MACHINE AESTHETIC

Robert Delaunay. Unlike in the Fauves' paintings, color did not play a crucial role in the Cubists' canvases, but Robert Delaunay (1885–1941), Picasso's and Braque's contemporary, worked toward a kind of color Cubism. Apollinaire gave the name *Orphism* to Delaunay's version of Cubism, after Orpheus, the mythical Greek

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Delaunay, Orphism, and the Representation of Modern Life

Robert Delaunay developed his ideas about color use in dialogue with his Russian-born wife, Sonia (1885–1974), also an important modernist artist. She created paintings, quilts and other textile arts, and book covers that exploited the expressive capabilities of color. As a result of their artistic explorations, both Delaunays became convinced that the best solution to the problem of representing the rhythms of modern life was to build on the Cubist breakthroughs of Picasso and Braque and enrich their approach to representation through the use of color harmonies and dissonances.

Delaunay called his method *Simultanéisme,* although it is better known under the name Guillaume Apollinaire proposed: Orphism. Simultaneity/Orphism for Delaunay meant the application of 19th-century theories about the perception and psychology of color (see "19th-Century Color Theory," page 863) to create spatial effects and kaleidoscopic movement solely through color contrasts. He insisted that color in painting was both form and subject, and as early as 1912 he began to paint purely abstract compositions with titles such as *Simultaneous Disks, Simultaneous Windows,* and *Simultaneous Contrasts.*

A salient feature of modern life for Delaunay was technological innovation, a belief he shared with the Futurists in Italy (see "Futurism," page 904). Consequently, the engineering marvels of the late 19th and early 20th centuries figure prominently in Delaunay's paintings. For example, in 1914, he immortalized the engineer, inventor, and aviator Louis Blériot (1872–1936) in one of his boldest Orphic canvases. *Homage to Blériot* (FIG. 29-20) is a mostly abstract composition that retains representational elements. The painting celebrates Blériot's unprecedented achievement of flying 22 miles across the English Channel in a monoplane of his own design. The flight—from Les Barraques, near Calais, France, to Dover, England, on July 25, 1909—lasted 37 minutes and made Blériot an instant international celebrity. It also brought him a prize of 1,000 British pounds, which a London newspaper had offered as a challenge to all aviators. At the time that Delaunay commemorated the event, Blériot was manufacturing warplanes for use by French pilots and their allies during World War I. One of Blériot's planes appears at the upper right of Delaunay's painting, above another triumph of French engineering, the Eiffel Tower (FIG. 28-40), one of Delaunay's favorite subjects (FIG. 29-20A). Filling the rest of the canvas are a propeller (at the lower left) and mostly circular abstract shapes suggestive of whirling propellers and blazing suns. The swirling abstract and semiabstract shapes and the bold colors together convey explosive energy, and produce an exhilarating effect in the eye and mind of the viewer.

29-20 ROBERT DELAUNAY, *Homage to Blériot,* 1914. Oil on canvas, 8′ 2½″ × 8′ 3″. Kunstmuseum Basel, Basel (Emanuel Hoffman Foundation).

In this canvas celebrating modern technological innovation, Delaunay paid tribute to the first pilot to fly across the English Channel. The swirling shapes and bold colors convey explosive energy.

29-20A DELAUNAY, *Champs de Mars,* 1911.

Delaunay's experiments with color dynamics strongly influenced the German Expressionists (he exhibited with the Blaue Reiter group as well as with the Cubists) and the Futurists. These artists found in his art a means for intensifying expression by suggesting violent motion through shape and color.

musician. Apollinaire believed that art, like music, was distinct from the representation of the visible world. But Delaunay's own name for his art was *Simultanéisme* (see "Delaunay, Orphism, and the Representation of Modern Life," above).

Fernand Léger. Best known today as one of the most important modernist architects, Le Corbusier (FIG. 29-55) was also a painter. In 1918, he founded a movement called *Purism,* which opposed Synthetic Cubism on the grounds that it was becoming merely an esoteric art out of touch with the machine age. Purists maintained that machinery's clean functional lines and the pure forms of its parts should direct artists' experiments in design, whether in painting, architecture, or industrially produced objects. This "machine aesthetic" inspired FERNAND LÉGER (1881–1955), a French artist who had painted with the Cubists (see "Léger, the Machine Aesthetic, and the Representation of Modern Life," page 904).

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Léger, the Machine Aesthetic, and the Representation of Modern Life

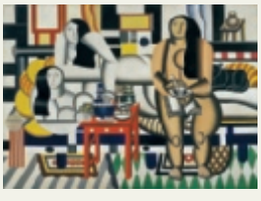
29-21 **Fernand Léger, *The City,* 1919. Oil on canvas, 7′ 7″ × 9′ 9½″. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (A. E. Gallatin Collection).**

Léger championed the "machine aesthetic." In *The City,* he captured the mechanical commotion of urban life, incorporating the effects of billboard ads, flashing lights, and noisy traffic.

Robert Delaunay (FIGS. 29-20 and 29-20A) was by no means the only early-20th-century artist who sought to capture the dynamism of modern life on canvas. Another was Fernand Léger, a champion of the "machine aesthetic." But Léger's solution to the problem differed markedly from Delaunay's.

Léger, although not a Purist himself, devised an effective compromise of tastes, bringing together meticulous Cubist analysis of form with Purism's broad simplification and machinelike finish of the design components. Tubular shapes were Léger's preferred motifs because they were suggestive of machined parts, such as pistons and cylinders. Léger's works have the sharp precision of the machine, whose beauty and quality he was one of the first artists to appreciate. For example, in his 1924 film *Ballet Mécanique (Mechanical Ballet)*, Léger contrasted inanimate objects such as functioning machines with humans in dancelike variations.

Preeminently a painter of modern urban life, Léger incorporated into works such as *The City* (FIG. 29-21) the effects of modern posters and billboard advertisements, the harsh flashing of electric lights, and the noise of traffic. The large scale of *The City,* an early work incorporating the aesthetic of Synthetic Cubism, suggests that Léger, had he been given the opportunity, would have been one of the great mural painters of his age. In a definitive way, he depicted the mechanical commotion of urban life, including the robotic movements of mechanized people (FIG. 29-21A).



29-21A Léger, *Three Women,* 1921.

FUTURISM

Artists associated with another early-20th-century movement, *Futurism,* pursued many of the ideas that the Cubists and Purists explored. Equally important to the Futurists, however, was their well-defined sociopolitical agenda. Inaugurated and given its name by the charismatic Italian poet and playwright Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876–1944) in 1909, Futurism began as a literary movement, but soon encompassed the visual arts, cinema, theater, music, and architecture. Indignant over the political and cultural decline of Italy, the Futurists published numerous manifestos in which they aggressively advocated revolution, both in society and in art (see "Futurist Manifestos," page 905), with the goal of ushering in a new, more enlightened era.

In their quest to launch Italian society toward a glorious future, the Futurists championed war as a means of washing away the stagnant past. Indeed, they saw war as a cleansing agent. Marinetti declared: "We will glorify war—the only true hygiene of the world."[11] The Futurists agitated for the destruction of museums, libraries, and similar repositories of accumulated culture, which they described as mausoleums. They also called for radical innovation in the arts. Of particular interest to the Futurists were the speed and dynamism of modern technology, an interest shared by Delaunay and Léger. Marinetti insisted that a racing "automobile adorned with great pipes like serpents with explosive breath . . . is more beautiful than the *Victory of Samothrace*"[12]—a reference to the Greek statue (FIG. 5-83) in the Louvre that for early-20th-century artists represented classicism and the glories of past civilizations. Appropriately, Futurist art often focused on motion in time and space, incorporating the Cubist discoveries derived from the analysis of form.

Giacomo Balla, Umberto Boccioni, and Gino Severini

Giacomo Balla. The Futurists' interest in motion and in the Cubist fragmentation of form is evident in *Dynamism of a Dog on a Leash* (FIG. 29-22), in which Giacomo Balla (1871–1958) represented a passing dog and its owner, whose skirts are just within visual range. Balla achieved the effect of motion by repeating shapes—for example, the dog's legs and tail and the swinging line of the leash. Simultaneity of views, as in Cubism, was central to the Futurist program.

Umberto Boccioni. One of the cosigners of the 1920 *Futurist Painting* manifesto was Umberto Boccioni (1882–1916), who

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Futurist Manifestos

On April 11, 1910, a group of young Italian artists published *Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto* in Milan in an attempt to apply the writer Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's views on literature to the visual arts. Signed jointly by Giacomo Balla (FIG. 29-22), Umberto Boccioni (FIG. 29-23), Carlo Carrà, Luigi Russolo, and Gino Severini (FIG. 29-24), the manifesto also appeared in an English translation supervised by Marinetti himself. It states in part:

> On account of the persistency of an image on the retina, moving objects constantly multiply themselves [and] their form changes . . . Thus a running horse has not four legs, but twenty. . . .
>
> What was true for the painters of yesterday is but a falsehood today. . . . To paint a human figure you must not paint it; you must render the whole of its surrounding atmosphere. . . . [T]he vivifying current of science [must] soon deliver painting from academic tradition. . . . The shadows which we shall paint shall be more luminous than the highlights of our predecessors, and our pictures, next to those of the museums, will shine like blinding daylight compared with deepest night. . . .
>
> We declare . . . that all forms of imitation must be despised, all forms of originality glorified . . . that all subjects previously used must be swept aside in order to express our whirling life of steel, of pride, of fever and of speed . . . that movement and light destroy the materiality of bodies.*

Two years later, Boccioni published a *Technical Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture,* in which he argued that traditional sculpture was "a monstrous anachronism" and that modern sculpture should be

> a translation, in plaster, bronze, glass, wood or any other material, of those atmospheric planes which bind and intersect things. . . . Let's . . . proclaim the absolute and complete abolition of finite lines and the contained statue. Let's split open our figures and place the environment inside them. We declare that the environment must form part of the plastic whole.†

The sculptures of Boccioni (FIG. 29-23) and the paintings of Balla (FIG. 29-22) and Severini (FIG. 29-24) perfectly express these Futurist principles and goals.

**Futurist Painting: Technical Manifesto* (*Poesia,* April 11, 1910). Translated by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, in Umbro Apollonio, ed. *Futurist Manifestos* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1970), 27–31.
†Translated by Robert Brain, in Apollonio, *Futurist Manifestos,* 51–65.

29-22 Giacomo Balla, *Dynamism of a Dog on a Leash,* 1912. Oil on canvas, 2′ 11 $\frac{3}{8}$″ × 3′ 7 $\frac{1}{4}$″. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo (bequest of A. Conger Goodyear, gift of George F. Goodyear, 1964).

The Futurists' interest in motion and in the Cubist fragmentation of form is evident in Balla's painting of a passing dog and its owner. Simultaneity of views was central to the Futurist program.

29-23 Umberto Boccioni, *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space,* 1913 (cast 1931). Bronze, 3′ 7 $\frac{7}{8}$″ high. Museum of Modern Art, New York (acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest).

Boccioni's Futurist manifesto for sculpture advocated abolishing the self-contained statue. This running figure's body is so expanded that it almost disappears behind the blur of its movement.

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produced what is the definitive work of Futurist sculpture, *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space* (FIG. 29-23). This piece highlights the formal and spatial effects of motion rather than their source, the striding human figure. The figure is so expanded, interrupted, and broken in plane and contour that it almost disappears behind the blur of its movement—just as people, buildings, and stationary objects become blurred when seen from an automobile traveling at great speed or a train racing through the countryside. Boccioni's search for sculptural means of expressing rapid movement—which, for the Futurists, symbolized the dynamic quality of modern life—reached definitive expression in *Unique Forms.* Although Boccioni's figure bears a curious resemblance to the *Nike of Samothrace* (FIG. 5-83), the ancient sculptor suggested motion only through posture and agitated drapery, not through distortion and fragmentation of the human body—an approach to representation that is the antithesis of the core principles of classical art.

This Futurist representation of motion in sculpture has its limitations, however. The eventual development of the motion picture, based on the rapid sequential projection of fixed images (FIG. 27-54), produced more convincing illusions of movement. And several decades later, Alexander Calder (FIG. 30-21) became the most famous proponent of *kinetic sculpture*—sculptures with parts that really move. But in the early 20th century, Boccioni was unsurpassed for his ability to capture the sensation of motion in statuary.

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29-24 GINO SEVERINI, *Armored Train,* 1915. Oil on canvas, 3′ 10″ × 2′ 10 1/8″. Collection of Richard S. Zeisler, New York.

Severini's glistening armored train with protruding cannon reflects the Futurist faith in the cleansing action of war. The painting captures the dynamism and motion central to the Futurist manifesto.

Gino Severini. The painting *Armored Train* (FIG. 29-24) by GINO SEVERINI (1883–1966) also encapsulates the Futurist program—politically as well as artistically. Severini depicted a high-tech armored train with its rivets glistening and a huge booming cannon protruding from the top. Submerged in the bowels of the train, soldiers in a row point guns at an unseen target. In Cubist fashion, Severini depicted all of the elements of the painting, from the soldiers to the smoke emanating from the cannon, broken into facets and planes, suggesting action and movement. *Armored Train* reflects both the Futurists' passion for speed and the "whirling life of steel" and their faith in the cleansing action of war. Not only are the colors predominantly light and bright, but death and destruction—the tragic consequences of war—are absent from Severini's painting. This sanitized depiction of armed conflict contrasts sharply with Francisco Goya's *The Third of May, 1808* (FIG. 27-11), which also depicts a uniform row of anonymous soldiers in the act of shooting. Goya, however, graphically presented the dead and those about to be shot, and the dark tones he used cast a dramatic and sobering pall.

Once World War I broke out, the Futurist group began to disintegrate, largely because so many of them felt compelled (given the Futurist support for the war) to join the Italian army. Some of them, including Umberto Boccioni, died in the war.

DADA

Although the Futurists celebrated World War I—the "Great War"—and the changes they hoped it would effect, the mass destruction and chaos that the conflict unleashed horrified other artists. Humanity had never before witnessed such wholesale slaughter on so grand a scale over such an extended period. More than nine million soldiers died in four years. Millions more sustained grievous wounds in great battles. Britain alone lost 60,000 men on the opening day of the Battle of the Somme in 1916. In the same year, the Battle of Verdun, which lasted 10 months, produced half a million casualties. The new technology of armaments, bred of the age of steel, made the Great War a "war of the guns." In the face of massed artillery hurling millions of tons of high explosives and gas shells and in the sheets of fire from thousands of machine guns in armored vehicles of the kind celebrated in Severini's *Armored Train* (FIG. 29-24), attack was suicidal. Military campaigns no longer consisted of troop movements designed to capture territory. Warfare became a frustrating stalemate of soldiers holed up in trenches stretching from the English Channel almost to Switzerland. The mud, filth, and blood of the trenches; the pounding and shattering of incessant shell fire; and the terrible deaths and mutilations were psychologically devastating for a generation brought up with the doctrine of progress and a belief in the fundamental values of civilization. The introduction of poison gas in 1915 added to the horror of humankind's inhumanity. The negotiated formal end of hostilities finally arrived in 1919, but peace could not erase the scars of a global conflict that had destroyed the lives of millions and altered the worldview of many millions more.

One major consequence in the art world was the emergence of a movement known as *Dada.* The Dadaists believed that Enlightenment reasoning had been responsible for the insane spectacle of collective homicide and global destruction that was the Great War, and they concluded that the only route to salvation was through political anarchy, the irrational, and the intuitive. Although Dada began independently in New York and Zurich, it also took root in Paris, Berlin, and Cologne, among other cities. Dada was more a mind-set or attitude than a single identifiable style. As André Breton (1896–1966), founder of the slightly later Surrealist movement (see "André

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Breton's *First Surrealist Manifesto,*" page 916), explained: "Cubism was a school of painting, futurism a political movement: DADA is a state of mind."[13] Thus an element of absurdity is a cornerstone of Dada—reflected in the movement's very name. Many explanations exist for the choice of "Dada," but according to an oft-repeated anecdote, the Dadaists chose the word at random by sticking a knife into a French-German dictionary. Dada is French for a child's hobby horse. The word satisfied the Dadaists' desire for something nonsensical.

The Dadaists' pessimism and disgust surfaced in their disdain for convention and tradition. These artists made a concerted and sustained attempt to undermine cherished notions and assumptions about art. Because of this iconoclastic dimension, art historians often describe Dada as a destructive enterprise. Dada's negativity and derisive iconoclasm can be read at random from the Dadaists' numerous manifestos and declarations of intent. For example:

> Dada knows everything. Dada spits on everything. Dada says "knowthing," Dada has no fixed ideas. Dada does not catch flies. Dada is bitterness laughing at everything that has been accomplished, sanctified. . . . Dada is never right. . . . No more painters, no more writers, no more religions, no more royalists, no more anarchists, no more socialists, no more police, no more airplanes, no more urinary passages. . . . Like everything in life, Dada is useless, everything happens in a completely idiotic way. . . . We are incapable of treating seriously any subject whatsoever, let alone this subject: ourselves.[14]

Although war-weary cynicism and pessimism inspired the Dadaists, what they developed was phenomenally influential and powerful. By attacking convention and logic, the Dada artists unlocked new avenues for creative invention, thereby fostering a more serious examination of the basic premises of art than prior movements had. But the Dadaists could also be lighthearted in their subversion. Although horror and disgust about the war initially prompted Dada, an undercurrent of often irreverent humor and whimsy runs through much of the art. For example, Marcel Duchamp painted a moustache and goatee on a reproduction of Leonardo's *Mona Lisa* (FIG. 29-26A). The French painter Francis Picabia (1879–1953), Duchamp's collaborator in establishing Dada in New York, nailed a toy monkey to a board and labeled it *Portrait of Cézanne.*

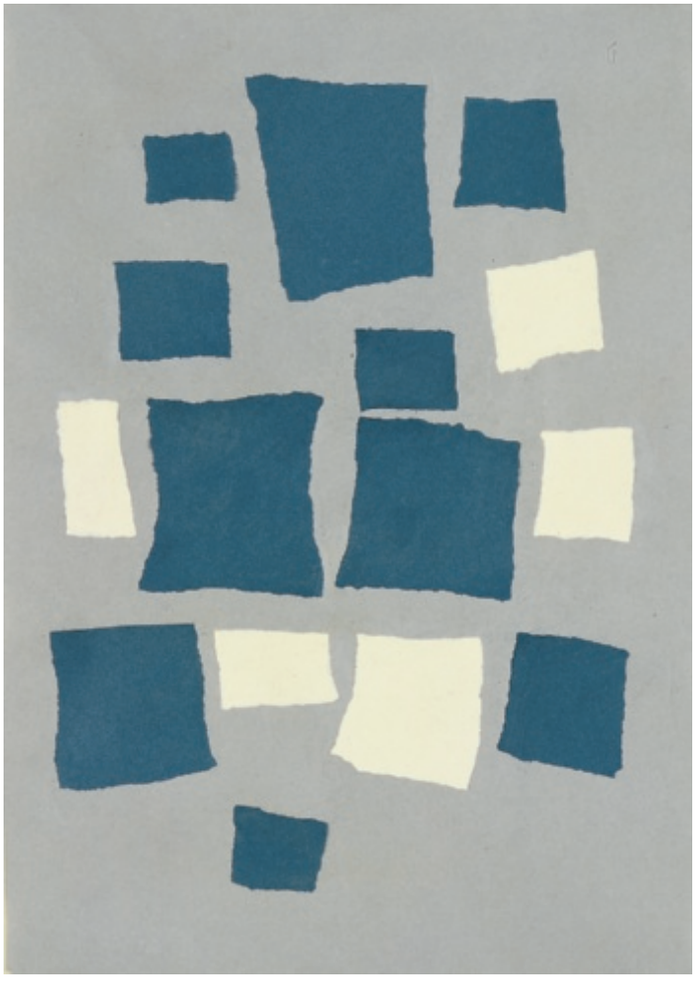
Freud and Jung. In its emphasis on the spontaneous and intuitive, Dada paralleled the views of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and Carl Jung (1875–1961). In *The Interpretation of Dreams,* Freud argued that unconscious and inner drives (of which people are largely unaware) control human behavior. Jung, a Swiss psychiatrist who developed Freud's theories further, believed that the unconscious is composed of two facets, one personal and one collective. The collective unconscious comprises memories and associations that all humans share, such as archetypes and mental constructions. According to Jung, the collective unconscious accounts for the development of myths, religions, and philosophies.

Hans Richter, Jean Arp, and Marcel Duchamp

Particularly interested in the exploration of the unconscious that Freud advocated, the Dada artists believed that art was a powerfully practical means of self-revelation and healing, and that the images arising out of the subconscious mind had a truth of their own, independent of conventional vision. A Dada filmmaker, Hans Richter (1888–1976), summarized the attitude of the Dadaists:

> Possessed, as we were, of the ability to entrust ourselves to "chance," to our conscious as well as our unconscious minds, we became a sort of public secret society. . . . We laughed at everything. . . . But laughter was only the expression of our new discoveries, not their essence and not their purpose. Pandemonium, destruction, anarchy, anti-everything of the World War? How could Dada have been anything but destructive, aggressive, insolent, on principle and with gusto?[15]

Jean Arp. One prominent Dada artist whose works illustrate Richter's element of chance was Zurich-based JEAN (HANS) ARP (1887–1966). Arp pioneered the use of chance in composing his images. Tiring of the look of the Cubist-related collages he was making, Arp took several sheets of paper, tore them into roughly shaped squares, haphazardly dropped them onto a sheet of paper on the floor, and glued them into the resulting arrangement. The rectilinearity of the shapes guaranteed a somewhat regular design (which Arp no doubt enhanced by adjusting the random arrangement into a quasi-grid), but chance had introduced an imbalance that seemed to Arp to restore to his work a special mysterious vitality that he wanted to preserve. *Collage Arranged According to the Laws of Chance* (FIG. 29-25) is one of the works Arp created by this method. The operations of chance were for Dadaists a crucial part of this kind of improvisation.



29-25 **JEAN (HANS) ARP,** ***Collage Arranged According to the Laws of Chance,*** **1916–1917. Torn and pasted paper, 1′ 7 1/8″ × 1′ 1 5/8″. Museum of Modern Art, New York.**

In this collage, Arp dropped torn paper squares onto a sheet of paper and then glued them where they fell. His reliance on chance in composing images reinforced the anarchy inherent in Dada.

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1 in.

29-26 Marcel Duchamp, *Fountain,* 1917 (replica, 1950). Glazed sanitary china with black paint, 1′ high. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.

Duchamp's "readymade" sculptures were mass-produced objects that the Dada artist modified. In *Fountain,* he conferred the status of art on a urinal and forced people to see the object in a new light.

As Richter stated: "For us chance was the 'unconscious mind' that Freud had discovered in 1900. . . . Adoption of chance had another purpose, a secret one. This was to restore to the work of art its primeval magic power and to find a way back to the immediacy it had lost through contact with . . . classicism."[16] Arp's renunciation of artistic control and his reliance on chance when creating his compositions reinforced the anarchy and subversion inherent in Dada.

Marcel Duchamp. Perhaps the most influential Dadaist was Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968), a Frenchman who became the central artist of New York Dada but was also active in Paris. In 1916, he exhibited his first "readymade" sculptures, which were mass-produced common objects—"found objects" the artist selected and sometimes "rectified" by modifying their substance or combining them with another object. The creation of readymades, Duchamp insisted, was free from any consideration of either good or bad taste, qualities shaped by a society that he and other Dada artists found aesthetically bankrupt. Perhaps his most outrageous readymade was *Fountain* (fig. 29-26), a porcelain urinal presented on its back, signed "R. Mutt" and dated 1917. (The illustrated urinal is a 1950 replica of the lost original.) The "artist's signature" was, in fact, a witty pseudonym derived from two names—the J. L. Mott Iron Works, a manufacturer of plumbing and other utilitarian items, and Mutt, the taller man of the then-popular comic-strip duo Mutt and Jeff. As with Duchamp's other readymades and "assisted readymades" such as *L.H.O.O.Q.* (fig. 29-26A), he did not select the urinal for exhibition because of its aesthetic qualities. The "art" of this "artwork" lay in the artist's choice of object, which had the effect of conferring the status of art on it and forcing viewers to see the object in a new light. As Duchamp wrote in a "defense" published in 1917, after an exhibition committee rejected *Fountain* for display: "Whether Mr. Mutt with his own hands made the fountain or not has no importance. He CHOSE it [compare fig. 1-1A]. He took an ordinary article of life, placed it so that its useful significance disappeared under the new title and point of view—created a new thought for that object."[17] With this gesture, Duchamp set in motion philosophical debates about what constitutes art that continue today. It is hard to imagine a more direct challenge to artistic conventions than Dada works such as *Fountain.*

29-26A Duchamp, *L.H.O.O.Q.,* 1919.

The Large Glass. Among the most visually and conceptually challenging of Duchamp's works is *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even* (fig. 29-27), often called *The Large Glass.* Begun in 1915 and abandoned by Duchamp as unfinished in 1923, *The Large Glass* is a simultaneously playful and serious examination of humans as machines. Consisting of oil paint, wire, and lead foil sandwiched between two large glass panels, the artwork presents an array of images, some apparently mechanical, others diagrammatic, and yet others seemingly abstract in nature. Duchamp provided some clues to the intriguing imagery in a series of notes accompanying the work. The top half of *The Large Glass* represents

1 ft.

29-27 Marcel Duchamp, *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors, Even (The Large Glass),* 1915–1923. Oil, lead, wire, foil, dust, and varnish on glass, 9′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″ × 5′ $9\frac{1}{8}$″. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (Katherine S. Dreier Bequest).

The Large Glass is a simultaneously playful and serious examination of humans as machines. The bride is a motor fueled by "love gasoline," and the male figures in the lower half also move mechanically.

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A SECOND OPINION

Hannah Höch's Dada Photomontage

One of the Berlin Dadaists who perfected the photomontage technique was Hannah Höch, whose works advanced the absurd illogic of Dada by creating chaotic, contradictory, and satiric compositions. *Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada through the Last Weimar Beer Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany* (FIG. 29-28), in which Höch arranged an eclectic mixture of cutout photos in seemingly haphazard fashion, is her best work. The title refers to the story that the name "Dada" resulted from thrusting a knife into a dictionary.

1 ft.

29-28 HANNAH HÖCH, *Cut with the Kitchen Knife Dada through the Last Weimar Beer Belly Cultural Epoch of Germany,* 1919–1920. Photomontage, 3′ 9″ × 2′ 11½″. Neue Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

Photographs of some of Höch's fellow Dadaists appear among images of Marx and Lenin, and the artist juxtaposed herself with a map of Europe showing the progress of women's right to vote.

Is *Cut with the Kitchen Knife* truly a random Dada collection of pasted photos? Close inspection reveals that the work is the result of the artist's careful selection and placement of the photographs rather than a work resulting from chance. Moreover, Höch's photomontage is not merely whimsical in typical Dada fashion. It is a scathing and insightful commentary on two of the most dramatic developments during the Weimar Republic (1918–1933) in Germany—the redefinition of women's social roles and the explosive growth of mass print media.

In *Cut with the Kitchen Knife,* the key figures in the Weimar Republic are together at the upper right (identified as the "anti-Dada movement"). Some of Höch's fellow Dadaists appear among images of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin, aligning Dada with other revolutionary forces in what she prominently labeled with cutout lettering *Die grosse Welt dada* ("the great Dada world"). Höch, a passionate early feminist, also positioned herself in the topsy-turvy Dada pictorial world she created. A photograph of her head appears in the lower right corner, juxtaposed with a map of Europe showing which countries had granted women the right to vote—a commentary on the power that both women and Dada had to destabilize society.

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"the bride," whom Duchamp has depicted as "basically a motor" fueled by "love gasoline." By contrast, the bachelors appear as uniformed male figures in the lower half of the composition. They too move mechanically. The chocolate grinder in the center of the lower glass pane represents masturbation ("the bachelor grinds his own chocolate"). In *The Large Glass,* Duchamp provided his own whimsical but insightful reflections on desire and sexuality. In true Dadaist fashion, chance completed the work. During the transportation of *The Large Glass* from an exhibition in 1927, the glass panes shattered. Rather than replace the broken glass, Duchamp painstakingly pieced together the glass fragments. After encasing the reconstructed work, broken panes and all, between two heavier panes of glass, Duchamp declared the work completed "by chance."

Duchamp (and the generations of artists after him profoundly influenced by his art and especially his attitude) considered life and art matters of chance and choice freed from the conventions of society and tradition. In Duchamp's approach to art and life, each act was individual and unique. For example, every person's choice of found objects would be different. This philosophy of utter freedom for artists was fundamental to the history of art in the 20th century—in America as well as Europe. Duchamp spent much of World War I in New York, where, in 1913, he exhibited *Nude Descending a Staircase* (FIG. 30-3) at the New York Armory, which created a sensation and inspired a group of American artists and collectors with his radical rethinking of the role of artists and of the nature of art (see "The Armory Show," page 935).

Hannah Höch and Kurt Schwitters

Dada spread throughout much of western Europe, arriving as early as 1917 in Berlin, where it soon took on an activist political edge, partially in response to the economic, social, and political chaos in that

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29-29 **Kurt Schwitters, *Merz 19,* 1920. Paper collage, $7\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{7}{8}''$. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (gift of Collection Société Anonyme).**

Inspired by Cubist collage but working nonobjectively, Schwitters found visual poetry in the cast-off junk of modern society, which he pasted and nailed together into striking Dada compositions.

city in the years at the end of and immediately after World War I. The Berlin Dadaists developed to a new intensity a technique that had been used in private and popular arts long before the 20th century to create a composition by pasting together pieces of paper. A few years earlier, the Cubists had named the process *collage.* The Berliners christened their version of the technique *photomontage* (see "Hannah Höch's Dada Photomontage," page 909). Unlike Cubist collage, the parts of a Dada collage consisted almost entirely of "found" details, such as pieces of magazine photographs, usually combined into deliberately antilogical compositions. Collage lent itself well to the Dada desire to use chance when creating art—and antiart—but not all Dada collage was as savagely aggressive as that of the Berlin photomontagists, especially Hannah Höch (1889–1978).

Kurt Schwitters. In Hanover, Kurt Schwitters (1887–1948) was also inspired by Cubist collage. The elements in his collages were, however, the cast-off junk of modern society, which Schwitters retrieved from trash bins. He pasted and nailed the refuse together in works such as *Merz 19* (fig. 29-29). The term *Merz*, which Schwitters used as a generic title for a series of collages, derived nonsensically from the German word *Kommerzbank* ("commerce bank") and appeared as a word fragment in one of his compositions. Although his collages are abstract arrangements, they resonate with the meaning of the fragmented found objects they contain. The recycled elements of Schwitters's collages, like Duchamp's readymades, acquire changed meanings through their new uses and locations. Elevating objects that are essentially trash to the status of high art certainly fits within the parameters of the Dada program and parallels the absurdist dimension of much of Dada art. Contradiction, paradox, irony, and even blasphemy were Dada's bequest to later artists.

SUPREMATISM AND CONSTRUCTIVISM

Dada was a movement born of pessimism and cynicism. However, not all early-20th-century artists reacted to the profound turmoil of the times by retreating from society. Some promoted utopian ideals, believing staunchly in art's ability to contribute to improving society. These efforts often surfaced in the face of significant political upheaval, as was the case with Suprematism and Constructivism in Russia.

Kazimir Malevich, Lyubov Popova, and Naum Gabo

Despite Russia's distance from Paris, the center of the international art world in the early 20th century, Russians had a long history of cultural contact and interaction with western Europe. Wealthy Russians, such as Ivan Morozov (1871–1921) and Sergei Shchukin (1854–1936), amassed extensive collections of Impressionist, Post-Impressionist, and avant-garde paintings. Both Morozov and Shchukin had participated in the salons at the Steins' home in Paris (see "Gertrude and Leo Stein," page 896), and Shchukin became particularly enamored with the work of both Picasso and Matisse. By the mid-1910s, he had acquired 37 paintings by Matisse and 51 by Picasso. Because of their access to collections such as these, Russian artists were familiar with the latest artistic developments, especially Fauvism, Cubism, and Futurism.

Kazimir Malevich. One Russian artist who contributed significantly to the avant-garde nature of early-20th-century art was Kazimir Malevich (1878–1935). Malevich developed an abstract style to convey his belief that the supreme reality in the world is "pure feeling," which attaches to no object. Thus this belief called for new, *nonobjective* forms in art—shapes not related to objects in the visible world. Malevich had studied painting, sculpture, and architecture and had worked his way through most of the avant-garde styles of his youth before deciding that none could express pure feeling. He christened his new artistic approach *Suprematism,* explaining: "Under Suprematism I understand the supremacy of pure feeling in creative art. To the Suprematist, the visual phenomena of the objective world are, in themselves, meaningless; the significant thing is feeling, as such, quite apart from the environment in which it is called forth."[18]

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1 in.

29-30 Kazimir Malevich, *Suprematist Composition: Airplane Flying,* 1915 (dated 1914). Oil on canvas, 1′ $10\frac{7}{8}$″ × 1′ 7″. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Malevich developed an abstract style that he called Suprematism to convey that the supreme reality in the world is pure feeling. Here, the brightly colored rectilinear shapes float against white space.

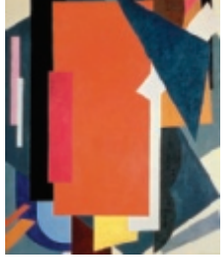
Malevich, who held influential teaching posts in Vitebsk and Petrograd from 1919 to 1927, viewed the revolution as an opportunity to wipe out past traditions and begin a new culture. He believed that his art could play a major role in that effort because of its universal accessibility. But, after a short period during which the new regime tolerated avant-garde art, the political leaders of the Soviet Union decided that their new communist society needed a more "practical" art. Soviet authorities promoted a "realistic," illusionistic art (for example, FIG. 29-49) that they thought a wide public could understand and that they hoped would teach citizens about their new government. This horrified Malevich. To him, true art could never have a practical connection with life:

> Every social idea, however great and important it may be, stems from the sensation of hunger; every art work, regardless of how small and insignificant it may seem, originates in pictorial or plastic feeling. It is high time for us to realize that the problems of art lie far apart from those of the stomach or the intellect.[19]

The basic form of Malevich's new Suprematist nonobjective art was the square. Combined with straight lines and rectangles, squares soon filled his paintings. In *Suprematist Composition: Airplane Flying* (FIG. 29-30), painted in 1915, the brightly colored shapes float against and within a white space in dynamic relationship to one another. Malevich believed that all peoples would easily understand his new art because of the universality of its symbols. It used the pure language of shape and color, to which everyone could respond intuitively.

Russian Revolution. In 1917, as a result of widespread dissatisfaction with the regime of Tsar Nicholas II (r. 1894–1917), Russian workers staged a general strike in protest, and the tsar abdicated in March. In late 1917, the Bolsheviks, a faction of Russian Social Democrats that promoted violent revolution, wrested control of the country from the ruling provisional government. Once in power, their leader, Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), nationalized the land and turned it over to the local rural soviets (councils of workers' and soldiers' deputies). After prolonged civil war, the Communists, as they now called themselves, succeeded in retaining control of Russia and taking over an assortment of satellite countries in Eastern Europe. This new state adopted the official name Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union) in 1923. It loomed large on the world stage for nearly seven decades until its dissolution in 1991, although the largest Soviet republic, Russia, remains a leading international power.

Lyubov Popova. Disappointed and unappreciated by the public, Malevich continued to produce art but gravitated toward other disciplines, such as mathematical theory and geometry, logical fields given his interest in abstraction. His art and his theories, if ignored by the masses, nonetheless made a profound impression on other artists, especially in Russia. These included Lyubov Popova (1889–1924), who joined Malevich's Suprematist movement in 1916. Popova's most notable works are the series of canvases she named "architectonic paintings" (FIG. 29-30A).



29-30A Popova, *Architectonic Painting,* 1916–1917.

Naum Gabo. The Russian-born sculptor Naum Neemia Pevsner, known as Naum Gabo (1890–1977), also wanted to create an innovative art to express a new reality, and like Malevich, he believed that art should spring from sources separate from the everyday world. For Gabo, the new reality was the space-time world described by early-20th-century scientists (see "Science and Art," page 893). As he wrote in *The Realistic Manifesto,* published with his brother Anton Pevsner (1886–1962) in 1920:

> Space and time are the only forms on which life is built and hence art must be constructed. . . . The realization of our perceptions of the world

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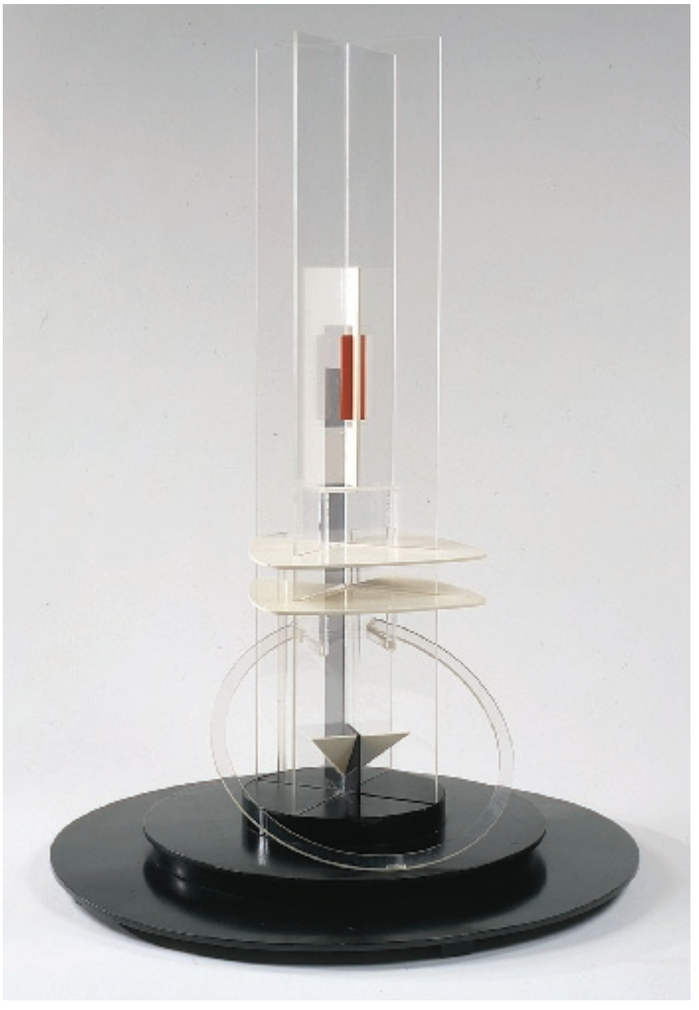
in the forms of space and time is the only aim of our pictorial and plastic art. . . . We renounce the thousand-year-old delusion in art that held the static rhythms as the only elements of the plastic and pictorial arts. We affirm in these arts a new element, the kinetic rhythms, as the basic forms of our perception of real time.[20]

Gabo was one of the Russian sculptors known as Constructivists. The name *Constructivism* may have come originally from the title *Construction,* which the Russian artist Vladimir Tatlin (FIG. 29-50) used for some relief sculptures he made in 1913 and 1914. Gabo explained that he called himself a Constructivist partly because he built up his sculptures piece by piece in space, instead of carving or modeling them in the traditional way. Although Gabo experimented briefly with real motion in his work, most of his sculptures relied on the relationship of mass and space to suggest the nature of space-time. To indicate the volumes of mass and space more clearly in his sculpture, Gabo used some of the new synthetic plastic materials, including celluloid, nylon, and Lucite, to create constructions whose space seems to flow through as well as around the transparent materials. In works such as *Column* (FIG. 29-31), Gabo opened up the column's cylindrical mass so that the viewer can experience the volume of space it occupies. Two transparent planes extend through its diameter, crossing at right angles at the center of the implied cylindrical column shape. The opaque colored planes at the base and the inclined open ring set up counterrhythms to the crossed upright planes. They establish the sense of dynamic kinetic movement that Gabo always sought to express as an essential part of reality.



29-31 **NAUM GABO, *Column,* ca. 1923 (reconstructed 1937). Perspex, wood, metal, and glass, 3′ 5″ × 2′ 5″ × 2′ 5″. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.**

Gabo's Constructivist sculptures rely on the relationship of mass and space to suggest the nature of space-time. Space seems to flow through as well as around the transparent materials he used.

NEUE SACHLICHKEIT

World War I not only had a profound effect on Europe's geopolitical terrain (MAP 29-1) and individual and national psyches. It also shaped much of European art of the 1920s and 1930s. In Germany, the Great War gave rise to an artistic movement called *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity). All of the artists associated with Neue Sachlichkeit served, at some point, in the German army, and their military experiences deeply influenced their worldviews and informed their art. "New Objectivity" captures the group's aim—to present a clear-eyed, direct, and honest image of the world, especially the war and its catastrophic effects.

George Grosz, Max Beckmann, and Otto Dix

George Grosz. One of the leading Neue Sachlichkeit artists was GEORGE GROSZ (1893–1958), who was, for a time, associated with the Dada group in Berlin. Grosz observed the onset of World War I with horrified fascination that soon turned to anger and frustration:

> Of course, there was a kind of mass enthusiasm at the start. But this intoxication soon evaporated, leaving a huge vacuum. . . . And then after a few years when everything bogged down, when we were defeated, when everything went to pieces, all that remained, at least for me and most of my friends, were disgust and horror.[21]

29-31A GROSZ, *Fit for Active Service,* 1916–1917.

Many of Grosz's paintings and drawings—for example, *Fit for Active Service* (FIG. 29-31A)—depict the war itself. However, the largest canvas he ever painted—*The Eclipse of the Sun* (FIG. 29-32)—does not, although it is a stinging indictment of the militarism and capitalism that Grosz believed were the root causes of the global conflict. *Eclipse of the Sun* takes its name from the large red German coin at the upper left blocking the sun and signifying that capitalism has brought darkness to the world. Also at the top are burning buildings. At the lower right are a skull and bones. Filling the rest of the canvas are the agents of this destruction seated at a table seen at a sharp angle from above. The main figure is the president of Germany, Paul von Hindenburg (r. 1925–1934), who wears his army uniform and war medals. His bloody sword is on the table before him, and on his head is the laurel wreath of victory. He presides over a meeting with four headless ministers—men who act on his orders without question. Grosz, however, also portrayed the president as a puppet leader. A wealthy industrialist wearing a top hat whispers instructions in von Hindenburg's ear. The painting is also a commentary on the gullibility of the public, personified here as a donkey who eats newspapers—that is, as a mindless creature who swallows the propagandistic lies promoted by the government- and business-friendly press.

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1 ft.

29-32 **George Grosz, *The Eclipse of the Sun,* 1926. Oil on canvas, 6′ $9\frac{5}{8}$″ × 5′ $11\frac{7}{8}$″. Heckscher Museum of Art, Huntington.**

In Grosz's indictment of militarism and capitalism, an industrialist whispers instructions in the ear of the uniformed president of Germany, who meets with four of his headless ministers.

Max Beckmann. Another major German artist who enlisted in the German army and initially rationalized the Great War was Max Beckmann (1884–1950). He believed that a better society would emerge from the chaos that the armed conflict unleashed, but over time the massive loss of life and widespread destruction disillusioned him. Soon Beckmann's work began to emphasize the horrors of war and of a society that he regarded as descending into madness. His disturbing view of wartime Germany is evident in *Night* (fig. 29-33), which depicts a cramped room invaded by three intruders. A bound woman, apparently raped, is splayed across the foreground of the painting. At the left, one of the intruders hangs her husband, while another one twists his left arm out of its socket. An unidentified woman cowers in the background. On the far right, the third intruder prepares to flee with the child.

Although this image does not depict a war scene, the wrenching brutality pervading the home is a searing comment on society's condition. Beckmann also injected a personal reference by using himself, his wife, and his son as the models for the three family members. The stilted angularity of the figures and the roughness of the paint surface contribute to the image's savageness. In addition, the artist's treatment of forms and space reflects the world's violence. Objects seem dislocated and contorted, and the space is buckled and illogical. For example, the woman's hands are bound to the window opening from the room's back wall, but her body appears to hang vertically, rather than lying across the plane of the intervening table.

1 ft.

29-33 **Max Beckmann, *Night,* 1918–1919. Oil on canvas, 4′ $4\frac{3}{8}$″ × 5′ $\frac{1}{4}$″. Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf.**

Beckmann's treatment of forms and space in *Night* matched his view of the brutality of early-20th-century society. Objects seem dislocated and contorted, and the space appears buckled and illogical.

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29-34 **Otto Dix, *Der Krieg* (*The War*), 1929–1932. Oil and tempera on wood, 8′ 8″ (including predella) × 13′ 4$\frac{3}{4}$″. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister, Dresden.**

In this triptych recalling earlier altarpieces, Dix captured the panoramic devastation that war inflicts on the terrain and on humans. He depicted himself as a soldier dragging a comrade to safety.

Otto Dix. The third artist most closely associated with Neue Sachlichkeit was Otto Dix (1891–1969). Having served as both a machine gunner and an aerial observer, Dix was well acquainted with the Great War's effects. Like Grosz and Beckmann, Dix initially tried to find redeeming value in the apocalyptic event: "The war was a horrible thing, but there was something tremendous about it, too. . . . You have to have seen human beings in this unleashed state to know what human nature is. . . . I need to experience all the depths of life for myself, that's why I go out, and that's why I volunteered."[22] This idea of experiencing the "depths of life" stemmed from Dix's interest in the philosophy of Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900). In particular, Dix avidly read Nietzsche's *The Joyous Science,* deriving from it a belief in life's cyclical nature—procreation and death, building up and tearing down, and growth and decay.

As the war progressed, however, Dix's faith in the potential improvement of society faded, and he began to produce unflinchingly direct and provocative artworks. His *triptych* titled *Der Krieg* (*The War*; fig. 29-34) vividly captures the panoramic devastation that war inflicts, both on the terrain and on humans. In the left panel, armed and uniformed soldiers march off into the distance. Dix graphically displayed the horrific results in the center and right panels, where mangled bodies, many riddled with bullet holes, are scattered throughout the eerily lit apocalyptic landscape. As if to emphasize the intensely personal nature of this scene, the artist painted himself into the right panel as the ghostly but determined soldier who drags a comrade to safety. In the bottom panel, in a coffinlike bunker, lie sleeping—or perhaps dead—soldiers. Significantly, Dix chose to present this sequence of images in the format of an altarpiece, and the work recalls triptychs such as Matthias Grünewald's *Isenheim Altarpiece* (fig. 23-2). However, Dix's "altarpiece" presents a bleaker outlook than Grünewald's. The hope of salvation extended to viewers of the *Isenheim Altarpiece* through Christ's eventual resurrection is absent from *Der Krieg.* Like his fellow Neue Sachlichkeit artists, Dix felt compelled to lay bare the realities of his time, which were dominated by the violence of war. Even years later, Dix still maintained:

> You have to see things the way they are. You have to be able to say yes to the human manifestations that exist and will always exist. That doesn't mean saying yes to war, but to a fate that approaches you under certain conditions and in which you have to prove yourself. Abnormal situations bring out all the depravity, the bestiality of human beings. . . . I portrayed states, states that the war brought about, and the results of war, as states.[23]

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Ernst Barlach

A work more spiritual in its expression is *War Monument* (FIG. 29-35), fashioned by the German sculptor ERNST BARLACH (1870–1938) for the cathedral in his hometown of Güstrow in 1927. Working often in wood, Barlach sculpted single figures usually dressed in flowing robes and portrayed in strong, simple poses embodying deep human emotions and experiences, such as grief, vigilance, or self-comfort. Barlach's works combine sharp, smoothly planed forms with intense expression. The cast-bronze hovering figure of his *War Monument* is one of the most poignant memorials of World War I. Unlike traditional war memorials depicting heroic military figures, often engaged in battle, the hauntingly symbolic figure that Barlach created speaks to the experience of all caught in the conflict of war. The floating human form, suspended above a tomb inscribed with the dates 1914–1918 (and later also 1939–1945), suggests a dying soul at the moment when it is about to awaken to everlasting life—the theme of death and transfiguration. The rigid economy of surfaces concentrates attention on the simple but expressive head. So powerful was this sculpture that the Nazis had it removed from the cathedral in 1937 and melted down for ammunition. Luckily, a friend hid another version Barlach had made. A Protestant parish in Cologne purchased it, and bronze workers made a new cast of the figure for the Güstrow cathedral.

29-35 ERNST BARLACH, *War Monument,* Güstrow Cathedral, Güstrow, Germany, 1927.

In this World War I memorial, which the Nazis melted down for ammunition, a human form floating above a tomb suggests a dying soul at the moment that it is about to awaken to everlasting life.

SURREALISM

The exuberantly aggressive momentum of the Dada movement that emerged during World War I lasted for only a short time. By 1924, with André Breton's publication in France of the *First Surrealist Manifesto,* most of the artists associated with Dada had joined the *Surrealism* movement, which had begun as a literary movement (see "André Breton's *First Surrealist Manifesto,*" page 916). The Surrealists were determined to explore ways to express in art the world of dreams and the unconscious. Not surprisingly, the Surrealists incorporated many of the Dadaists' improvisational techniques. They believed that these methods were important for engaging the elements of fantasy and activating the unconscious forces deep within every human being. Inspired in part by the ideas of the psychoanalysts Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung, the Surrealists focused on the inner world of the psyche and had a special interest in the nature of dreams, an interest already central to the Italian Metaphysical Painting movement of Giorgio de Chirico (FIG. 29-36). They viewed dreams as occurring at the level connecting all human consciousness and as constituting the arena in which people could move beyond their environment's constricting forces to reengage with the deeper selves that society had long suppressed.

Thus the Surrealists' dominant motivation was to bring the aspects of outer and inner "reality" together into a single position, in much the same way that life's seemingly unrelated fragments combine in the vivid world of dreams. The projection in visible form of this new conception required new techniques of pictorial construction. The Surrealists adapted some Dada devices and invented new methods such as automatic writing (spontaneous writing using free association), not so much to reveal a world without meaning as to provoke reactions closely related to subconscious experience.

Surrealism developed along two lines. In *Naturalistic Surrealism,* artists presented recognizable scenes that seem to have metamorphosed into a dream or nightmare image. The artists Salvador Dalí (FIG. 29-39) and René Magritte (FIGS. 29-40 and 29-40A) were the most famous practitioners of this variant of Surrealism. By contrast, some artists gravitated toward an interest in *Biomorphic Surrealism.* In Biomorphic ("life forms") Surrealism, *automatism*—the creation of art without conscious control—predominated.

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André Breton's *First Surrealist Manifesto*

A poet, novelist, and critic rather than a visual artist, André Breton nonetheless played a leading role in the formation of two of the 20th century's most important art movements: Dada and Surrealism. Although it was Guillaume Apollinaire who first proposed the term *Surrealism*, the movement did not begin to take firm shape until 1924, a decade after Giorgio de Chirico painted *The Song of Love* (FIG. 29-36), one of his many works that foreshadowed Surrealist painting. In that year, Breton published the *First Surrealist Manifesto* in the inaugural issue of *La revolution surréaliste*.

Some excerpts:

> The mere word "freedom" is the only one that still excites me. . . . We are still living under the reign of logic . . . The absolute rationalism that is still in vogue allows us to consider only facts relating directly to our experience. . . . Under the pretense of civilization and progress, we have managed to banish from the mind everything that may rightly or wrongly be termed superstition, or fancy; forbidden is any kind of search for truth which is not in conformance with accepted practices. . . . [T]hanks to the discoveries of Sigmund Freud . . . [t]he imagination is perhaps on the point of reasserting itself, of reclaiming its rights. . . . Freud very rightly brought his critical faculties to bear upon the dream. . . . I have always been amazed at the way an ordinary observer lends so much more credence and attaches so much more importance to waking events than to those occurring in dreams. . . . I believe in the future resolution of these two states, dream and reality, which are seemingly so contradictory, into a kind of absolute reality, a "surreality," if one may so speak. It is in quest of this surreality that I am going . . .
>
> Surrealism . . . is [p]sychic automatism in its pure state, by which one proposes to express—verbally . . . or in any other manner—the actual function of thought. . . . Surrealism is based on the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of previously neglected associations, in the omnipotence of dream, in the disinterested play of thought. It tends to ruin once and for all all other psychic mechanisms and to substitute itself for them in solving all the principal problems of life.*

29-36 GIORGIO DE CHIRICO, *The Song of Love,* 1914. Oil on canvas, 2′ $4\frac{3}{4}$″ × 1′ $11\frac{3}{8}$″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (Nelson A. Rockefeller bequest).

De Chirico's Metaphysical Painting movement was a precursor of Surrealism. In this dreamlike scene set in a deserted square, a classical head of Apollo floats mysteriously next to a gigantic red glove.

*Translated by Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane, *André Breton: Manifestoes of Surrealism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969), 3–47.

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Biomorphic Surrealists such as Joan Miró (FIG. 29-42) produced largely abstract compositions, although their imagery sometimes suggests organisms or natural forms.

Giorgio de Chirico

The widely recognized precursor of Surrealism was the Italian *Pittura Metafisica,* or Metaphysical Painting, movement led by GIORGIO DE CHIRICO (1888–1978). Returning to Italy after studying in Munich, de Chirico found hidden reality revealed through strange juxtapositions, such as those seen on late autumn afternoons in the city of Turin, when the long shadows of the setting sun transformed vast open squares and silent public monuments into what the painter called "metaphysical towns."

Song of Love. De Chirico translated this vision into paint in works such as *The Song of Love* (FIG. 29-36), a dreamlike scene set in the deserted piazza of an Italian town. A huge marble head—a fragment of the famous Greco-Roman *Apollo Belvedere* in the Vatican—is suspended in midair above a large green ball. To the right is a gigantic red glove nailed to a wall. The buildings and the three over-life-size objects cast shadows that direct the viewer's eye to the left and to a locomotive puffing smoke—a favorite Futurist motif, here shown in slow motion and incongruously placed near the central square. The choice of the term *metaphysical* to describe de Chirico's paintings suggests that these images transcend their physical appearances. *The Song of Love,* for all its clarity and simplicity, takes on a rather sinister air. The sense of strangeness that de Chirico could conjure with familiar objects and scenes

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recalls Nietzsche's "foreboding that underneath this reality in which we live and have our being, another and altogether different reality lies concealed."[24]

Reproductions of de Chirico's paintings appeared in periodicals almost as soon as he completed them, and his works quickly influenced artists outside Italy, including both the Dadaists and, later, the Surrealists. The incongruities in his work intrigued the Dadaists, whereas the eerie mood and visionary quality of paintings such as *The Song of Love* excited and inspired Surrealist artists who sought to portray the world of dreams.

Max Ernst

Originally a Dada activist in Germany, Max Ernst (1891–1976) became one of the early adherents of the Surrealist circle anchored by André Breton. As a child living in a small community near Cologne, Ernst had found his existence fantastic and filled with marvels. In autobiographical notes, written mostly in the third person, he said of his birth:

> Max Ernst had his first contact with the world of sense on the 2nd April 1891 at 9:45 a.m., when he emerged from the egg which his mother had laid in an eagle's nest and which the bird had incubated for seven years.[25]

Ernst's service in the German army during World War I swept away his early success as an Expressionist. In his own words:

> Max Ernst died on 1st August 1914. He returned to life on 11th November 1918, a young man who wanted to become a magician and find the central myth of his age. From time to time he consulted the eagle which had guarded the egg of his prenatal existence. The bird's advice can be detected in his work.[26]

Before joining the Surrealists, Ernst explored every means of achieving the sense of the psychic in his art. Like other Dadaists, Ernst set out to incorporate found objects and chance into his works, often combining fragments of images he had cut from old books, magazines, and prints to form one hallucinatory collage. He also began making paintings that shared the mysterious dreamlike effect of his collages.

Two Children. In 1920, Ernst met Breton, who instantly recognized the German artist's affinity with the Surrealist group. In 1922, Ernst moved to Paris, where two years later he painted *Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale* (fig. 29-37). In it, Ernst displayed a private dream challenging the Renaissance idea that a painting should resemble a window looking into a "real" scene rendered illusionistically three-dimensional through mathematical perspective. He painted the landscape, the distant city, and the tiny flying bird in conventional fashion, following all the established rules of linear and atmospheric perspective. The three sketchily rendered figures, however, clearly belong to a dream world, and the literally three-dimensional miniature gate, the odd button knob, and the strange closed building "violate" the bulky frame's space. Additional dislocation occurs in the traditional museum identification label, which Ernst displaced into a cutaway part of the frame. Handwritten, it announces the work's title (taken from a poem Ernst wrote before he painted this), adding another note of irrational mystery.

29-37 **Max Ernst, *Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale,* 1924. Oil on wood with wood construction, 2′ 3½″ × 1′ 10½″ × 4½″. Museum of Modern Art, New York.**

In this early Surrealist painting with an intentionally ambiguous title, Ernst used traditional perspective to represent the setting, but the three sketchily rendered figures belong to a dream world.

Degenerate Art

As is true of many Surrealist works, the title, *Two Children Are Threatened by a Nightingale,* is ambiguous and relates uneasily to what the spectator sees. The viewer must struggle to decipher connections between the image and the words. When Surrealists (and Dadaists and Metaphysical artists before them) used puzzling titles (for example, de Chirico's *Song of Love*), they intended the seeming contradiction between title and picture to knock the audience off balance with all their expectations challenged. Much of the impact of Surrealist works begins with the viewer's sudden awareness of the incongruity and absurdity of what the artist pictured. These were precisely the qualities that subjected the Dadaists and Surrealists to public condemnation and, in Germany under Adolf Hitler (1889–1945), to governmental persecution (see "Degenerate Art," page 918).

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Degenerate Art

Although avant-garde artists often had to endure public ridicule both in Europe and America (see "The Armory Show," page 935), they suffered outright political persecution in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s. The most dramatic example of this persecution was the infamous *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art) exhibition that Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) and the Nazis mounted in 1937.

Hitler aspired to become an artist himself and produced numerous drawings and paintings reflecting his firm belief that 19th-century realistic genre painting represented the zenith of Aryan art development. Accordingly, Hitler denigrated anything that did not conform to that standard—in particular, avant-garde art. Turning his criticism into action, Hitler ordered the confiscation of more than 16,000 artworks he considered "degenerate." To publicize his condemnation of this art, he ordered his minister for public enlightenment and propaganda, Joseph Goebbels (1897–1945), to organize a massive exhibition of this "degenerate art." Hitler designated as degenerate those artworks that "insult German feeling, or destroy or confuse natural form, or simply reveal an absence of adequate manual and artistic skill."*

The term *degenerate* also had other specific connotations at the time. The Nazis used it to identify supposedly inferior racial, sexual, and moral types. Hitler's order to Goebbels to target 20th-century avant-garde art for inclusion in the Entartete Kunst exhibition aimed to impress on the public the general inferiority of the artists producing this work. To make that point all the more dramatic, Hitler ordered the organization of another exhibition, the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German Art Exhibition), which ran concurrently and presented an extensive array of Nazi-approved conservative art.

Entartete Kunst opened in Munich on July 19, 1937, and included more than 650 paintings, sculptures, prints, and books. The exhibition was immensely popular. Roughly 20,000 people visited the show daily. By the end of its four-month run, it had attracted more than two million visitors, and nearly a million more viewed it as it traveled through Germany and Austria. Among the 112 artists whose works the Nazis presented for ridicule were Ernst Barlach, Max Beckmann, Otto Dix, Max Ernst, George Grosz, Vassily Kandinsky, Ernst Kirchner, Paul Klee, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Franz Marc, and Kurt Schwitters. In a memorable photograph (FIG. 29-38) taken during Hitler's preview visit to the exhibition on July 16, 1937, the Nazi leader pauses in front of the Dada wall. Behind him are works by Schwitters, Klee, and Kandinsky, which the organizers deliberately hung askew on the wall. (They subsequently straightened them for the duration of the exhibition.)

29-38 Adolf Hitler, accompanied by Nazi commission members, including photographer Heinrich Hoffmann, Wolfgang Willrich, Walter Hansen, and painter Adolf Ziegler, viewing the Entartete Kunst show on July 16, 1937.

For Hitler's visit, the curators deliberately hung askew the works of Kandinsky, Klee, and Schwitters. In Nazi Germany, no avant-garde artist was safe from persecution, and many fled the country.

In Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, in the face of Nazi persecution, artists committed to pursuing avant-garde ideas required courage and a resoluteness that extended beyond issues of aesthetics and beyond the confines of the art world. No modernist artist was safe from Hitler's attack. For example, despite his status as a charter member of the Nazi party, the German Expressionist painter Emil Nolde (1867–1956) received particularly harsh treatment. The Nazis confiscated more than 1,000 of Nolde's works from German museums and included 27 of them in the exhibition, more than for almost any other artist. Max Beckmann and his wife fled to Amsterdam on the opening day of the Entartete Kunst exhibit, never to return to their homeland. Ernst Kirchner responded to the stress of Nazi pressure by destroying all his woodblocks and burning many of his works. A year later, in 1938, he committed suicide.

*Stephanie Barron, ed., *"Degenerate Art": The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991), 19.

Salvador Dalí

The Surrealists' exploration of the human psyche and dreams reached new heights in the works of Spanish-born SALVADOR DALÍ (1904–1989). In his paintings, sculptures, jewelry, and designs for furniture and movies, Dalí probed a deeply erotic dimension, studying the writings of Richard von Krafft-Ebing (1840–1902) and Sigmund Freud, and inventing what he called the "paranoiac-critical method" to assist his creative process. As he described it, in his painting he aimed "to materialize the images of concrete irrationality with the most imperialistic fury of precision . . . in order that the world of imagination and of concrete irrationality may be as objectively evident . . . as that of the exterior world of phenomenal reality."[27]

Persistence of Memory. In what is probably his most famous work—*The Persistence of Memory* (FIG. 29-39)—Dalí created a haunting allegory of empty space where time has ended. An eerie, never-setting sun illuminates the barren landscape. An amorphous creature draped with a limp pocket watch sleeps in the foreground. Another watch hangs from the branch of a dead tree springing

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1 in.

29-39 Salvador Dalí, *The Persistence of Memory,* 1931. Oil on canvas, $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1'\ 1''$. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Dalí painted "images of concrete irrationality." In this realistically rendered landscape featuring three "decaying" watches, he created a haunting allegory of empty space where time has ended.

unexpectedly from a blocky architectural form. A third watch hangs half over the edge of the rectangular form, beside a small timepiece resting dial-down on the block's surface. Ants swarm mysteriously over the small watch, while a fly walks along the face of its large neighbor, almost as if this assembly of watches were decaying organisms—soft and sticky. Dalí rendered every detail of this dreamscape with precise control, striving to make the world of his paintings convincingly real—in his words, to make the irrational concrete.

René Magritte

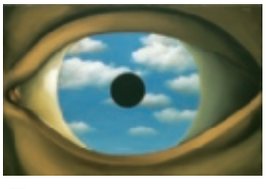
The Belgian painter René Magritte (1898–1967) encountered the work of Giorgio de Chirico (fig. 29-36) in 1922. The Italian artist's disquieting combinations of motifs rendered in a realistic manner deeply impressed the younger artist, who produced his first Surrealist painting, *The Lost Jockey,* in 1926. The next year, Magritte moved to Paris, where he joined the intellectual circle of André Breton and remained in France until 1930.

Treachery of Images. In 1929, Magritte published an important essay in the Surrealist journal *La revolution surréaliste* in which he discussed the disjunction between objects, pictures of objects, and names of objects and pictures. The essay explains the intellectual basis for *The Treachery (or Perfidy) of Images* (fig. 29-40), in which Magritte presented a meticulously rendered *trompe l'oeil* depiction of a briar pipe. The caption beneath the image, however, contradicts what seems obvious: "Ceci n'est pas une pipe" ("This is not a pipe"). The discrepancy between image and caption clearly challenges the assumptions underlying the reading of visual art. The play between language and image reflects the rising interest in semiotics (sign theory), recently formulated by French mathematician Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913). As is true of the other Surrealists' work, Magritte's paintings—for example, *The False Mirror* (fig. 29-40A)—wreak havoc on the viewer's reliance on the conscious and the rational.

1 ft.

29-40 René Magritte, *The Treachery (or Perfidy) of Images,* 1928–1929. Oil on canvas, $1'\ 11\frac{5}{8}'' \times 3'\ 1''$. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles (purchased with funds provided by the Mr. and Mrs. William Preston Harrison Collection).

The discrepancy between Magritte's meticulously painted briar pipe and his caption, "This is not a pipe," challenges the viewer's reliance on the conscious and rational in the reading of visual art.



29-40A Magritte, *The False Mirror,* 1928.

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Meret Oppenheim

Sculpture especially appealed to the Surrealists because its concrete tangibility made their art all the more disquieting. *Object* (FIG. 29-41), also called *Le Déjeuner en fourrure* (*Luncheon in Fur*), by Swiss artist MERET OPPENHEIM (1913–1985) captures the incongruity, humor, visual appeal, and, often, eroticism characterizing Surrealism. The artist presented a fur-lined teacup inspired by a conversation with Picasso. After admiring a bracelet that Oppenheim had made from a piece of brass covered with fur, Picasso noted that anything might be covered with fur. When her tea grew cold, Oppenheim responded to Picasso's comment by ordering "un peu plus de fourrure" (a little more fur), and the sculpture had its genesis. *Object* takes on an anthropomorphic quality, animated by the quirky combination of fur, exclusive to living organisms, with a stationary manufactured object. Further, the sculpture captures the Surrealist flair for alchemical, seemingly magical or mystical, transformation. It incorporates a sensuality and eroticism (seen here in the seductively soft, tactile fur lining the concave form) that are also components of much of Surrealist art.

29-41 **MERET OPPENHEIM, *Object* (*Le Déjeuner en fourrure*), 1936. Fur-covered cup 4 3/8″ diameter; saucer 9 3/8″ diameter; spoon 8″ long. Museum of Modern Art, New York.**

The Surrealists loved the concrete tangibility of sculpture, which made their art even more disquieting. Oppenheim's fur-covered object captures the Surrealist flair for magical transformation.

Joan Miró and Paul Klee

Like the Dadaists, the Surrealists used many methods to free the creative process from reliance on the kind of conscious control that they believed society had shaped too much. Dalí used his paranoiac-critical approach to encourage the free play of association as he worked. Other Surrealists used automatism and various types of planned "accidents" to provoke reactions closely related to subconscious experience.

Joan Miró. Dalí's older countryman JOAN MIRÓ (1893–1983) was a master of this approach. Although Miró resisted formal association with any movement or group, including the Surrealists, André Breton identified him as "the most Surrealist of us all."[28]

From the beginning, Miró's work contained an element of fantasy and hallucination. After Surrealist poets in Paris introduced him to the use of chance in the creation of art, the young Spaniard devised a new painting method that enabled him to create works such as *Painting* (FIG. 29-42). Miró began this painting by making random doodles. The abstract curvilinear forms became motifs that the artist freely reshaped on the canvas to create black silhouettes—solid or in outline, with dramatic accents of white and vermilion. They suggest, in the painting, a host of amoebic organisms or constellations in outer space floating in an immaterial background filled with soft reds, blues, and greens.

Miró described his creative process as a switching back and forth between unconscious and conscious image-making: "Rather than setting out to paint something, I begin painting and as I paint the picture begins to assert itself, or suggest itself under my brush. The form becomes a sign for a woman or a bird as I work. . . . The first stage is free, unconscious. . . . The second stage is carefully calculated."[29] Even the artist could not always explain the meanings of pictures such as *Painting*. They are, in the truest sense, spontaneous and intuitive expressions of the little-understood, submerged unconscious part of life.

Paul Klee. Perhaps the most inventive artist using fantasy images to represent the nonvisible world was the Swiss-German painter PAUL KLEE (1879–1940). Like Miró, he shunned formal association with groups such as the Dadaists and Surrealists, but pursued their interest in the subconscious. Klee sought clues to humanity's deeper nature in primitive shapes and symbols. Like Jung, Klee seems to have accepted the existence of a collective unconscious that reveals itself in archaic signs and patterns and is everywhere evident in the art of "primitive" cultures (see "Primitivism," page 897). The son of a professional musician and himself an accomplished violinist, Klee, like Kandinsky, thought of painting as similar to music in its

29-42 **JOAN MIRÓ, *Painting,* 1933. Oil on canvas, 5′ 8 1/2″ × 6′ 5 1/4″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (Loula D. Lasker bequest by exchange).**

Miró promoted automatism, the creation of art without conscious control. He began this painting with random doodles and completed the composition with forms suggesting floating amoebic organisms.

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1 ft.

29-43 Paul Klee, *Twittering Machine,* 1922. Watercolor and pen and ink, on oil transfer drawing on paper, mounted on cardboard, 2′ 1″ × 1′ 7″. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

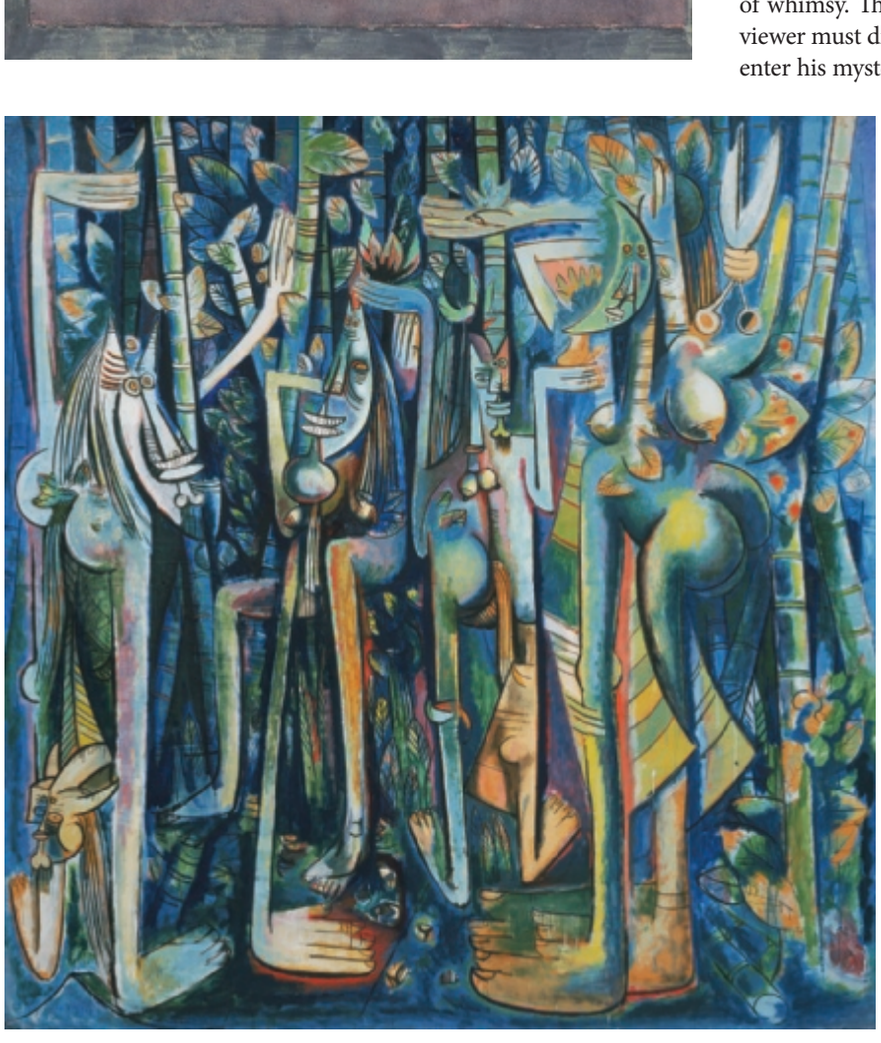
Although based on forms in the tangible world easily read as birds, Klee's *Twittering Machine* is a fanciful vision of a mysterious place presented in a simplified, almost childlike manner.

ability to express feelings through color, form, and line. In 1920, Klee set down his "creative credo," which reads in part:

> Art does not reproduce the visible; rather it makes visible. . . . The formal elements of graphic art are dot, line, plane, and space—the last three charged with energy of various kinds. . . . Formerly we used to represent things visible on earth, things we either liked to look at or would have liked to see. Today we reveal the reality that is behind visible things.[30]

To penetrate "the reality behind visible things," Klee studied nature avidly, taking special interest in analyzing processes of growth and change. He coded these studies in diagrammatic form in notebooks. Thus the root of his work was nature, but nature filtered through his mind. Upon starting an image, Klee would allow the pencil or brush to lead him until an image emerged, to which he would then respond to complete the idea.

Twittering Machine (fig. 29-43) reveals Klee's fanciful vision. The painting, although based on forms in the tangible world easily read as birds, is far from illusionistic. Klee presented the scene in a simplified, almost childlike manner, imbuing the work with a poetic lyricism. The inclusion of a crank-driven mechanism added a touch of whimsy. The small size of Klee's works enhances their impact. A viewer must draw near to decipher the delicately rendered forms and enter his mysterious dream world. Klee's is a world of ambiguity and understatement that draws each viewer into finding a unique interpretation of each of his works.



1 ft.

Wifredo Lam

Also loosely associated with the Surrealists was Wifredo Lam (1902–1982), an artist whose work is as distinctive as his background. Cuban by birth, Lam was the son of a Chinese immigrant father and a mother of Cuban-African descent. He studied painting in Havana and later in Madrid, where he fought alongside the Republicans in the Spanish Civil War. That endeared Lam to Picasso, whom Lam met in Paris in 1938. Picasso introduced Lam to Braque and Breton and many other avant-garde artists and critics, and Lam's mature work, although the distinctive by-product of his Caribbean-African heritage, shows the influence of both Cubism and Surrealism.

After an 18-year sojourn in Europe, Lam returned to Havana in 1941, where two years later he produced *The Jungle* (fig. 29-44), which many

29-44 Wifredo Lam, *The Jungle,* 1943. Gouache on paper mounted on canvas, 7′ 10 $\frac{1}{4}$″ × 7′ 6 $\frac{1}{2}$″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (Inter-American Fund).

Four composite creatures with long legs, prominent buttocks, and faces resembling African masks inhabit Lam's tropical jungle. The painting draws on Cubism, Surrealism, and Cuban religious ritual.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Piet Mondrian on Neoplasticism

Initially attracted to the exciting efforts of the Cubists to rethink the Western pictorial tradition, the Dutch De Stijl artist Piet Mondrian soon moved beyond Cubism because he felt that "Cubism did not accept the logical consequences of its own discoveries; it was not developing towards its own goal, the expression of pure plastics [that is, three-dimensional form]."* In 1914, he eloquently articulated his own view of what art should be.

> What first captivated us does not captivate us afterward (like toys). If one has loved the surface of things for a long time, later on one will look for something more. . . . The interior of things shows through the surface; thus as we look at the surface the inner image is formed in our soul. It is this inner image that should be represented. For the natural surface of things is beautiful, but the imitation of it is without life. . . . Art is higher than reality and has no direct relation to reality. . . . To approach the spiritual in art, one will make as little use as possible of reality, because reality is opposed to the spiritual. . . . [W]e find ourselves in the presence of an abstract art. Art should be above reality, otherwise it would have no value for man.†

Caught by the outbreak of hostilities while on a visit to Holland, Mondrian remained there during World War I, developing his theories for what he called *Neoplasticism*—the new "pure plastic art." He believed that all great art had polar but coexistent goals, the attempt to create "universal beauty" and the desire for "aesthetic expression of oneself."‡ The first goal is objective in nature, whereas the second is subjective, existing within the individual's mind and heart. To create a universal expression, an artist must communicate "a real equation of the universal and the individual."§

To express this vision, Mondrian eventually limited his formal vocabulary to the three primary colors (red, yellow, and blue), the three primary values (black, white, and gray), and the two primary directions (horizontal and vertical). Basing his ideas on a combination of teachings, he concluded that primary colors and values are the purest colors and therefore are the perfect tools to help an artist construct a harmonious composition. Using this system, he created numerous paintings locking color planes into a grid of intersecting vertical and horizontal lines, as in *Composition with Red, Blue, and Yellow* (FIG. 29-45). In each of these paintings, Mondrian altered the grid patterns and the size and placement of the color planes to create an internal cohesion and harmony.

29-45 PIET MONDRIAN, *Composition with Red, Blue, and Yellow,* 1930. Oil on canvas, 1′ 6 1/8″ × 1′ 6 1/8″. Kunsthaus, Zürich. © Mondrian/Holtzman Trust c/o HCR International, VA, USA.

Mondrian's "pure plastic" paintings consist of primary colors locked into a grid of intersecting vertical and horizontal lines. By altering the grid patterns, he created a "dynamic equilibrium."

This did not mean inertia. Rather, Mondrian worked to maintain what he called a "dynamic equilibrium" in his paintings by precisely determining the size and position of lines, shapes, and colors.

*Piet Mondrian, *Plastic Art and Pure Plastic Art* (1937), quoted in George Heard Hamilton, *Painting and Sculpture in Europe, 1880–1940,* 6th ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993), 319.
†Quoted in Michel Seuphor, *Piet Mondrian: Life and Work* (New York: Abrams, 1956), 117.
‡Mondrian, *Plastic Art,* quoted in Herschel B. Chipp, *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 349.
§Ibid., 350.

art historians consider his greatest work. The complex, crowded composition indeed suggests a dense jungle, populated by Surrealistic creatures whose fragmented forms recall Cubism. Inspired also by Santería, the Cuban religion that is a blend of African ritual and European Catholicism, *The Jungle* depicts four hybrid figures with long legs, prominent buttocks, and heads resembling African masks. (Many scholars believe that the painting is Lam's response, 35 years later, to Picasso's *Demoiselles d'Avignon*; FIG. 29-1.) Lam's composite creatures inhabit a tropical jungle of sugarcane and tobacco plants. Two of them have a horse's tail. The figure at the right holds a scissors—as if she, not the artist, is the one responsible for dismembering herself and her companions. In many ways, *The Jungle* is a bridge between Cubism, Surrealism, and the nonrepresentational canvases of the New York School Abstract Expressionists of the 1940s and 1950s (see "Abstract Expressionism," page 961).

DE STIJL

The utopian spirit and ideals of the Suprematists and Constructivists (FIGS. 29-30 and 29-31) in Russia were shared in western Europe by a group of young Dutch artists. They formed a new movement in 1917 and began publishing a magazine, calling both the movement and the magazine *De Stijl* (the Style). The group's cofounders were the painters Piet Mondrian (FIG. 29-45) and Theo

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van Doesburg (1883–1931). In addition to promoting utopian ideals, De Stijl artists believed in the birth of a new age in the wake of World War I. They felt that it was a time of balance between individual and universal values, when the machine would assure ease of living. In their first manifesto of De Stijl, the artists declared: "There is an old and a new consciousness of time. The old is connected with the individual. The new is connected with the universal."[31] The goal, according to van Doesburg and architect Cor van Eesteren (1897–1988), was a total integration of art and life:

> We must realize that life and art are no longer separate domains. That is why the "idea" of "art" as an illusion separate from real life must disappear. The word "Art" no longer means anything to us. In its place we demand the construction of our environment in accordance with creative laws based upon a fixed principle. These laws, following those of economics, mathematics, technique, sanitation, etc., are leading to a new, plastic unity.[32]

Piet Mondrian

Toward this goal of integration, Piet Mondrian (1872–1944) created a new style based on a single ideal principle. The choice of the term *De Stijl* reflected Mondrian's confidence that this style—*the* style—revealed the underlying eternal structure of existence. Accordingly, De Stijl artists reduced their formal vocabulary to simple geometric elements. Time spent in Paris just before World War I introduced Mondrian to Cubism and other modes of abstraction. However, as his attraction to theological writings grew, Mondrian sought to purge his art of every overt reference to individual objects in the external world. He initially favored the teachings of theosophy, a tradition basing knowledge of nature and the human condition on knowledge of the divine nature or spiritual powers. (His fellow theosophist Vassily Kandinsky pursued a similar path.) Mondrian, however, quickly abandoned the strictures of theosophy and turned toward a conception of nonobjective design—"pure plastic art"—that he believed expressed universal reality (see "Piet Mondrian on Neoplasticism," page 922).

SCULPTURE

It was impossible for early-20th-century artists to ignore the increasing expansion of mechanization and growth of technology in everyone's life. The Futurists had embraced these developments, but other artists did not. They attempted to overcome the predominance of mechanization in society by immersing themselves in a search for the organic and natural.

Constantin Brancusi

One artist who was eager to produce works emphasizing the natural or organic was Romanian sculptor Constantin Brancusi (1876–1957). Brancusi sought to move beyond surface appearances to capture the essence or spirit of objects in rhythmic, elegant sculptures (see "Brancusi, Hepworth, and Moore on Abstract Sculpture," page 924). The softly curving surfaces and ovoid form of his sculptures refer, directly or indirectly, to the cycle of life. Brancusi's *Newborn* (fig. 29-45A) is not a literal depiction of a head, nor does his *Bird in Space* (fig. 29-46) mimic a real bird's shape. The abstract form of both works is the final result of a long process. For *Bird in Space,* Brancusi started with the image of a bird at rest with its wings folded at its sides, and ended with a gently curving columnar form sharply tapered at each end. Despite the abstraction, the sculpture evokes a bird about to soar in free flight through the heavens. The highly reflective surface of the polished bronze does not allow the viewer's eye to linger on the sculpture itself (as do, for example, Rodin's agitated and textured surfaces; figs. 28-33, 28-33A, and 28-34). Instead, the eye follows the gleaming reflection along the delicate curves right off the tip of the work, thereby inducing a feeling of flight. Brancusi stated, "All my life I have sought the essence of flight. Don't look for mysteries. I give you pure joy. Look at the sculptures until you see them. Those nearest to God have seen them."[33]

29-46 Constantin Brancusi, *Bird in Space,* 1924. Bronze, 4′ 2 5/16″ high. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection, 1950).

Although not a literal depiction of a bird, Brancusi's softly curving light-reflecting abstract sculpture in polished bronze suggests a bird about to soar in free flight through the heavens.

29-45A Brancusi, *The Newborn,* 1915.

Barbara Hepworth

In England, Barbara Hepworth (1903–1975) developed her own kind of essential sculptural form, combining pristine shape with a sense of organic vitality. She sought a sculptural idiom that would express her sense both of nature and the landscape and of the person who is in and observes nature (see "Brancusi, Hepworth, and Moore," page 924). By 1929, Hepworth arrived at a breakthrough that evolved into an enduring and commanding element in her work from that point on. It represents her major contribution to the history of sculpture: the use of the hole, or void. Earlier sculptors, such as Archipenko (fig. 29-18), had experimented with sculptural voids, but Hepworth introduced holes in her sculptures

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ARTISTS ON ART

Brancusi, Hepworth, and Moore on Abstract Sculpture

Many early-20th-century sculptors rejected the notion that reproducing the physical world of nature was the purpose of sculpture. Instead, they championed abstraction as the sculptor's proper goal. Among those who not only produced enduring masterpieces of abstract sculpture but also wrote eloquently about the theoretical basis of their work were Constantin Brancusi, Barbara Hepworth, and Henry Moore. Some excerpts from their writings on sculpture illustrate their commitment to abstraction as their guiding principle.

- **Constantin Brancusi** (FIGS. 29-45A and 29-46) Simplicity is not an objective in art, but one achieves simplicity despite oneself by entering into the real sense of things.* . . . What is real is not the external form but the essence of things. Starting from this truth it is impossible for anyone to express anything essentially real by imitating its exterior surface.†
- **Barbara Hepworth** (FIG. 29-47) The forms which have had special meaning for me since childhood have been the standing form (which is the translation of my feeling towards the human being standing in landscape); the two forms (which is the tender relationship of one living thing beside another); and the closed form, such as the oval, spherical, or pierced form (sometimes incorporating color) which translates for me the association and meaning of gesture in the landscape. . . . In all these shapes the translation of what one feels about man and nature must be conveyed by the sculptor in terms of mass, inner tension, and rhythm, scale in relation to our human size, and the quality of surface which speaks through our hands and eyes.‡
- **Henry Moore** (FIG. 29-48) Since the Gothic, European sculpture had become overgrown with moss, weeds—all sorts of surface excrescences which completely concealed shape. It has been Brancusi's special mission to get rid of this overgrowth, and to make us once more shape-conscious. To do this he has had to concentrate on very simple direct shapes . . . Abstract qualities of design are essential to the value of a work . . . Because a work does not aim at reproducing natural appearances, it is not, therefore, an escape from life—but may be a penetration into reality. . . . My sculpture is becoming less representational, less an outward visual copy . . . but only because I believe that in this way I can present the human psychological content of my work with greatest directness and intensity.§

*Quoted in Herschel B. Chipp, *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 364–365.
†Quoted in George Heard Hamilton, *Painting and Sculpture in Europe, 1880–1940,* 6th ed. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993), 426.
‡Barbara Hepworth, *A Pictorial Autobiography* (London: Tate, 1978), 9, 53.
§Quoted in Robert L. Herbert, *Modern Artists on Art,* 2d ed. (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 2000), 173–179.

29-47 Barbara Hepworth, *Oval Sculpture (No. 2),* 1943. Plaster cast, $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1' 4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 10''$. Tate, London.

Hepworth's major contribution to the history of sculpture was the introduction of the hole, or negative space, as an abstract element that is as integral and important to the sculpture as its mass.

29-48 Henry Moore, *Reclining Figure,* 1939. Elm wood, $3' 1'' \times 6' 7'' \times 2' 6''$. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit (Founders Society purchase with funds from the Dexter M. Ferry Jr. Trustee Corporation).

The reclining female figure was a major theme in Moore's sculptures. Inspired by a Mexican chacmool (FIG. 18-18), he simplified and abstracted the woman's body. The resulting shapes suggest biomorphic forms.

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as abstract elements. The holes do not represent anything specific. They are simply negative space, but are as integral and important to the sculptures as their mass. *Oval Sculpture (No. 2)* is a plaster cast (FIG. 29-47) of an earlier wood sculpture that Hepworth carved in 1943. Pierced in four places, the work is as much defined by the smooth, curving edges of the holes as by the volume of white plaster. Like the forms in all of Hepworth's mature works, those in *Oval Sculpture* are basic and universal, expressing a sense of timelessness.

Henry Moore

Fellow Briton HENRY MOORE (1898–1986) shared Hepworth's interest in the hole, or void, as an important element in sculptural design, but his sculptures, such as *Reclining Figure* (FIG. 29-48), although abstracted, always remain recognizable. This statue is one of a long series of reclining female nudes inspired originally by a photograph that Moore acquired of a *chacmool* (FIG. 18-18) from pre-Columbian Mexico. Moore believed that the simple and massive shapes of his statues expressed a universal truth beyond the physical world (see "Brancusi, Hepworth, and Moore," page 924).

Reclining Figure is also characteristic of Moore's work in exploiting the natural beauty of different materials—here, elm. Moore maintained that every "material has its own individual qualities" and that these qualities could play a role in the creative process: "It is only when the sculptor works direct, when there is an active relationship with his material, that the material can take its part in the shaping of an idea."[34] Accordingly, the contours of *Reclining Figure* follow the grain of the wood. The abstracted shapes suggest Surrealist biomorphic forms (FIG. 29-42), but Moore's recumbent woman is also a powerful earth mother whose swelling forms and hollows suggest nurturing human energy. Similarly, the body shapes evoke the contours of the Yorkshire hills of Moore's childhood and the wind-polished surfaces of weathered wood and stone. Moore heightened the allusions to landscape (compare FIG. 30-17A) and to Surrealist organic forms in his work by interplaying mass and void, based on the intriguing qualities of cavities in nature. For Moore, the hole was not an abstract shape. It represented "the mysterious fascination of caves in hillsides and cliffs."[35] *Reclining Figure* uses the organic vocabulary central to Moore's philosophy—bone shapes, eroded rocks, and geologic formations—to describe the human form.

Vera Mukhina

Not all European sculptors of this period pursued abstraction. *Worker and Collective Farm Woman* (FIG. 29-49) by Russian artist VERA MUKHINA (1889–1963) presents a vivid contrast to the work of Brancusi, Hepworth, and Moore. Produced in 1937 for the International Exposition in Paris—the same venue in which Picasso displayed *Guernica* (FIG. 29-16)—Mukhina's over-life-size stainless-steel sculpture glorifies the communal labor of the Soviet people. Whereas Picasso employed Cubist abstraction to convey the horror of wartime bombing, Mukhina's representation of two exemplars of the Soviet citizenry was based on traditional figural sculpture. Specifically, Mukhina's primary source was an early-fifth-century BCE Greek group representing two Athenian citizens, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who were celebrated for slaying a hated tyrant and restoring rule by the people—an appropriate model in the egalitarian Soviet state. Her statuary group, which stood on the top of the Soviet Pavilion at the exposition, depicts a male factory worker, holding aloft the tool of his trade, the hammer, and a farm woman, raising her sickle to the sky. The juxtaposed hammer and sickle at the apex of the sculpture replicate their appearance on the Soviet flag. Mukhina augmented the heroic tenor of the work by emphasizing the solidity of the figures, who stride forward with their clothes blowing dramatically behind them. Mukhina had studied in Paris and was familiar with abstraction, especially Cubism, but felt that a commitment to realism tempered with idealism—note the muscled arms and chest of the man and the blemishless features of both faces—produced the most powerful sculpture. This approach to figural sculpture was, in fact, since 1934 the officially approved style of the Communist government. Mukhina's eager embrace of the official style, called Soviet Realism, earned high praise for her art and for this sculpture in particular. Indeed, Russian citizens cherished *Worker and Collective Farm Woman* as a national symbol for decades.

29-49 VERA MUKHINA, *Worker and Collective Farm Woman*, Soviet Pavilion, Paris Exposition, 1937. Stainless steel, 78′ high. Art © Estate of Vera Mukhina/RAO, Moscow/VAGA, New York.

In contrast to contemporaneous abstract sculpture, Mukhina's realistic representation of a male factory worker and a female farmworker glorified the communal labor of the Soviet people.

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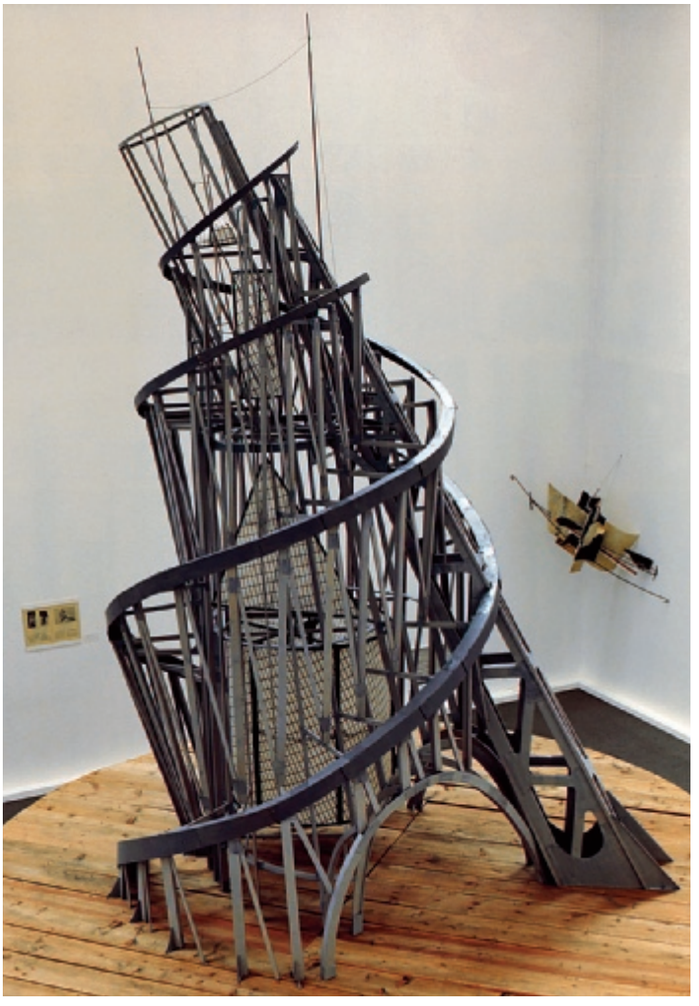
ARCHITECTURE

Developments in European architecture after World War I closely paralleled the stylistic and theoretical concerns of painters and sculptors.

Vladimir Tatlin

One of the goals of the Russian Constructivists (FIG. 29-31) was to design a better environment for human beings, a goal best achieved by architects. The Russian Revolution was the signal to VLADIMIR TATLIN (1885–1953), as it had been to Malevich, that the hated old order was about to end. In utopian fashion, he aspired to play a significant role in creating a new world, one that would fully use the power of industrialization to benefit all people. Initially, like Malevich and Gabo, Tatlin believed that nonobjective art was ideal for the new society, free as such art was from any past symbolism. But after the 1917 revolution, Tatlin enthusiastically abandoned abstract art for "functional art" and designed products such as an efficient stove and workers' clothing.

Tatlin's most famous work is *Monument to the Third International* (FIG. 29-50), an architectural design that, in its reductive geometry, connects his work to the artistic programs of the Suprematists and Constructivists, although Tatlin was not a member of either group. Tatlin received the commission from the Department of Artistic Work of the People's Commissariat for Enlightenment in early 1919 to honor the Russian Revolution. He envisioned a huge glass-and-iron building that—at 1,300 feet—would have been one-third taller than the Eiffel Tower (FIG. 28-40). Widely influential, "Tatlin's Tower," as it became known, served as a model for those seeking to encourage socially committed and functional art. On its proposed site straddling the Moscow River at the center of the city, it would have functioned as a propaganda and news center for the Soviet people. Within a dynamically tilted spiral cage, three geometrically shaped chambers were to rotate around a central axis, each chamber housing facilities for a different type of governmental activity and rotating at a different speed. The one at the bottom, a huge cylindrical glass structure for lectures and meetings, was to revolve once a year. Higher up was a cone-shaped chamber that would rotate monthly and serve administrative functions. At the top, above a cubic information center designed to revolve daily, Tatlin placed an open-air news screen (illuminated at night) and a special instrument designed to project news bulletins and proclamations on the clouds on any overcast day. The proposed decreasing size of the chambers as visitors ascended the monument paralleled the decision-making hierarchy in the political system, with the most authoritative, smallest groups near the building's apex. Unfortunately, due to Russia's desperate economic situation in the 1920s, Tatlin's Tower was never built. But Tatlin worked out his ambitious design in now-lost metal and wood models exhibited on various official occasions. The only records of these models are a few drawings and photoraphs, but they have permitted faithful reconstructions of the design, such as the one reproduced in FIG. 29-50.



29-50 **VLADIMIR TATLIN, *Monument to the Third International,* 1919–1920. Reconstruction of the lost model, 1992–1993. Kunsthalle, Düsseldorf.**

"Tatlin's Tower" was an ambitious avant-garde design for a Soviet governmental building with three geometrically shaped chambers rotating at different speeds within a dynamically tilted spiral cage.

Adolf Loos

In Germany, the most influential architectural theorist during the opening decades of the 20th century was ADOLF LOOS (1870–1933). Loos trained as an architect at the Dresden College of Technology and then traveled to the United States to attend the 1893 Columbia Exposition in Chicago. Although he apparently found no work as an architect in Chicago, he remained there three years. During that time, he became familiar with the buildings and theories of Louis Sullivan (FIGS. 28-42, 28-42A, and 28-43), whose essay "Ornament in Architecture," published in *The Engineering Magazine* in August 1892, affected Loos profoundly. In that treatise, Sullivan suggested that architects consider banishing all ornamentation from their buildings for a period of years "in order that our thought might concentrate acutely upon the production of buildings well formed and comely in the nude."

Loos carried Sullivan's ideas even further in a series of essays in which he railed against the excesses of the Art Nouveau style (FIGS. 28-38 and 28-38A), which was the rage in Europe at the turn of the century. He published his major statement on the subject in 1908 under the title *Ornament and Crime.* Loos equated architectural ornamentation with the "amoral" tattoos of Papua New Guinea (see "Tattoo in Polynesia," page 1125, and FIGS. I-19 and 37-16) and asserted that modern men who tattooed themselves were either criminals or degenerates. Ornamentation in architecture was also a crime, both on aesthetic grounds and because it wasted labor and materials.

Villa Müller. Loos put his ideas to work in his 1910 design for the Viennese home of the painter Lilly Steiner (1884–1962) and

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29-51 Adolf Loos, Villa Müller (looking north), Prague, Czech Republic, 1928–1930.

For Loos, decoration was a "criminal" waste of labor and materials. His Villa Müller is a white stucco cubical mass devoid of any ornamentation and without even moldings separating the floors.

in many other buildings, of which the Villa Müller (fig. 29-51) in Prague is perhaps the purest example of his architectural philosophy. The villa, restored to its former glory in 2000, was the grandiose private residence of the Czech engineer František Müller (1890–1951), the co-owner of a construction company that specialized in providing reinforced concrete for industrial projects and public buildings. Müller's new home was to be, in part, a showcase for the construction materials that brought him his personal fortune. Cubical in form, the Villa Müller has a reinforced-concrete skeleton and a severe white stucco shell without ornamentation of any kind, even moldings separating the floors. The only design elements breaking up the planar severity of the exterior walls are the windows and doors. Walter Gropius would later build on Loos's ideas about pure, functional architectural design at the Bauhaus (see "Walter Gropius and the Bauhaus," page 928, and fig. 29-53), where he promoted "avoiding all romantic embellishment and whimsy."

Gerrit Rietveld

The ideas that Piet Mondrian, Theo van Doesburg, and De Stijl artists advanced found their architectural equivalent in the designs of Gerrit Thomas Rietveld (1888–1964). His Schröder House (fig. 29-52) in Utrecht, built in 1924, perfectly expresses van Doesburg's definition of De Stijl architecture:

> The new architecture is anti-cubic, i.e., it does not strive to contain the different functional space cells in a single closed cube, but it throws the functional space (as well as canopy planes, balcony volumes, etc.) out from the center of the cube, so that height, width, and depth plus time become a completely new plastic expression in open spaces. . . . The plastic architect . . . has to construct in the new field, time-space.[36]

The main public rooms of the Schröder House are on the second floor, with the private living quarters on the ground floor. Rietveld's house has an open plan and a relationship to nature more like the houses of American architect Frank Lloyd Wright (figs. 30-23 and 30-25). Rietveld designed the entire second floor with sliding partitions that can be closed to define separate rooms or pushed back to create one open space broken into units only by the furniture arrangement. This shifting quality appears also on the outside, where railings, free-floating walls, and long rectangular windows give the effect of cubic units breaking up before the viewer's eyes. Rectangular planes seem to slide across each other on the Schröder House facade like movable panels, making this structure a kind of three-dimensional projection of the rigid but carefully proportioned flat color rectangles in Mondrian's paintings (fig. 29-45).

29-52 Gerrit Thomas Rietveld, Schröder House (looking northwest), Utrecht, the Netherlands, 1924.

Rietveld's De Stijl Schröder House has an open plan and an exterior that is a kind of three-dimensional projection of the carefully proportioned flat color rectangles in Mondrian's paintings (fig. 29-45).

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Walter Gropius and the Bauhaus

In 1919, Walter Gropius became the director of the Weimar School of Arts and Crafts in Germany, founded in 1906. Under Gropius, the school assumed a new name—Das Staatliche Bauhaus (State School of Building; FIG. 29-53). Gropius's goal was to train artists, architects, and designers to accept and anticipate 20th-century needs. He developed an extensive curriculum based on certain principles set forth in the *Bauhaus Manifesto,* published in April 1919.

29-53 WALTER GROPIUS, Shop Block (looking northeast), the Bauhaus, Dessau, Germany, 1925–1926.

Gropius constructed this Bauhaus building by sheathing a reinforced concrete skeleton in glass. The design followed his dictum that architecture should avoid "all romantic embellishment and whimsy."

BAUHAUS MANIFESTO

The first principle Gropius staunchly advocated in the 1919 manifesto was the importance of strong basic design (including principles of composition, two- and three-dimensionality, and color theory) and craftsmanship as fundamental to good art and architecture. He asserted that there was no essential difference between the artist and the craftsperson.

> The Bauhaus strives to coordinate all creative effort, to achieve, in a new architecture, the unification of all training in art and design. The ultimate, if distant, goal of the Bauhaus is the collective work of art—the Building—in which no barriers exist between the structural and the decorative arts.*

To encourage the elimination of the boundaries that traditionally separated art from architecture and art from craft, the Bauhaus offered courses in a wide range of artistic disciplines. These included carpentry, furniture design (by MARCEL BREUER [1902–1981]; FIG. 29-53A), weaving (by GUNTA STÖLZL [1897–1983]; FIG. 29-53B), pottery, bookbinding, metalwork, stained glass, mural painting, stage design, and advertising and typography, in addition to painting, sculpture, and architecture. Both a technical instructor and a "teacher of form"—an artist—taught in each department. Among the teachers whom Gropius hired were Vassily Kandinsky (FIG. 29-7) and Paul Klee (FIG. 29-43).

29-53A BREUER, Wassily chair, 1925–1928.

29-53B STÖLZL, Gobelin tapestry, 1927–1928.

In addition, because Gropius wanted the Bauhaus to produce graduates who could design progressive environments that satisfied 20th-century needs, he emphasized thorough knowledge of machine-age technologies and materials. He felt that to produce truly successful designs, the artist-architect-craftsperson had to understand industry and mass production. Ultimately, Gropius hoped for a marriage between art and industry—a synthesis of design and production. Like the ideals of the De Stijl movement, the Bauhaus philosophy had its roots in utopian principles. Gropius's declaration underscores the idealism of the entire Bauhaus enterprise:

> Let us collectively desire, conceive, and create the new building of the future, which will be everything in one structure: architecture and sculpture and painting, which, from the million hands of craftsmen, will one day rise towards heaven as the crystalline symbol of a new and coming faith.†

In its reference to a unity of workers, this statement also reveals the undercurrent of socialism present in Germany at the time.

BAUHAUS IN DESSAU

After encountering increasing hostility from a new government elected in 1924, the Bauhaus moved north from Weimar to Dessau (FIG. 29-53) in early 1925. By this time, the Bauhaus program had matured. In a new statement, Gropius listed the school's goals more clearly:

- A decidedly positive attitude to the living environment of vehicles and machines
- The organic shaping of things in accordance with their own current laws, avoiding all romantic embellishment and whimsy
- Restriction of basic forms and colors to what is typical and universally intelligible
- Simplicity in complexity, economy in the use of space, materials, time, and money‡

*Quoted in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds., *Art in Theory, 1900–2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas,* 2d ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 311.
†Translated by Charles W. Haxthausen, in Barry Bergdoll, ed., *Bauhaus 1919–1933* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2009), 64.
‡Quoted in John Willett, *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety, 1917–1933* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1978), 119.

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The Bauhaus

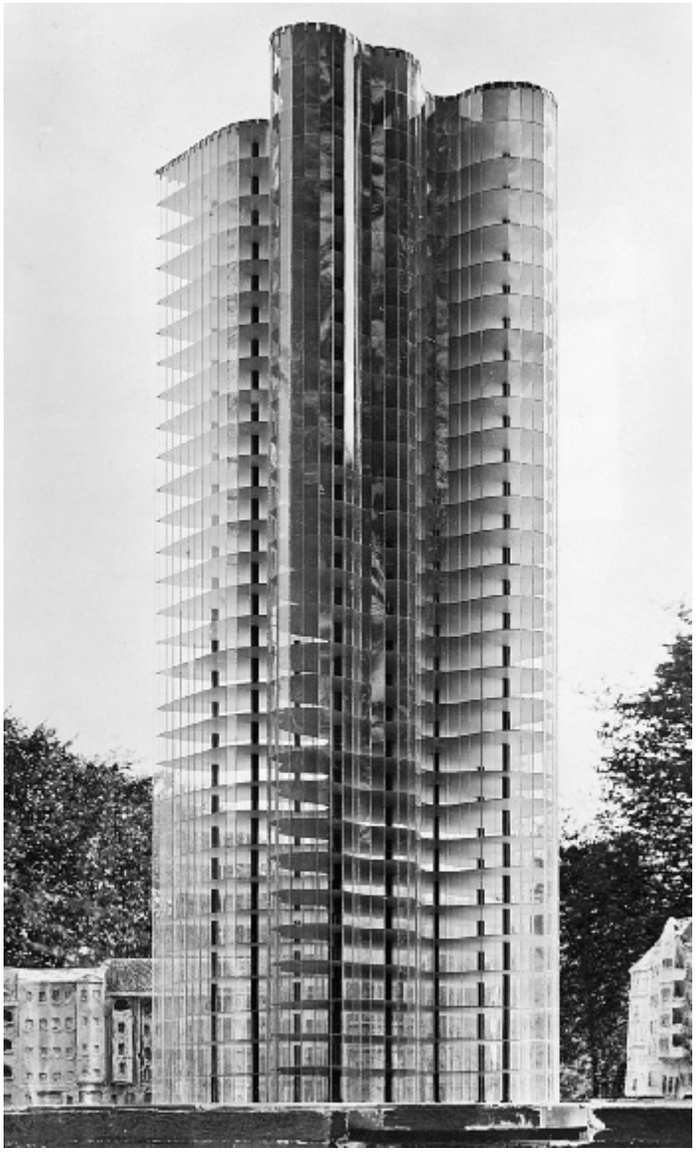
De Stijl architects not only developed an appealing simplified geometric style but also promoted the notion that art should be thoroughly incorporated into living environments. As Mondrian had insisted, "[A]rt and life are *one;* art and life are both expressions of truth."[37] In Germany, Walter Gropius (1883–1969) developed a particular vision of "total architecture." He made this concept the foundation of not only his own work but also the work of generations of pupils under his influence at a school called the *Bauhaus* (see "Walter Gropius and the Bauhaus," page 928).

Shop Block, Dessau. The building Gropius designed for the Bauhaus in 1925 after the school relocated to Dessau was the Bauhaus's architectural manifesto. The Dessau complex consisted of workshop and class areas, a dining room, a theater, a gymnasium, a wing with studio apartments, and an enclosed two-story bridge housing administrative offices. Of the major wings, the most dramatic was the Shop Block (fig. 29-53). Three stories tall, the Shop Block housed a printing shop and dye works facility, in addition to other work areas. The builders constructed the skeleton of reinforced concrete but set these supports well back, sheathing the entire structure in glass, creating a streamlined and light effect. This design's simplicity followed Gropius's dictum that architecture should avoid "all romantic embellishment and whimsy." Further, he realized his principle of "economy in the use of space" in the interior layout of the Shop Block, which consisted of large areas of free-flowing undivided space. Gropius believed that this kind of spatial organization encouraged interaction and the sharing of ideas.

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe

In 1928, Gropius left the Bauhaus, and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969) eventually took over the directorship, moving the school to Berlin in 1932. Taking as his motto "less is more" and calling his architecture "skin and bones," the new Bauhaus director had already fully formed his aesthetic when, in 1921, he conceived the model (fig. 29-54) for a glass skyscraper. In the glass model, which was on display at the first Bauhaus exhibition in 1923, three irregularly shaped towers flow outward from a central court designed to hold a lobby, a porter's room, and a community center. Two cylindrical entrance shafts rise at the ends of the court, each containing elevators, stairways, and toilets. Wholly transparent, the perimeter walls reveal the regular horizontal patterning of the cantilevered floor planes and their thin vertical supporting elements. The bold use of glass sheathing and inset supports was, at the time, technically and aesthetically adventurous. The weblike delicacy of the lines of the model, as well as the illusion of movement created by reflection and by light changes seen through the glass, appealed to many other architects. A few years later, Gropius pursued it in his design for the Bauhaus building (fig. 29-53) in Dessau. The legacy of Mies van der Rohe's design can be seen in the glass-and-steel skyscrapers found in major cities throughout the world today.

End of the Bauhaus. One of Hitler's first acts after coming to power was to close the Bauhaus in 1933. The student body had become radicalized, and the Nazis suspected that the school housed a press that printed Communist-inspired anti-Nazi brochures. During its 14-year existence, the beleaguered school graduated fewer than 500 students, yet it achieved legendary status. Its phenomenal influence extended beyond painting, sculpture, and architecture to interior design, graphic design, and advertising. Moreover, art schools everywhere began to structure their curricula in line with the program pioneered by the Bauhaus. The numerous Bauhaus instructors who fled Nazi Germany spread the school's philosophy and aesthetic. Many Bauhaus members came to the United States. Gropius and Breuer (fig. 29-53A) ended up at Harvard University. Mies van der Rohe moved to Chicago and taught there.



29-54 Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, model for a glass skyscraper, Berlin, Germany, 1922 (no longer extant).

In this technically and aesthetically adventurous design, the architect whose motto was "less is more" proposed a transparent building that revealed its cantilevered floor planes and thin supports.

Le Corbusier

The simple geometric aesthetic developed by Gropius and Mies van der Rohe became known as the *International Style* because of its widespread popularity. The first and purest exponent of this style was the Swiss architect Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, who adopted his maternal grandfather's name—Le Corbusier (1887–1965). Trained in Paris and Berlin, he was also a painter (see "Fernand

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29-55 Le Corbusier, Villa Savoye (looking southeast), Poissy-sur-Seine, France, 1929.

Steel and ferroconcrete enabled Le Corbusier to invert the traditional practice of placing light architectural elements above heavy ones and to eliminate weight-bearing walls on the ground story.

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Léger," page 903), but Le Corbusier had the greatest influence as an architect and theorist on modern architecture. As such, he applied himself to designing a functional living space, which he described as a "machine for living."

Villa Savoye. Le Corbusier maintained that the basic physical and psychological needs of every human being were sun, space, and vegetation combined with controlled temperature, good ventilation, and insulation against harmful and undesired noise. He also advocated basing dwelling designs on human scale, because the house is humankind's assertion within nature. All these qualities characterize Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye (FIG. 29-55), built at Poissy-sur-Seine near Paris on commission from Pierre Savoye, the director of a major insurance company. The country house, a place of retreat from the city for the wealthy businessman, sits at the center of a large plot of land cleared of trees and shrubs, but windows on all sides and the villa's roof terrace provided Savoye and his wife, Emilie, with broad views of the surrounding landscape. Several colors appear on the exterior—originally, a dark-green base, cream walls, and a rose-and-blue windscreen on top. They were deliberately analogous to the colors in the machine-inspired style of painting (FIG. 29-21) that Le Corbusier practiced.

A cube of lightly enclosed and deeply penetrated space, the Villa Savoye has only a partially confined ground floor (containing, originally, a three-car garage, bedrooms, a bathroom, and utility rooms, and today a ticket counter and small gift shop for visitors). Much of the house's interior is open space, with thin columns supporting the main living floor and roof garden area. The major living rooms in the Villa Savoye are on the second floor, wrapping around an open central court. Strip windows running along the membranelike exterior walls provide illumination to the rooms as well as views out to nature. From the second-floor court, a ramp leads up to the roof terrace and an interior garden protected by a curving windbreak along the north side.

The Villa Savoye has no traditional facade. The ostensible approach to the house does not define an entrance. Visitors must walk around and through the house to comprehend its layout, which incorporates spiral staircases and several changes of direction. Spaces and masses interpenetrate so fluidly that inside and outside spaces intermingle. The machine-planed smoothness of the unadorned surfaces, the slender ribbons of continuous windows, and the buoyant lightness of the whole fabric—all combine to reverse the effect of traditional country houses (FIG. 22-54). By placing heavy elements above and light ones below, and by refusing to enclose the ground story of the Villa Savoye with masonry walls, Le Corbusier inverted traditional design practice. This openness, made possible by the use of steel and *ferroconcrete* (concrete strengthened by a skeleton of iron bars) as construction materials, makes the "load" of the Villa Savoye's upper stories appear to hover lightly on the slender columnar supports.

Marseilles and Chandigarh. As noted, Le Corbusier designed the Villa Savoye as a private home, but like De Stijl architects, he dreamed of extending his ideas of the house as a "machine for living" to designs for efficient and humane cities. He saw great cities as spiritual workshops, and he proposed to correct the deficiencies in existing cities caused by poor traffic circulation, inadequate living units, and the lack of space for recreation and exercise. He proposed replacing traditional cities with three types of new communities. Vertical cities would house workers and the business and service industries. Linear-industrial cities would run as belts along the routes between the vertical cities and would serve as centers for the people and processes involved in manufacturing. Finally, separate centers would be constructed for people involved in intensive agricultural activity. Le Corbusier's cities would provide for human cultural needs in addition to serving every person's need for physical, mental, and emotional comfort.

Later in his career, Le Corbusier designed a few vertical cities, most notably the Unité d'Habitation in Marseilles (1945–1952). He also created the master plan for the entire city of Chandigarh, the capital city of the Punjab, India (1950–1957). The ever-innovative architect ended his career with the Chapel of Notre Dame du Haut (FIGS. 31-42 and 31-43) at Ronchamp, France, one of the most adventurous building designs of the first half of the 20th century, examined in Chapter 31 after a survey of developments in North America between 1900 and 1945.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Modernism in Europe, 1900 to 1945

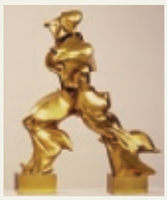
Fauvism, German Expressionism, Cubism

- In the early 1900s, avant-garde artists searched for new definitions of art in a changed world.
- Henri Matisse, André Derain, and the Fauves used bold colors as the primary means of conveying feeling.
- Ernst Kirchner and the German Expressionist Die Brücke artists created paintings featuring clashing colors, disquieting figures, and perspective distortions.
- Vassily Kandinsky explored pure abstraction in his *Improvisation* canvases.
- Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque radically challenged prevailing artistic conventions with Cubism. The Cubists fragmented forms and placed them in interaction with the space around them.

Braque, *The Portuguese,* 1911

Orphism, the Machine Aesthetic, and Futurism

- Robert Delaunay developed Orphism out of Cubism to create spatial effects and kaleidoscopic movement through color contrasts.
- Fernand Léger produced mural-sized paintings featuring objects and figures whose forms are suggestive of machined parts.
- The Futurist painters and sculptors—Giacomo Balla, Umberto Boccioni, and Gino Severini—focused on motion in time and space in their effort to capture the dynamic quality of modern life.



Boccioni, *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space,* 1913

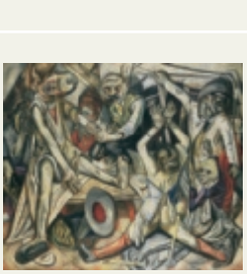
Dada and Surrealism

- The Dadaists—Hans Richter, Jean Arp, Marcel Duchamp, Hannah Höch, and Kurt Schwitters—celebrated spontaneity and intuition, and explored the role of chance in art, often incorporating found objects in their works.
- The Surrealists investigated ways to express in art the world of dreams and the unconscious. Natural Surrealists—for example, Salvador Dalí and René Magritte—aimed for "concrete irrationality" in their naturalistic paintings of dreamlike scenes. Biomorphic Surrealists, such as Joan Miró, experimented with automatism and employed abstract imagery.

Miró, *Painting,* 1933

Neue Sachlichkeit, Suprematism, Constructivism, De Stijl

- World War I gave rise to the Neue Sachlichkeit movement in Germany. New Objectivity artists—George Grosz, Max Beckmann, and Otto Dix—depicted the horrors of war and explored the themes of death and transfiguration.
- Many European modernists pursued utopian ideals. Kazimir Malevich and the Suprematists developed an abstract style to express pure feeling. Naum Gabo and the Constructivists used nonobjective forms to suggest the nature of space-time. Piet Mondrian and the De Stijl artists reduced their formal vocabulary to simple geometric forms in their search for "pure plastic art."



Beckmann, *Night,* 1918–1919

Sculpture and Architecture

- Constantine Brancusi, Barbara Hepworth, Henry Moore, and other sculptors increasingly turned to abstraction, often emphasizing voids as well as masses in their work.
- Walter Gropius's Bauhaus in Germany promoted the vision of "total architecture," which called for the integration of all the arts in constructing modern living environments. Bauhaus architects favored buildings with unembellished glass and steel designs. In France, Le Corbusier used modern construction materials to build "machines for living"—houses with open plans and unadorned surfaces.

Gropius, Bauhaus, Dessau, 1925–1926

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▲**30-1a** At the center of Douglas's canvas chronicling the history of Africans in America, a man on a soapbox urges his fellow freedmen to exercise their right to vote as he points to the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C.

▲**30-1b** At the right, with music and dancing, Southern ex-slaves joyously celebrate the freedom granted to them by President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863.

1 ft.

30-1 **Aaron Douglas, *From Slavery through Reconstruction,* from *Aspects of Negro Life,* 1934. Oil on canvas, 5′ × 11′ 7″. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, New York.**

◀**30-1c** At the left, the Union Army marches out of the South while, ominously, the hooded Ku Klux Klan enters on horseback to fill the void left by the Northerners during the Reconstruction era.

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MODERNISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO, 1900 TO 1945

30

FRAMING THE ERA

Aaron Douglas, Europe, Africa, and America

During the first half of the 20th century, America suffered involvement in two global conflicts and the economically and psychologically crippling Great Depression. Nonetheless, these decades were positive ones in the development of American art and architecture. This was the time when American artists first became exposed to European modernism and when African American artists emerged as important contributors to the history of art. The work of Kansan Aaron Douglas (1898–1979) exemplifies the complex character and diverse sources of African American art.

Douglas studied in Nebraska and Paris before settling in Harlem in New York City in 1924, where he quickly became one of the leading artists in the African American community. Ten years later, at the height of the Great Depression, Douglas received a major commission from the U.S. government through its Federal Arts Project to paint a series of four murals titled *Aspects of Negro Life* for the 135th Street (Harlem) branch of the New York Public Library. In response to the call of influential philosopher Alain Locke, a leader of the "Harlem Renaissance," artists turned to Africa and African art for inspiration. Douglas used the library commission as an opportunity to depict the roots of "the New Negro" in Africa as well as to document the experience of African Americans in the United States. In two pairs of mural-size canvases, he represented African rituals and the history of African Americans, first in the South and, after the Civil War, in the North.

The second painting in the series, *From Slavery through Reconstruction* (fig. 30-1), traces the history of Africans in America. At the right, Southern ex-slaves joyously celebrate the freedom granted to them by the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, which Douglas highlighted with concentric circles radiating out from the precious document. At the center is a man on a soapbox urging his fellow freedmen to exercise their right to vote as he points to the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. He is the dominant figure in the composition, and the ballot he holds is the focal point of radiating circles. Behind him, the Union Army marches out of the South while, ominously, the hooded Ku Klux Klan enters on horseback from the left to fill the void left by the Northerners.

Douglas's style derived in part from Synthetic Cubism, which inspired the paper-cutout look of the overlapping silhouettes of his figures, but he also followed Locke's advice and sought models in African art—broadly interpreted to include Egyptian reliefs and mural paintings as well as the sub-Saharan sculptures that inspired Pablo Picasso and others (see "Primitivism and Colonialism," page 897). The result was a unique and powerful fusion of European and African art and Douglas's personal vision.

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AMERICAN ART AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

The major innovative artistic movements of the 19th century originated in Europe, and, with the development of larger and better passenger ships, it became increasingly common for aspiring American artists to cross the Atlantic. Some, including John Singer Sargent (FIG. 27-38), James Abbott McNeil Whistler (FIG. 28-12), and Mary Cassatt (FIG. 28-13), spent much of their productive careers in Europe. Conversely, as the 20th century unfolded, and especially on the eve of World War II, many European artists chose to emigrate from the Continent and end their careers in the United States. But, in the opening decade of the new century, most American artists knew little about the revolutionary work of their European counterparts. The goal of many of the leading painters in the United States was to present a realistic, unvarnished look at American life. In this regard, their work parallels that of the French Realists in the mid-19th century rather than that of the Post-Impressionists and Symbolists in the late 1800s.

PAINTING

The most important group of early-20th-century American Realist artists—sometimes known as Social Realists—was The Eight, a group of eight painters who gravitated into the circle of the influential and evangelical artist and teacher Robert Henri (1865–1929). Henri urged his followers to make "pictures from life,"[1] and accordingly, these artists pursued with zeal the production of images depicting the rapidly changing urban landscape of New York City. Because these vignettes often captured the bleak and seedy aspects of city life, The Eight eventually became known as the Ashcan School. Some critics referred to them as "the apostles of ugliness."

John Sloan. A prominent member of The Eight was JOHN SLOAN (1871–1951). A self-described "incorrigible window watcher,"[2] Sloan constantly wandered the streets of New York, observing human drama. He focused much of his attention on the working class, which he perceived as embodying the realities of life. So sympathetic was Sloan to the plight of workers that he joined the Socialist Party in 1909 and eventually ran for public office on the Socialist ticket. In paintings such as *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street* (FIG. 30-2), Sloan revealed his ability to capture both the visual and social realities of American urban life. When he painted this image in 1907, Sloan lived on West 23rd Street, on the outskirts of the Tenderloin District, an area cluttered with brothels, dance halls, saloons, gambling dens, and cheap hotels. *Sixth Avenue* depicts a bustling intersection. Bracketing the throngs of people filling the intersection are elevated train tracks on the left and a row of storefronts and apartment buildings on the right. These two defining elements of city life converge in the far center background of the painting.

Sloan's portrayals of New York also feature a cross-section of the population of the city at the opening of the 20th century. In the foreground of *Sixth Avenue,* Sloan prominently placed three women. One, in a shabby white dress, is a drunkard, stumbling

30-2 **JOHN SLOAN, *Sixth Avenue and Thirtieth Street, New York City,* 1907. Oil on canvas, 2′ $\frac{1}{4}$″ × 2′ 8″. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (gift of Meyer P. Potamkin and Vivian O. Potamkin, 2000).**

A prominent member of the American Realist group called The Eight, Sloan captured in his paintings the bleak and seedy aspects of the rapidly changing urban landscape of New York City.

MODERNISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO, 1900 TO 1945

1900–1910

- John Sloan, a leading painter of the Ashcan School, records the seedy aspects of modern life in New York City
- Frank Lloyd Wright promotes "organic architecture" in his expansive "prairie houses"

1910–1920

- The Armory Show introduces American artists and the public to avant-garde developments in Europe
- Arthur Dove paints completely abstract compositions that capture the essence of nature and organic growth
- Marsden Hartley produces Synthetic Cubist–inspired canvases with military imagery during World War I

1920–1930

- Man Ray creates a Dada "gift" of an iron with a row of spikes that negate its function
- Charles Demuth and the Precisionists paint American industrial landscapes using a modernist vocabulary
- Alfred Stieglitz and Edward Weston champion photography as an important art form
- The Chrysler Building is the iconic example of Art Deco architecture

1930–1945

- Aaron Douglas and Jacob Lawrence explore African American history in the Harlem Renaissance
- Grant Wood and the Regionalists reject European abstraction and realistically depict life in rural America
- José Orozco and Diego Rivera paint vast mural cycles recording Mexican history
- Dorothea Lange and Margaret Bourke-White achieve renown for their documentary photography
- Alexander Calder creates "mobiles"—colorful abstract sculptures with moving parts
- Frank Lloyd Wright builds Fallingwater at Bear Run for the Kaufmann family

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ART AND SOCIETY

The Armory Show

From February 17 to March 15, 1913, the American public flocked in large numbers to view the International Exhibition of Modern Art at the 69th Regiment Armory in New York City. The "Armory Show," as it universally came to be called, was an ambitious endeavor organized primarily by two artists, Walt Kuhn (1877–1949) and Arthur B. Davies (1862–1928). The show included more than 1,600 artworks by American and European artists. Among the European artists represented were Matisse, Derain, Kirchner, Kandinsky, Picasso, Braque, and Duchamp (FIG. 30-3). In addition to exposing American artists and the public to the latest European artistic developments, the Armory Show also provided American artists with a prime showcase for their work. The foreword to the exhibition catalogue spelled out the goals of the organizers:

> The American artists exhibiting here consider the exhibition of equal importance for themselves as for the public. The less they find their work showing signs of the developments indicated in the Europeans, the more reason they will have to consider whether or not painters or sculptors here have fallen behind . . . the forces that have manifested themselves on the other side of the Atlantic.*

On its opening, this provocative exhibition served as a lightning rod for commentary, immediately attracting heated controversy. The *New York Times* described the show as "pathological" and called the modernist artists "cousins to the anarchists," while the magazine *Art and Progress* compared them to "bomb throwers, lunatics, depravers."† Other critics demanded that the exhibition be closed as a menace to public morality. The *New York Herald,* for example, asserted: "The United States is invaded by aliens, thousands of whom constitute so many perils to the health of the body politic. Modernism is of precisely the same heterogeneous alien origin and is imperiling the republic of art in the same way."‡

Nonetheless, the exhibition was an important milestone in the history of art in the United States. The Armory Show traveled to Chicago and Boston after it closed in New York and was a significant catalyst for the reevaluation of the nature and purpose of American art.

*Quoted in Herschel B. Chipp, *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 503.
†Quoted in Sam Hunter, John Jacobus, and Daniel Wheeler, *Modern Art,* rev. 3d. ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2005), 250.
‡Quoted in Francis K. Pohl, *Framing America: A Social History of American Art,* 4th ed. (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2017), 358.

30-3 Marcel Duchamp, *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2,* 1912. Oil on canvas, 4′ 10″ × 2′ 11″. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection).

The Armory Show introduced European modernism to America. Duchamp's figure moving in a time continuum owes a debt to Cubism and Futurism. The press gave his painting a hostile reception.

along with her pail of beer. All around her are the residents of the Tenderloin, who barely take notice of her, save for two elegantly dressed women who are passing through the area on their way somewhere else. They stare at the disoriented woman with disdain. At a time when traditional art centered on genteel and proper society and the comfortable world of the two fashionable women, Sloan chose to forthrightly depict the street life of New York's underclass, for whom the painter clearly had deep sympathy.

The Armory Show and Its Aftermath

The relative isolation of American artists from developments across the Atlantic came to an abrupt end in early 1913 when the Armory Show opened in New York City. Although later recognized as the foundational event in the development of American modernist art, the exhibition received a hostile response from the press (see "The Armory Show," above).

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30-4 Arthur Dove, *Nature Symbolized No. 2,* ca. 1911. Pastel on paper, 1′ 6″ × 1′ 9⅝″. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Alfred Stieglitz Collection).

Dove was one of the first artists to produce completely nonobjective paintings. Using only abstract shapes and color, he sought to capture the essence of nature and of pulsating organic growth.

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Marcel Duchamp. The work that the journalists and critics most maligned was *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2* (fig. 30-3) by Marcel Duchamp (who did not attend the Armory Show and didn't emigrate to New York from Paris until 1915). The painting represents a single figure moving in a time continuum and suggests the effect of a sequence of overlaid film stills. Unlike Duchamp's Dada works (figs. 29-26, 29-26A, and 29-27), *Nude Descending a Staircase* shares many characteristics with the work of the Cubists and the Futurists. The monochromatic palette is reminiscent of Analytic Cubism, as is Duchamp's faceted presentation of the human form. The artist's interest in depicting the figure in motion reveals an affinity for the Futurists' ideas. One critic described this work as "an explosion in a shingle factory,"[3] and newspaper cartoonists delighted in lampooning the painting.

Arthur Dove. Among the American painters who exhibited their work in the Armory Show was Arthur Dove (1880–1946). After graduating from Cornell University, Dove worked briefly as a commercial artist in New York City and then in 1907 left for Paris, where he encountered the canvases of Henri Matisse (figs. 29-2, 29-2A, and 29-3) and André Derain (figs. 29-4 and 29-5). Dove, impressed by the work of the Fauves, returned to New York in 1910 as a confirmed modernist. He occupies a special place in the evolution of 20th-century art in the United States because he began painting completely nonobjective paintings at about the same time as Vassily Kandinsky but apparently without any knowledge of Kandinsky's *Improvisation* series (for example, fig. 29-7).

Dove spent most of his life on farms in rural New York and Connecticut and loved the textures and colors of the American landscape. He sought to capture in his paintings the essence of nature, especially its pulsating energy, but without representing nature directly. A characteristic and aptly named example of his abstract renditions of fields, vegetation, and sky is *Nature Symbolized No. 2* (fig. 30-4), which he probably painted in 1911. Incorporating some of the principles and forms of Cubism but without representing any identifiable objects or landscape elements, Dove used swirling and jagged lines and a palette of mostly green, black, and sandy yellow to capture the essence of vegetation sprouting gloriously from fertile soil beneath patches of blue sky. He once described his goal as the creation of "rhythmic paintings" expressing nature's "spirit" through shape and color.

Marsden Hartley. Dove's slightly older American contemporary, Marsden Hartley (1877–1943), who had also traveled to Europe, developed a personal style influenced by Cubism, with which he became acquainted in Paris in 1912. He also admired the works produced by the Blaue Reiter circle. Kandinsky's abstract paintings, which he saw in Munich, particularly impressed Hartley, and he began to create paintings in a style he called "Cosmic Cubism." In 1913, Hartley moved to Berlin, where, confronted by Germany's heightened militarism and the eventual outbreak of World War I, he immersed himself in military imagery.

Portrait of a German Officer (fig. 30-5) is one of the paintings Hartley produced during this period. It depicts an array of military-related images: German imperial flags, regimental insignia, badges, and emblems such as the Iron Cross. Although this image resonates in the general context of wartime militarism, important elements in the painting had personal significance for Hartley. In particular, the painting includes references to his lover, Lieutenant Karl von Freyberg, who lost his life in battle a few months before Hartley painted this "portrait." Von Freyberg's initials appear in the lower left corner. His age when he died (24) appears in the lower right corner, and his regiment number (4) appears in the center of the painting. Also incorporated is the letter *E* for von Freyberg's regiment, the Bavarian Eisenbahn. The influence of Synthetic Cubism is evident in Hartley's flattened, planar presentation of the elements, which

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30-5 Marsden Hartley, *Portrait of a German Officer,* 1914. Oil on canvas, 5′ 8 1/4″ × 3′ 5 3/8″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Alfred Stieglitz Collection).

In this elegy to a lover killed in battle, Hartley arranged military-related images against a somber black background. The flattened, planar presentation reveals the influence of Synthetic Cubism.

almost appear as abstract patterns. The somber black background against which the artist placed the colorful stripes, patches, and shapes casts an elegiac pall over the painting.

Stuart Davis. Philadelphia-born Stuart Davis (1894–1964), who was introduced to European modernism at the Armory Show, created what he believed was a modern American art style by combining the flat shapes of Synthetic Cubism with his sense of jazz tempos and his perception of the energy of fast-paced American urban culture. *Hot Still-Scape* (fig. 30-6) is one of his most ambitious works, painted late in his career. It exemplifies his mature style. Brightly colored with primary hues dominating, the interlocking planes of the fragmented forms imbue *Hot Still-Scape* with a visual dynamism and rhythm paralleling the syncopated notes of American jazz and the sounds and pace of life in a lively American metropolis. Davis's paintings are decidedly both American and modern.

Precisionism. One of the distinctively American art movements that developed in the post–Armory Show period was *Precisionism.* Although not an organized group, the Precisionists shared a fascination with the machine's "precision" and its importance in modern life. Although new technologies captured the imaginations of many European artists, especially Delaunay, Léger, and the Futurists, Americans generally seemed more enamored of the prospects of a mechanized society than were Europeans. Even the Frenchman Francis Picabia, Duchamp's collaborator, noted: "Since machinery is the soul of the modern world, and since the genius of machinery attains its highest expression in America, why is it not reasonable to believe that in America the art of the future will flower most brilliantly?"[4] Precisionism, however, expanded beyond the exploration of machine imagery. Many artists associated with this group gravitated toward Synthetic Cubism's flat, sharply delineated planes as an appropriate visual idiom for their imagery, adding to the clarity and precision of their work. Eventually, Precisionism came to be characterized by

30-6 Stuart Davis, *Hot Still-Scape for Six Colors—7th Avenue Style,* 1940. Oil on canvas, 3′ × 3′ 8 7/8″. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (gift of the William H. Lane Foundation and the M. and M. Karolik Collection, by exchange). Licensed by VAGA, New York.

Davis created what he believed was a modern American art style by combining flat, boldly colored shapes inspired by Synthetic Cubism with his sense of jazz tempos and the energy of American cities.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Art "Matronage" in the United States

Until the 20th century, a leading reason for the dearth of women artists was that professional institutions restricted women's access to artistic training. For example, the proscription against women participating in life-drawing classes, a staple of academic artistic training, in effect denied women the opportunity to become professional artists. Another explanation for the absence of women from the traditional art historical canon is that art historians have not considered as "high art" many of the art objects that women have traditionally produced (for example, quilts or basketry).

By the early 20th century, however, many of the impediments to a woman's becoming a recognized artist had been removed. Today, women are a major presence in the art world, as the roster of artists discussed in Chapter 32 highlights. One of the developments in the early 20th century that laid the groundwork for this change was the prominent role American women played as art patrons. These "art matrons" provided financial, moral, and political support to cultivate the advancement of the arts in America. Chief among them were Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, Lillie P. Bliss, Mary Quinn Sullivan, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, Isabella Stewart Gardner, Peggy Guggenheim, and Jane Stanford.*

Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney (1875–1942) was a practicing sculptor and enthusiastic collector. To assist young American artists such as Robert Henri and John Sloan (FIG. 30-2) in exhibiting their work, she opened the Whitney Studio in 1914. By 1929, dissatisfied with the recognition accorded young, progressive American artists, she offered her entire collection of 500 works to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. Her offer rejected, she founded her own museum in New York, the Whitney Museum of American Art, and provided funds to purchase additional works by American artists, such as Charles Demuth's *My Egypt* (FIG. 30-7). She chose Juliana Force (1876–1948) as the first director, a visionary and energetic woman who inaugurated a pioneering series of monographs on living American artists, and organized lecture series by influential art historians and critics. Through the efforts of these two women, the Whitney Museum became a major factor in the enhanced prestige of American art.

A trip to Paris in 1920 whetted the interest of Peggy Guggenheim (1898–1979) in avant-garde art. Like Whitney, Guggenheim collected art and eventually opened a gallery in England to exhibit the work of innovative artists. She continued her support for modernist art after her return to the United States. Guggenheim's New York gallery, called Art of This Century, was instrumental in advancing the careers of many artists, including her husband, Max Ernst (FIG. 29-37). She later moved her art collection to a lavish Venetian palace on the Grand Canal, where the public can still view the important artworks she acquired.

Other women who contributed significantly to the arts were Lillie P. Bliss (1864–1931), Mary Quinn Sullivan (1877–1939), and Abby Aldrich Rockefeller (1874–1948). Philanthropists, art collectors, and educators, these influential and farsighted women saw the need for a museum to collect and exhibit modernist art. Together they established the Museum of Modern Art in New York City in 1929, which became (and continues to be) the most influential museum of modern art in the world (see "The Museum of Modern Art," page 951).

30-7 CHARLES DEMUTH, *My Egypt,* 1927. Oil on composition board, 2′ 11¾″ × 2′ 6″. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York (purchased with funds from Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney).

Demuth was one of the leading Precisionists—American artists who extolled the machine age. This painting depicts grain elevators reduced to geometric forms amid Cubist transparent diagonal planes.

Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924) and Jane Stanford (1828–1905) also undertook the ambitious project of founding museums. The Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, established in 1903, houses a well-chosen and comprehensive collection of art of many periods. The Stanford University Museum of Art (now the Iris B. and Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts), the first American museum west of the Mississippi, got its start in 1891 at the university that Leland Stanford Sr. and Jane Stanford founded after the tragic death of their son. The Cantor Center houses a wide range of objects, including archaeological and ethnographic artifacts. Both women committed much of their time, energy, and financial resources to ensure the success of their museums and were intimately involved in their institutions' day-to-day operations.

The museums these women established flourish today, attesting to the extraordinary vision of these "art matrons" and the remarkable contributions they made to the advancement of art in the United States.

*Art historian Wanda Corn coined the term *art matronage* in the catalog *Cultural Leadership in America: Art Matronage and Patronage* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1997).

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a merging of a familiar native style in American architecture and artifacts with a modernist vocabulary derived largely from Synthetic Cubism.

Charles Demuth. Two of the leading Precisionists hailed from Pennsylvania—Charles Sheeler (1883–1965) and Charles Demuth (1883–1935). Sheeler traveled to Italy and France in 1909, and Demuth spent the years 1912–1914 in Paris, but both artists, in contrast to Davis, rejected pure abstraction and favored representational subjects, especially American industrial landscapes. Demuth's *My Egypt* (fig. 30-7) is one of many artworks acquired by Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, the leading patron of American modernist artists in the period between the two world wars (see "Art 'Matronage' in the United States," page 938). The painting incorporates the spatial discontinuities characteristic of Cubism into a typically Precisionist depiction of an industrial site near Lancaster, the painter's birthplace. Demuth reduced the John W. Eshelman and Sons grain elevators to simple geometric forms. The grain elevators remain recognizable and solid, but the "beams" of transparent planes and the diagonal force lines threaten to destabilize the image and recall Cubist fragmentation of space. The degree to which Demuth intended to extol the American industrial scene is unclear. The title, *My Egypt,* is sufficiently ambiguous in tone to accommodate differing readings. On the one hand, Demuth could have been suggesting a favorable comparison between the Egyptian pyramids and American grain elevators as cultural icons. On the other hand, the title could be read cynically, as a negative comment on the limitations of American culture. Or Demuth might have been making a biblical reference to Joseph's granaries, which fed Egypt during seven years of famine.

Georgia O'Keeffe. The work of Wisconsin-born Georgia O'Keeffe (1887–1986) changed stylistically throughout her career. During the 1920s, O'Keeffe was a Precisionist. She had moved from the tiny town of Canyon, Texas, to New York City in 1918, and although she had visited the city before, what she found there excited her. "You have to live in today," she told a friend. "Today the city is something bigger, more complex than ever before in history. And nothing can be gained from running away. I couldn't even if I could."[5] While in New York, O'Keeffe met Alfred Stieglitz (figs. 30-16 and 30-16A), who played a major role in promoting the avant-garde in the United States. Stieglitz had established an art gallery at 291 Fifth Avenue in New York. In "291," as the gallery came to be called, he exhibited the latest in both European and American art. Thus 291, like the Armory Show, played an important role in the history of early-20th-century art in America. Stieglitz had seen and exhibited some of O'Keeffe's earlier work, and he drew her into his avant-garde circle of painters and photographers. He became one of O'Keeffe's staunchest supporters and, eventually, her husband. The interest of Stieglitz and his circle in capturing the sensibility of the machine age intersected with O'Keeffe's fascination with the fast pace of city life. During this period, she produced paintings such as *New York, Night* (fig. 30-8), featuring the soaring skyscrapers dominating the city, which, for many, were symbols of the modern world and of America's preeminence in architecture and engineering. Like other Precisionists, O'Keeffe reduced her images to simple planes, here punctuated by small rectangular windows that add rhythm and energy to the image, countering the monolithic darkness of the looming buildings.

Despite O'Keeffe's affiliation with the Precisionist movement and New York, she is best known for her paintings of cow skulls and of flowers—for example, *Jack-in-the-Pulpit No. 4* (fig. I-5), which reveals her interest in stripping subjects to their purest forms and colors to heighten their expressive power. In this work, O'Keeffe reduced the curved planes and contours of the flower to a symphony of basic colors, shapes, textures, and vital rhythms, simplifying the forms almost to the point of complete abstraction.

30-8 Georgia O'Keeffe, *New York, Night,* 1929. Oil on canvas, 3′ $4\frac{1}{8}$″ × 1′ $7\frac{1}{8}$″. Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, Lincoln (Nebraska Art Association, Thomas C. Woods Memorial Collection).

O'Keeffe's Precisionist representation of New York's soaring skyscrapers reduces the buildings to large, simple, dark planes punctuated by small windows that add rhythm and energy to the image.

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The Great Depression

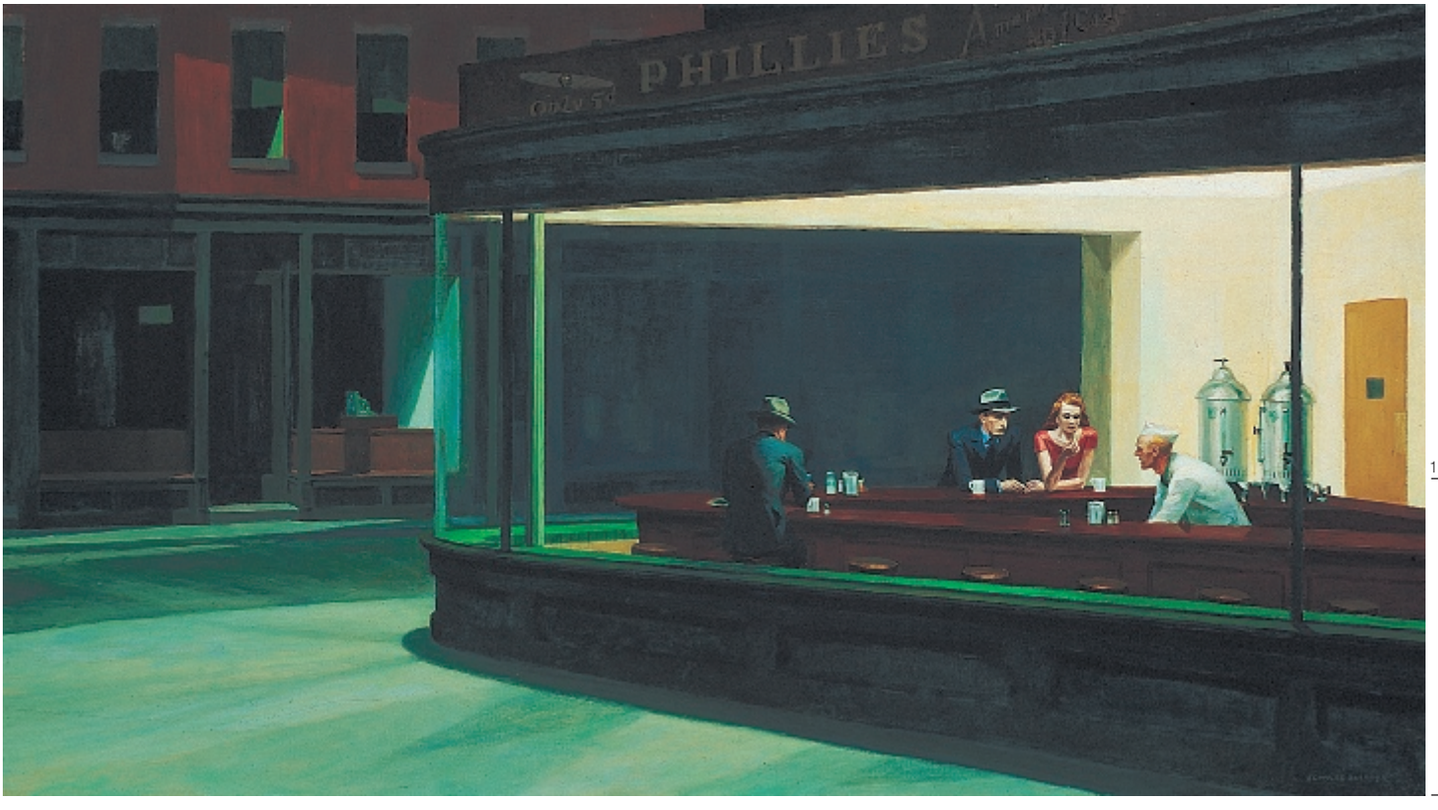
In the 1930s, much of the Western world plunged into the Great Depression, which had a particularly acute effect in the United States. The decade following the catastrophic stock market crash of October 1929 dramatically changed the nation, and artists were among the millions of economic victims. The art market virtually disappeared, and museums curtailed both their purchases and exhibition schedules. Many artists sought financial support from the federal government, which established numerous programs to provide relief, assist recovery, and promote reform. Among the programs supporting artists were the Treasury Relief Art Project, founded in 1934 to commission art for federal buildings, and the Works Progress Administration (WPA), founded in 1935 to relieve widespread unemployment. Under the WPA, varied activities of the Federal Art Project paid artists, writers, and theater people a regular wage in exchange for work in their professions.

Despite the economic hardships facing artists during the Great Depression, the United States became a haven for European painters, sculptors, and architects seeking to escape from Hitler and the Nazis. Among those who abandoned their homelands for America during the years leading up to World War II were Fernand Léger, Jacques Lipchitz, Max Beckmann, George Grosz, Max Ernst, and Salvador Dalí. This influx of European artists searching for freedom from political and religious persecution and a more hospitable environment for their art was as significant a factor in exposing American artists to modernist European art as the Armory Show of 1913 (see "The Armory Show," page 935).

A complementary factor was the desire on the part of American museums to demonstrate their familiarity and connection with the most progressive European art by mounting exhibitions centered on the latest European artistic developments. In 1938, for example, the City Art Museum of Saint Louis presented an exhibition of Beckmann's work, and the Art Institute of Chicago organized *George Grosz: A Survey of His Art from 1918–1938.* This interest in exhibiting the work of persecuted artists driven from their homelands also had political overtones. In the highly charged atmosphere of the late 1930s leading to the onset of World War II, Americans often perceived support for these artists and their work as support for freedom and democracy. For example, in 1942, Alfred H. Barr Jr. (1902–1981), the director of the Museum of Modern Art, stated:

> Among the freedoms which the Nazis have destroyed, none has been more cynically perverted, more brutally stamped upon, than the Freedom of Art. For not only must the artist of Nazi Germany bow to political tyranny, he must also conform to the personal taste of that great art connoisseur, Adolf Hitler. . . . But German artists of spirit and integrity have refused to conform. They have gone into exile or slipped into anxious obscurity. . . . Their paintings and sculptures, too, have been hidden or exiled. . . . But in free countries they can still be seen, can still bear witness to the survival of a free German culture.[6]

Despite this moral support for exiled artists, once the United States formally entered the war, Germany officially became the enemy, and it was much more difficult for the American art world to promote German artists, however persecuted. Many émigré



30-9 Edward Hopper, *Nighthawks,* 1942. Oil on canvas, 2′ 6″ × 4′ 8 11/16″. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Friends of American Art Collection).

The seeming indifference of Hopper's characters to one another, and the echoing spaces surrounding them, evoke the overwhelming loneliness and isolation of Depression-era life in the United States.

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artists, including Léger, Grosz, Ernst, and Dalí, returned to Europe after the war ended. Their collective presence in the United States until then, however, was critical for the development of American art.

Ben Shahn. Although the political, social, and economic developments of the 1930s and 1940s brought many modernist European artists to the United States, the leading American painters of this period were primarily figural artists who had only a limited interest in abstract composition. Born in Lithuania, Ben Shahn (1898–1969) came to the United States in 1906 and trained as a lithographer before broadening the media in which he worked to include easel and mural painting and photography. He focused on the lives of ordinary people and the injustices often done to them by the structure of an impersonal, bureaucratic society. In the early 1930s, he completed a cycle of 23 paintings and prints inspired by the trial and execution of two Italian anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Accused of killing two men in a robbery in 1920 in South Braintree, Massachusetts, the Italians were convicted in a trial that many people thought resulted in a grave miscarriage of justice. Shahn felt that he had found in this story a subject the equal of any in Western art history: "Suddenly I realized . . . I was living through another crucifixion."[7] Basing many of the works in this cycle on newspaper photographs of the events, Shahn devised a style that adapted his knowledge of Synthetic Cubism and his training in commercial art to an emotionally expressive use of flat, intense color in figural compositions filled with sharp, dry, angular forms. He called the major work in the series *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti* (fig. I-6), drawing a parallel to Christ's passion. This tall, narrow painting condenses the narrative in terms of both time and space. The two executed men lie in coffins at the bottom of the composition. Presiding over them are the three members of the commission chaired by Harvard University president A. Laurence Lowell, who declared the original trial fair and cleared the way for the executions to take place. A framed portrait of Judge Webster Thayer, who handed down the initial sentence, hangs on the wall of a simplified government building. The gray pallor of the dead men, the stylized mask-faces of the mock-pious mourning commissioners, and the haughty judge all contribute to the mood of anguished commentary Shahn sought. *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti* is one of the most powerful American artworks of the era.

Edward Hopper. Trained as a commercial artist, Edward Hopper (1882–1967) studied painting and printmaking in New York and then in Paris. When he returned to the United States, he concentrated on scenes of contemporary American city and country life. His paintings depict buildings, streets, and landscapes that are curiously muted, still, and filled with empty spaces, evoking the national mind-set during the Depression era. Hopper did not paint historically specific scenes. He took as his subject the more generalized theme of the overwhelming loneliness and echoing isolation of modern life in the United States. In his paintings, motion is stopped and time suspended.

From the darkened streets outside a restaurant in Hopper's *Nighthawks* (fig. 30-9), the viewer glimpses the lighted interior through huge plate-glass windows, which lend the inner space the paradoxical sense of being both a safe refuge and a vulnerable place for the three customers and the man behind the counter. The seeming indifference of Hopper's characters to one another, and the echoing spaces surrounding them, evoke the pervasive loneliness of modern humans. In *Nighthawks* and other works, Hopper created a Realist vision recalling that of 19th-century artists such as Thomas Eakins (fig. 27-37) and Henry Ossawa Tanner (fig. 27-39), but in keeping with more recent trends in painting, he simplified the shapes, moving toward abstraction.

Harlem Renaissance

One aspect of American art during the first half of the 20th century that had no parallel in contemporary European art was the rise to prominence of African American artists, chief among them Aaron Douglas (figs. 30-1 and 30-9A) and Jacob Lawrence (fig. 30-10), the leading figures of the Harlem Renaissance. Spearheaded by writers and editors Alain Locke (1886–1953) and Charles Spurgeon Johnson (1883–1956), the Harlem Renaissance was a manifestation of the desire of African Americans to promote their cultural accomplishments. Locke and Johnson also aimed to cultivate pride among fellow African Americans and to foster racial tolerance across the United States. The diverse fruits of the Harlem Renaissance included the writings of authors such as Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, and Zora Neale Hurston; the jazz and blues of Duke Ellington, Bessie Smith, Eubie Blake, Fats Waller, and Louis Armstrong; the photographs of James Van Der Zee and Prentice H. Polk; and the paintings and sculptures of Meta Warrick Fuller and Augusta Savage.

30-9A Douglas, *Noah's Ark,* ca. 1927.

Jacob Lawrence. African American artist Jacob Lawrence (1917–2000) moved to Harlem, New York, in 1927 while still a boy. There, he came under the spell of the African art and the African American history he found in lectures and exhibitions and in the special programs sponsored by the 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library, which had outstanding collections of African American art and archival data. Inspired by the politically oriented art of Goya (fig. 27-11), Daumier (fig. 27-29), and Orozco (fig. 30-13), and influenced by the many artists and writers of the Harlem Renaissance whom he met, including Aaron Douglas, Lawrence found his subjects in the everyday life of Harlem and in African American history.

In 1941, Lawrence began a 60-painting series titled *The Migration of the Negro* (fig. 30-10), in which he defined his vision of the continuing African American struggle against discrimination (see "Jacob Lawrence's *Migration of the Negro,*" page 942). Unlike his earlier historical paintings depicting important figures in American history, such as the abolitionists Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman, this series called attention to a contemporaneous event—the ongoing exodus of black labor from the southern United States.

Regionalism

Although many American artists, such as the Precisionists (figs. 30-7 and 30-8), preferred to depict the city or rapidly developing technological advances, others avoided subjects tied to modern life. At a 1931 arts conference, Grant Wood (1891–1942) announced a new movement developing in the Midwest, known as *Regionalism*.

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Jacob Lawrence's *Migration of the Negro*

Disillusioned with their lives in the South, hundreds of thousands of African Americans migrated north in the years following World War I, seeking improved economic opportunities and a more hospitable political and social environment. But the conditions that African Americans encountered both during their migration and in the North were often as difficult and discriminatory as those they had left behind in the South, as the artist Jacob Lawrence knew from his own experience. Lawrence's family had migrated from the rural south to Atlantic City, New Jersey, where he was born. He moved to Harlem when he was 13 years old.

> I was part of the migration, as was my family, my mother, my sister, and my brother. . . . I grew up hearing tales about people "coming up," another family arriving. . . . I didn't realize what was happening until about the middle of the 1930s, and that's when the *Migration* series began to take form in my mind.*

Lawrence sought funding for his project from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. In his successful fellowship application, Lawrence argued that his proposal was of high educational value. He stated:

> It is important as a part of the evolution of America, since this Migration has affected the whole of America mentally, economically and socially. Since it has had this effect, I feel that my project would lay before the Negroes themselves a little of what part they have played in the History of the United States. In addition the whole of America might learn some of the history of this particular minority group, of which they know very little.†

His plan was to depict the history of the great African American migration northward in eight sections: Causes of the Migration; Stimulation of the Migration; The Spread of the Migration; The Efforts to Check the Migration; Public Opinion Regarding the Migration; The Effects of the Migration on the South; The Effects of the Migration on Various Parts of the North; and The Effects of the Migration on the Negro. The resulting series consists of 60 panels, all with explanatory captions—for example, "They did not always leave because they were promised work in the North. Many of them left because of Southern conditions, one of them being great floods that ruined the crops, and therefore they were unable to make a living where they were" (*No. 8*) and "They also found discrimination in the North although it was much different from that which they had known in the South" (*No. 49*).

30-10 Jacob Lawrence, *No. 49* from *The Migration of the Negro*, 1940–1941. Tempera on Masonite, 1′ 6″ × 1′. Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.

The 49th in a series of 60 paintings documenting African American life in the North, Lawrence's depiction of a segregated dining room underscored that the migrants had not left discrimination behind.

Lawrence's *Migration* paintings provide numerous vignettes capturing the experiences of the African Americans who had moved to the North. Often, a sense of the bleakness and degradation of their new life dominates the images. In *No. 49* (FIG. 30-10), which tells of the unexpected and different kind of discrimination African Americans encountered in the North, Lawrence depicted a blatantly segregated dining room with a barrier running down the room's center separating the whites on the left from the African Americans on the right. To ensure a continuity and visual integrity among all 60 paintings, Lawrence interpreted his themes systematically in rhythmic arrangements of bold, flat, and strongly colored shapes. His style drew equally from his interest in the push-pull effects of Cubist space and his memories of the patterns made by the colored scatter rugs brightening the floors of his childhood homes. He unified the narrative with a consistent palette of bluish green, orange, yellow, and grayish brown throughout the entire series.

*Quoted in Henry Louis Gates Jr., "New Negroes, Migration, and Cultural Exchange," in Elizabeth Hutton Turner, ed., *Jacob Lawrence: The Migration Series* (Washington, D.C.: Phillips Collection, 1993), 20.

†Quoted in Patricia Hills, *Painting Harlem Modern: The Art of Jacob Lawrence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 98.

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A SECOND OPINION

Grant Wood's *American Gothic*

The work that catapulted Grant Wood to national prominence was *American Gothic* (FIG. 30-11), which became an American icon. The artist, the leader of the mid-20th-century Regionalist art movement, depicted his dentist and his sister posing as a farmer and his spinster daughter standing in front of a neat house with a small *lancet* window, a motif originating in Gothic architecture and associated with churches and religious piety. The man and woman wear traditional attire. He appears in worn overalls and she in an apron trimmed with rickrack. The dour expression on both faces gives the painting a severe quality, which Wood enhanced with his meticulous brushwork. The public and professional critics agreed that *American Gothic* was "quaint, humorous, and AMERICAN" and embodied "strength, dignity, fortitude, resoluteness, integrity," qualities that represented the true spirit of America.*

Wood's Regionalist vision involved more than his subjects. It extended to a rejection of avant-garde styles in favor of a clearly readable, Realist style. Surely this approach appealed to many people alienated by the increasing presence of abstraction in art. However, despite the accolades this painting received, it also attracted criticism. Not everyone saw the painting as a sympathetic portrayal of Midwestern life. Indeed, some Iowans considered the depiction of life in their state insulting. In addition, despite the seemingly straightforward documentary nature of *American Gothic,* some viewed it as a political statement—one of staunch nationalism. In light of the problematic nationalism in Germany at the time, many observers found Wood's nationalistic attitude disturbing.

Nonetheless, during the Great Depression, Regionalist paintings had a popular appeal because they often projected a reassuring image of America's heartland. The public saw Regionalism as a means of coping with the national crisis through a search for cultural roots. Thus people deemed acceptable any nostalgia implicit in Regionalist paintings or the mythologies these works perpetuated, because they served a larger purpose.

*Wanda M. Corn, *Grant Wood: The Regionalist Vision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 131.

30-11 GRANT WOOD, *American Gothic,* 1930. Oil on beaverboard, 2′ 5 7/8″ × 2′ 7/8″. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Friends of American Art Collection).

In reaction to modernist abstract painting, the Midwestern Regionalism movement focused on American subjects. Wood's painting of an Iowa farmer and his daughter became an American icon.

The Regionalists, sometimes referred to as the American Scene Painters, turned their attention away not only from Europe and modernist abstract painting but also from America's cities. The Regionalists found their subjects instead in the rural life of America, which they considered its cultural backbone. Wood's paintings, for example, portray the people of rural Iowa, where he was born and raised.

Revolt against the City. Wood set forth his philosophy most clearly in *Revolt against the City,* a pamphlet he published in Iowa City in 1935, five years after completing his masterpiece, *American Gothic* (see "Grant Wood's *American Gothic,*" above). Grant argued that

> [American] painting has declared its independence from Europe, and is retreating from the cities to the more American village and country life. Paris is no longer the Mecca of the American artist. The American public, which used to be interested solely in foreign and imitative work, has readily acquired a strong interest in the distinctly indigenous art of its own land; and our buyers of paintings and patrons of art have naturally and honestly fallen in with the movement away from Paris and the American pseudo-Parisians. . . . This is no mere chauvinism. If it is patriotic, it is so because a feeling for one's own milieu and for the validity of one's own life and its surroundings is patriotic. . . . No longer is it necessary for [the American artist] to migrate even to New York, or to seek any great metropolis. No longer is it necessary for him to suffer the confusing cosmopolitanism, the noise, the too intimate gregariousness of the large city. . . . Let me try to state the basic idea of the regional movement. Each section has a personality of its own, in physiography, industry, psychology. Thinking painters and writers who have passed their formative years in these regions, will, by care-taking analysis, work out and interpret in their productions these varying personalities. When the different regions develop characteristics of their own, they will come into competition with each other; and out of this competition a rich American culture will grow.[8]

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30-12 Thomas Hart Benton, *Pioneer Days and Early Settlers,* fresco in the State Capitol, Jefferson City, Missouri, 1936. Art © T. H. Benton and R. P. Benton Testamentary Trusts/ UMB Bank Trustee/ Licensed by VAGA, New York.

Benton's mural for Missouri's State Capitol is a major Regionalist artwork. Part documentary and part invention, the images include both celebratory and shameful episodes of state history.

Thomas Hart Benton. Another major Regionalist artist was Thomas Hart Benton (1889–1975). Whereas Wood focused his attention on Iowa, Benton turned to scenes from his native Missouri. He produced one of his major works, a series of murals titled *A Social History of the State of Missouri,* in 1936 for the Missouri State Capitol. The murals depict a collection of images from the state's historical and legendary past, such as primitive agriculture, horse trading, a vigilante lynching, an old-fashioned political meeting, and Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn and Jim on their raft. Other scenes portray the mining industry, grain elevators, Native Americans, and family life. One segment, *Pioneer Days and Early Settlers* (fig. 30-12), shows a white man using whisky as a bartering tool with a Native American (*left*), along with scenes documenting the building of Missouri (*right*). Part documentary and part invention, Benton's images include both positive and negative aspects of Missouri's history, as these examples illustrate. Although the public perceived the Regionalists as dedicated to glorifying Midwestern life, that was not their aim. Indeed, Grant Wood observed, "your true regionalist is not a mere eulogist; he may even be a severe critic."[9] Benton, like Wood, championed a visually accessible style, but he developed a highly personal aesthetic that included complex compositions, a fluidity of imagery, and simplified figures.

Mexico

During the period between the two world wars, several Mexican painters achieved international renown for their work both in Mexico and the United States.

José Clemente Orozco. The eldest prominent Mexican painter was José Clemente Orozco (1883–1949; fig. 30-13), one of a group of Mexican artists determined to base their art on the indigenous history and culture existing in Mexico before the arrival of Europeans. The movement these artists formed was part of the idealistic rethinking of society that occurred in conjunction with the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) and the lingering political turmoil of the 1920s. Among the projects these politically motivated artists undertook were vast pictorial cycles placed in public buildings to dramatize and validate the history of Mexico's native

30-13 José Clemente Orozco, *Epic of American Civilization: Hispano-America* (panel 16), fresco in the Baker Memorial Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, ca. 1932–1934. Art © Orozco Valladares Family/SOMAAP, Mexico/ Licensed by VAGA, New York.

One of 24 panels depicting the history of Mexico from ancient times, this scene focuses on a heroic peasant soldier of the Mexican Revolution surrounded by symbolic figures of his oppressors.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Diego Rivera on Art for the People

Diego Rivera was an avid proponent of a social and political role for art in the lives of common people, and wrote passionately about the proper goals for an artist—goals he fully met in his own murals depicting Mexican history (FIG. 30-14). Rivera's views stand in sharp contrast to the growing interest in abstraction on the part of many early-20th-century painters and sculptors, with the notable exception of the American Regionalists led by Grant Wood (FIG. 30-11) and Thomas Hart Benton (FIG. 30-12).

> Art has always been employed by the different social classes who hold the balance of power as one instrument of domination—hence, as a political instrument. One can analyze epoch after epoch—from the stone age to our own day—and see that there is no form of art which does not also play an essential political role. . . . What is it then that we really need? . . . An art with revolution as its subject: because the principal interest in the worker's life has to be touched first. It is necessary that he find aesthetic satisfaction and the highest pleasure appareled in the essential interest of his life. . . . The subject is to the painter what the rails are to a locomotive. He cannot do without it. In fact, when he refuses to seek or accept a subject, his own plastic methods and his own aesthetic theories become his subject instead. . . . [H]e himself becomes the subject of his work. He becomes nothing but an illustrator of his own state of mind . . . That is the deception practiced under the name of "Pure Art."*

*Quoted in Robert Goldwater and Marco Treves, eds., *Artists on Art, from the XIV to the XX Century* (New York: Pantheon, 1945), 475–477.

30-14 DIEGO RIVERA, *Ancient Mexico,* detail of *History of Mexico,* fresco in the Palacio Nacional, Mexico City, 1929–1935.

A staunch Marxist, Rivera painted vast mural cycles in public buildings to dramatize the history of his native land. This fresco depicts the conflicts between indigenous Mexicans and Spanish colonizers.

peoples. Their chosen medium—mural painting—was, appropriately, a major art form in pre-Columbian Mexico (FIGS. 18-8, 18-8A, and 18-14). In 1922, Orozco painted one of the first major mural cycles in postrevolutionary Mexico in the National Training School in Mexico City.

Orozco carried the ideas of the Mexican mural revolution to the United States, completing many commissions for wall paintings between 1927 and 1934, notably a major fresco cycle in the Baker Library at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. The college let Orozco choose the subject, and he designed 14 large panels and 10 smaller ones that together formed a panoramic and symbolic history of ancient and modern Mexico. The murals recount Mexican history from the early mythic days of the feathered-serpent god Quetzalcoatl (see "Aztec Religion," page 1097) to a contemporary and bitterly satiric vision of modern education.

The imagery in panel 16, *Epic of American Civilization: Hispano-America* (FIG. 30-13), revolves around the imposing figure of a heroic Mexican peasant who has become a soldier in the Mexican Revolution. Looming on either side of him are mounds crammed with symbolic figures of his oppressors—bankers, government

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soldiers, officials, gangsters, and the rich. Money-grubbers empty huge bags of gold coins at the feet of the incorruptible armed peasant, cannons threaten him, and a general bedecked with medals raises a dagger to stab him in the back. Orozco's training as an architect gave him a sense of the framed wall surface, which he easily commanded, projecting his clearly defined large figures onto the solid mural plane. In addition, Orozco's early experience as a maker of political prints and as a newspaper artist had taught him the rhetorical strength of graphic brevity, which he used here to ensure that his allegory could be read easily. His skillful merging of graphic and mural media effects gives his work an originality and force rarely seen in mural painting after the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

Diego Rivera. A second Mexican who received great acclaim for his murals, both in Mexico and in the United States, was Diego Rivera (1886–1957), who lived in Paris from 1911 to 1919 and traveled to Italy to study Renaissance frescoes. A staunch Marxist, Rivera strove to develop an art that served his people's needs (see "Diego Rivera on Art for the People," page 945). Toward that end, inspired, like Orozco, by ancient murals in his homeland, he sought to create a national Mexican style focusing on Mexico's history and also incorporating a popular, generally accessible aesthetic in keeping with the socialist spirit of the Mexican Revolution. Rivera produced numerous large murals in public buildings, among them a series lining the staircase of the National Palace in Mexico City. In these images, painted between 1929 and 1935, he depicted scenes from Mexico's history, of which *Ancient Mexico* (fig. 30-14) is one. This section of the mural represents the conflicts between the indigenous people and the Spanish colonizers. Rivera included portraits of important figures in Mexican history, especially those involved in the struggle for Mexican independence. Although the composition is complex, the simple shapes and large areas of bold color make the story easy to read.

Frida Kahlo. Born to a Mexican mother and a German father, the painter Frida Kahlo (1907–1954) used the details of her life as powerful symbols for the psychological pain of human existence. Art historians often consider Kahlo a Surrealist due to the psychic, autobiographical issues she dealt with in her art. Indeed, André Breton himself deemed her a Natural Surrealist. (The work of her older contemporary Rufino Tamayo [1899–1991; fig. 30-14A] has also been compared to Natural Surrealism canvases.) Kahlo herself, however, rejected any association with the Surrealists. She began painting seriously as a young student, during convalescence from an accident that tragically left her in constant pain. Her life became a heroic and tumultuous battle for survival against illness and to withstand stormy personal relationships, including her marriage to Diego Rivera.

30-14A Tamayo, *Friend of the Birds,* 1944.

Typical of Kahlo's long series of unflinching self-portraits is *The Two Fridas* (fig. 30-15), one of the few large canvases she ever produced. The twin figures sit side by side on a low bench in a barren landscape under a stormy sky. The figures suggest different sides of the artist's personality, inextricably linked by the clasped hands and by the thin artery stretching between them, joining their exposed hearts. The artery ends on one side in surgical forceps and on the other in a miniature portrait of Rivera as a child. Her deeply personal paintings touch sensual and psychological memories in her audience.

To read Kahlo's paintings solely as autobiographical is, however, too narrow, and overlooks the powerful political dimension of her art. Kahlo was deeply nationalistic and committed to her Mexican heritage. Politically active, she joined the Communist Party in 1927 and participated in public political protests. *The Two Fridas* incorporates Kahlo's commentary on the struggle facing Mexicans

1 ft.

30-15 **Frida Kahlo, *The Two Fridas,* 1939. Oil on canvas, 5′ 7″ × 5′ 7″. Museo de Arte Moderno, Mexico City.**

Kahlo's deeply personal paintings touch sensual and psychological memories in her audience. Here, twin self-portraits linked by clasped hands and a common artery suggest two sides of her personality.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Alfred Stieglitz on "Straight Photography"

Taking his camera everywhere he went, Alfred Stieglitz photographed whatever he saw around him, from the bustling streets of New York City to cloudscapes in upstate New York and the faces of friends and relatives. He believed in making only "straight, unmanipulated" photographs. Thus he exposed and printed them using basic photographic processes, without resorting to techniques such as double-exposure or double-printing that would add information absent in the subject when he released the shutter. Stieglitz said that he wanted the photographs he made with this direct technique "to hold a moment, to record something so completely that those who see it would relive an equivalent of what has been expressed."*

Stieglitz's photographic work is noteworthy for his insistence on seeing his subjects in terms of arrangements of lines and shapes and of the "colors" of his black-and-white materials. His aesthetic approach crystallized during the making of *The Steerage* (FIG. 30-16), a photograph he took during a sea voyage to Europe with his first wife and daughter in 1907. Traveling first class, Stieglitz rapidly grew bored with the company of the prosperous passengers in his section of the ship. He walked as far forward on the first-class level as he could, when the rail around the opening onto the lower deck brought him up short. This level was for the steerage passengers whom the government sent back to Europe after refusing them entrance into the United States. Later, Stieglitz described what happened next:

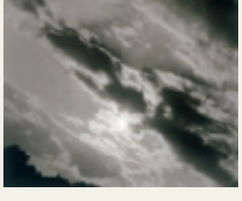
> The scene fascinated me: A round hat; the funnel leaning left, the stairway leaning right; the white drawbridge, its railing made of chain; white suspenders crossed on the back of a man below; circular iron machinery; a mast that cut into the sky, completing a triangle. I stood spellbound. I saw shapes related to one another—a picture of shapes, and underlying it, a new vision that held me: simple people; the feeling of ship, ocean, sky; a sense of release that I was away from the mob called rich. Rembrandt came into my mind and I wondered would he have felt as I did. . . . I had only one plate holder with one unexposed plate. Could I catch what I saw and felt? I released the shutter. If I had captured what I wanted, the photograph would go far beyond any of my previous prints. It would be a picture based on related shapes and deepest human feeling—a step in my own evolution, a spontaneous discovery.†

This description reveals Stieglitz's abiding interest in the formal elements of the photograph—an insistently modernist focus that emerges in even more extreme form in his *Equivalent* series (FIG. 30-16A) of the 1920s. The finished print fulfilled Stieglitz's vision so well that it shaped his future photographic work, and its haunting mixture of found patterns and human activity has continued to stir viewers' emotions to this day.

1 in.

30-16 ALFRED STIEGLITZ, *The Steerage,* 1907 (print 1915). Photogravure (on tissue), 1′ $\frac{3}{8}$″ × 10 $\frac{1}{8}$″. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

Stieglitz waged a lifelong campaign for photography as a fine art. This 1907 "straight photographic" image taken on an ocean liner is a haunting mixture of human activity and found patterns of forms.



30-16A STIEGLITZ, *Equivalent,* 1923.

*Quoted in Dorothy Norman, *Alfred Stieglitz: An American Seer* (Millerton, N.Y.: Aperture, 1973), 9–10.
†Ibid., 161.

in the early 20th century in defining their national cultural identity. The Frida on the right (representing indigenous culture) appears in a Tehuana dress, the traditional costume of Zapotec women from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, whereas the Frida on the left (representing imperialist forces) wears a European-style white lace dress. The heart, depicted here in such dramatic fashion, was an important symbol in the art of the Aztecs, whom Mexican nationalists idealized as the last independent rulers of their land. Thus *The Two Fridas* represents both Kahlo's personal struggles and the struggles of her homeland.

PHOTOGRAPHY AND SCULPTURE

Among the most significant artistic developments during the decades between the two world wars was the emergence of photography as a respected branch of the fine arts in the United States. The person most responsible for elevating the stature of photography was Alfred Stieglitz (see "Alfred Stieglitz on 'Straight Photography,'" above).

Alfred Stieglitz. While a student of photochemistry in Germany, ALFRED STIEGLITZ (1864–1946) began a lifelong campaign to

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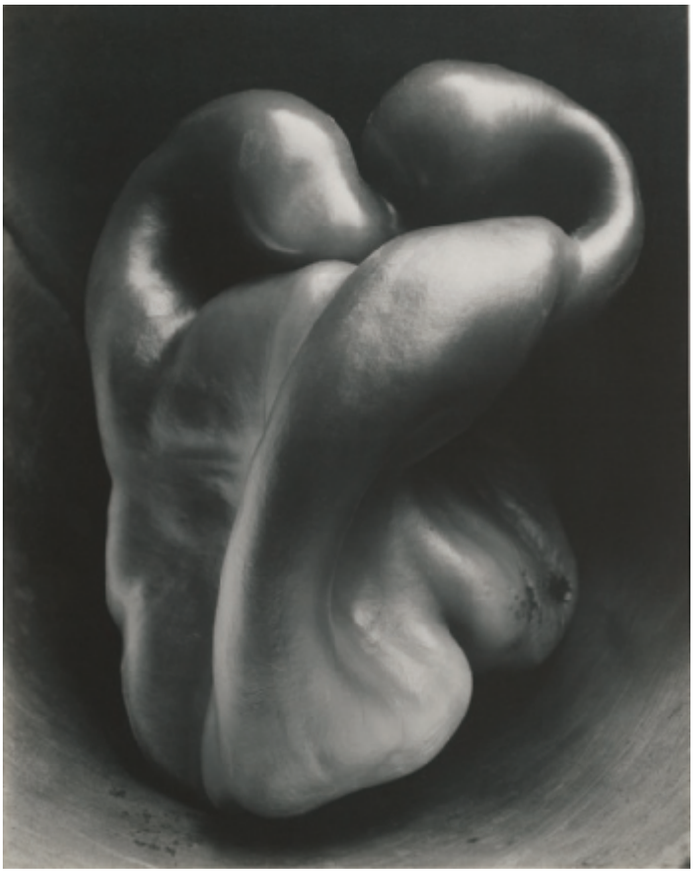
win a place for photography among the fine arts. In New York, he founded the Photo-Secession group, which mounted traveling exhibitions in the United States and sent loan collections abroad, and he published an influential journal titled *Camera Work*. Stieglitz's many recorded comments on the art of photography clearly set forth his philosophy of picture making using film instead of paint.

Edward Weston. Like Alfred Stieglitz, Edward Weston (1886–1958) played a major role in establishing photography as an important artistic medium. But unlike Stieglitz, who worked outdoors and sought to capture transitory moments in his photographs, Weston meticulously composed his subjects in a controlled setting, whether he was doing still lifes of peppers, shells, and other natural forms of irregular shape, or figure studies. The 1930 photograph of a pepper illustrated here (fig. 30-17) is the 30th in a large series and an outstanding example of this genre. In contrast to Weston's photographs of sections of nude human bodies (fig. 30-17A), his still-life photographs show the entire object, albeit tightly framed. (Compare Georgia O'Keeffe's *Jack-in-the-Pulpit No. 4* [fig. I-5] painted the same year.) The lighting accentuates the undulating surfaces and crevices of the vegetable. Weston left nothing to chance, choosing the exact angle and play of light over the object, "previsualizing" the final photographic print before snapping the camera's shutter.

30-17A Weston, *Nude,* 1925.

In a kind of reversal of his approach to photographing nudes, which he often transformed into landscapes, Weston frequently chose peppers whose shapes reminded him of human bodies. *Pepper No. 30* looks like a seated nude figure seen from behind with raised arms emerging from broad shoulders. Viewers can read the vertical crease down the center of the vegetable as the spinal column leading to the buttocks. Although highly successful as a purely abstract composition of shapes and of light and dark, Weston's still life also conveys mystery and sensuality through its dramatic lighting and rich texture.

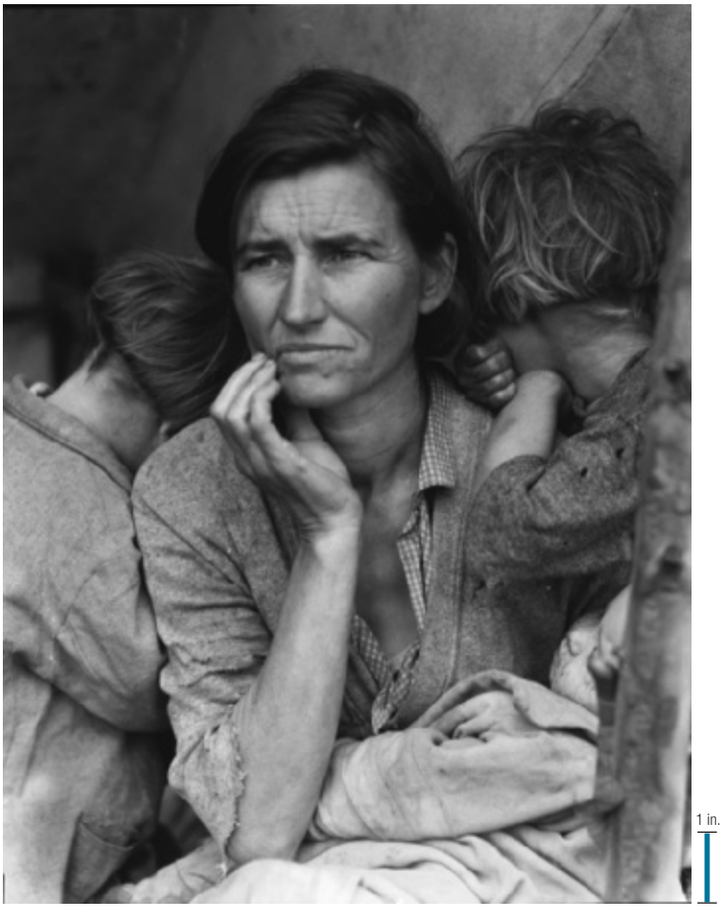
Dorothea Lange. Weston's work and Stieglitz's *Equivalent* photos represent the abstract mode of 20th-century American photography, whereas Stieglitz's *Steerage* is an iconic example of documentary photography, which enjoyed official sponsorship during the Great Depression. One of the most important programs the federal government initiated during the 1930s was the Resettlement



1 in.

30-17 Edward Weston, *Pepper No. 30,* 1930. Gelatin silver print, $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$. Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson.

Weston "previsualized" his still lifes, choosing the exact angle, lighting, and framing he desired. His vegetables often resemble human bodies, in this case a seated nude seen from behind.



1 in.

30-18 Dorothea Lange, *Migrant Mother, Nipomo Valley,* 1935. Gelatin silver print, 1′ 1″ × 9″. Oakland Museum of California, Oakland (gift of Paul S. Taylor).

While documenting the lives of migratory farm workers during the Depression, Lange made this unforgettable photograph of a mother in which she captured the woman's strength and worry.

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Administration (RA), better known by its later name, the Farm Security Administration. The RA oversaw emergency aid programs for farm families struggling to survive very hard times. The RA hired Dorothea Lange (1895–1965) in 1935, and dispatched her to document the deplorable living conditions of the rural poor.

At the end of an assignment photographing migratory pea pickers in California, Lange stopped at a camp in Nipomo and found the workers there starving because the crops had frozen in the fields. Among the pictures Lange made on this occasion was *Migrant Mother, Nipomo Valley* (fig. 30-18), in which she captured the mixture of strength and worry in the raised hand and careworn face of a young mother, who holds a baby on her lap. Two older children cling to their mother trustfully while turning their faces away from the camera. Lange described how she got the picture:

> [I] saw and approached the hungry and desperate mother, as if drawn by a magnet. I do not remember how I explained my presence or my camera to her, but I remember she asked me no questions. I made five exposures, working closer and closer from the same direction. . . . There she sat in that lean-to tent with her children huddled around her, and she seemed to know that my pictures might help her, and so she helped me.[10]

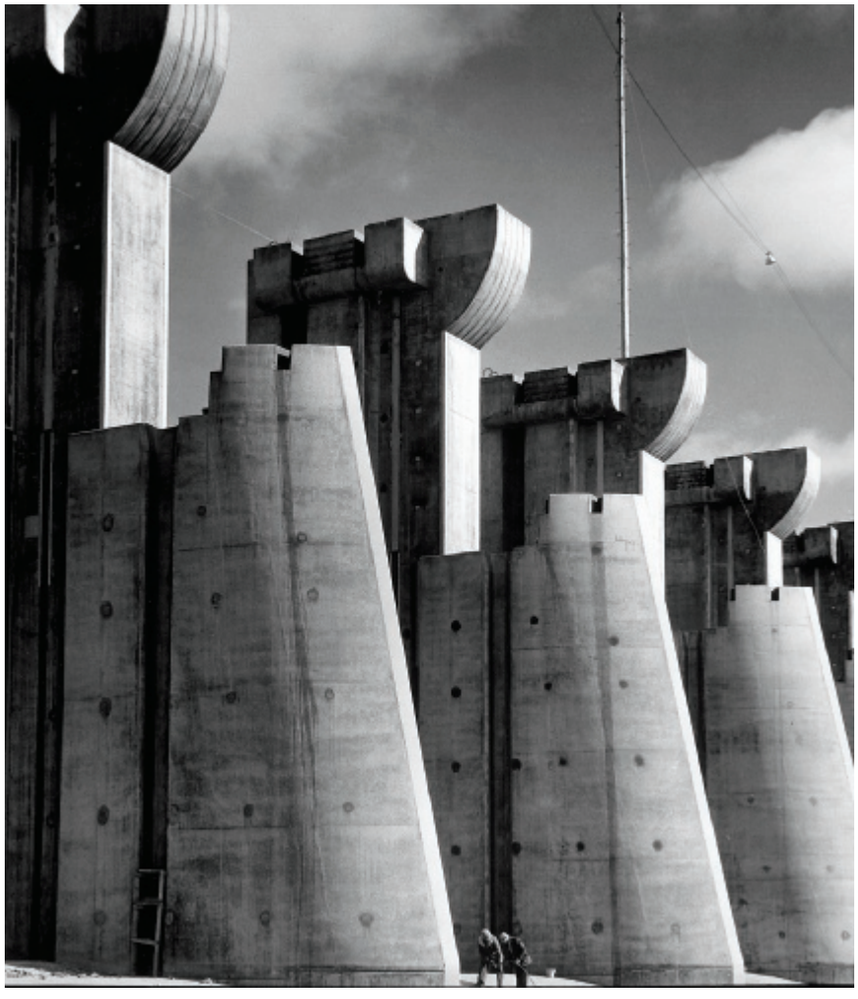
Within days after Lange's photograph appeared in a San Francisco newspaper, people rushed food to Nipomo to feed the hungry workers. The photographs sponsored by the RA had a lasting impact in another way: they were the indispensable foundation for the description of the lives of Depression-era migrant workers in *The Grapes of Wrath,* the 1939 Pulitzer Prize–winning novel by John Steinbeck (1902–1968).

Margaret Bourke-White. Almost 10 years younger than Dorothea Lange, Margaret Bourke-White (1904–1971) also made her reputation as a photojournalist in Depression-era America. She was the first staff photographer whom Henry Luce (1898–1967) hired to furnish illustrations for the magazines in his publishing empire. Beginning in 1929, Bourke-White worked for *Fortune,* then for *Life* when Luce launched the famous newsweekly in 1936. During her long career, she photographed Midwestern farmers in their drought-stricken fields, impoverished Southern sharecroppers, black gold miners in South Africa, the Nazi concentration camp at Buchenwald, and the Korean War.

Bourke-White's most memorable photographs, however, were not of people or events but of the triumphs of 20th-century engineering, many of which appeared in Luce's magazines and served to instill pride in an American public severely lacking in confidence during the Depression. She photographed the Chrysler Building (fig. 30-22) while it was under construction in New York, attracting media attention for her daring balancing act on steel girders high above the pavement. She also achieved renown as the first woman to fly a combat mission when she was an official U.S. Air Force photographer during World War II.

For the first issue of *Life* (November 23, 1936), Bourke-White not only provided the cover photograph—*Fort Peck Dam, Montana* (fig. 30-19)—but also wrote and illustrated with 16 additional photographs the lead story on the town of New Deal, home to the workers who constructed the dam during the depths of the Depression.

Fort Peck Dam was at the time the largest earth-filled dam in the world. Bourke-White photographed the still unfinished dam before the installation of the elevated highway at its summit. (The supports for that highway fortuitously conjure the image of a crenellated medieval fortress.) She chose a sharp angle from below to communicate the dam's soaring height, underscoring the immense scale by including two dwarfed figures of men in the foreground. The tight framing, which shuts out all of the landscape and much of the sky, transforms the dam into an almost abstract composition, a kind of still life, like Edward Weston's peppers (fig. 30-17). Bourke-White's photographs celebrate modern American engineering as heir to the architectural achievements of the ancient world's great civilizations, and bear comparison with the paintings of Charles Demuth (fig. 30-7).



30-19 Margaret Bourke-White, *Fort Peck Dam, Montana,* 1936. Gelatin silver print, 1′ 1″ × 10½″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of Ford Motor Company and John C. Waddell, 1987).

Bourke-White's dramatic photograph of Fort Peck Dam graced the cover of the first issue of *Life* magazine and celebrated the achievements of American engineering during the depths of the Great Depression.

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30-20 MAN RAY, *Cadeau* (*Gift*), ca. 1958 (replica of 1921 original). Painted flatiron with row of 13 tacks with heads glued to the bottom, $6\frac{1}{8}'' \times 3\frac{5}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$. Museum of Modern Art, New York (James Thrall Soby Fund).

With characteristic Dada humor, Man Ray, an American associate of Duchamp, equipped a laundry iron with a row of wicked-looking spikes, subverting its proper function of smoothing and pressing.

Man Ray. Emmanuel Radnitzky, who assumed the name MAN RAY (1890–1976), made his mark in the international art world as an innovator in several media. He was a close associate of Marcel Duchamp in the 1920s and produced art having a decidedly Dada spirit, often incorporating found objects in his paintings, sculptures, movies, and photographs. Trained as an architectural draftsman, Man Ray earned his living as a graphic designer and portrait photographer, and developed an innovative photographic technique. In contrast to traditional photographs, his photographic images were produced without using a camera by placing objects directly on photographic paper and then exposing the paper to light. He dubbed the resulting photographs, which in effect created themselves, *Rayographs*.

With many other artists of this period, in both Europe and America, Man Ray shared a keen interest in mass-produced objects and technology, as well as a dedication to exploring the psychological realm of human perception of the exterior world. Like Kurt Schwitters (FIG. 29-29) in Germany, Man Ray used the dislocation of ordinary things from their everyday settings to surprise the viewer into new awareness. His displacement of found objects was particularly effective in works such as *Cadeau* (*Gift*; FIG. 30-20). For this sculpture, with characteristic Dada humor, he equipped a laundry iron with a row of wicked-looking tacks, subverting its proper function. The "gift" would rip to shreds any garment the recipient tried to press with it.

Alexander Calder. The most renowned American sculptor of this period rose to international prominence because of his contributions to the development of abstract art. The son and grandson of sculptors, ALEXANDER CALDER (1898–1976) initially studied mechanical engineering. Fascinated all his life by motion, he explored movement in relationship to three-dimensional form in much of his work. As a young artist in Paris in the late 1920s, Calder invented a circus full of wire-based miniature performers that mimicked the motion of their real-life counterparts. After a visit to Piet Mondrian's studio in the early 1930s, Calder set out to put the Dutch painter's brightly colored rectangular shapes (FIG. 29-45) into motion. (Marcel Duchamp, intrigued by Calder's early motorized and hand-cranked examples of moving abstract pieces, named them *mobiles*.) Calder soon used his engineering skills to fashion a series of balanced structures hanging from rods, wires, and colorful, organically shaped plates. This new kind of sculpture, which combined nonobjective organic forms and motion, succeeded in expressing the innate dynamism of the natural world.

An early Calder mobile is *Lobster Trap and Fish Tail* (FIG. 30-21), which the artist created in 1939 under a commission from the Museum of Modern Art in New York City for the stairwell of the museum's new building on West 53rd Street (see "The Museum of Modern Art as Collector and Patron," page 951). Calder carefully planned each mobile so that any air current would set the parts moving to create a constantly shifting dance in space. Mondrian's work may have provided the initial inspiration for the mobiles, but their organic shapes resemble those in Joan Miró's Biomorphic Surrealist paintings (FIG. 29-42). Indeed, viewers can read Calder's forms as either geometric or organic. Geometrically, the lines suggest circuitry and rigging, and the shapes derive from circles and ovoid forms. Organically, the lines intimate nerve axons, cells, leaves, fins, wings, and other bioforms.

ARCHITECTURE

Like other artists, many early-20th-century architects in the United States looked to Europe for inspiration, but distinctive American styles also emerged that in turn had a major influence on architectural design worldwide.

Art Deco

Although Adolf Loos (FIG. 29-51) had strongly condemned ornamentation in the design of buildings, popular taste still favored decoration as an important element in architecture. *Art Deco* was a movement in the 1920s and 1930s whose adherents sought to elevate industrial design to parity with "fine art." Proponents wanted to work new materials into decorative patterns that could be either machined or handcrafted and could, to a degree, reflect the simplifying trend in architecture. A remote descendant of Art Nouveau (see "Art Nouveau," page 880), Art Deco acquired its name at the Exposition internationale des Arts décoratifs et industriels modernes (International Exposition of Modern Decorative and Industrial Arts), held in Paris in 1925. Art Deco had universal application—to buildings, interiors, furniture, utensils, jewelry,

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The Museum of Modern Art as Collector and Patron

People understandably think of museums as repositories of artworks, often donated by wealthy private individuals. Indeed, the interests and tastes of donors can be the primary determinants of the character of a museum's collection. Although some world-famous museums—for example, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Musée du Louvre in Paris—boast comprehensive art collections of all periods and places, most museums have much narrower acquisition policies. All museums, but especially the richest and largest, have the power to elevate the stature of individual artists or particular kinds of art by featuring them in exhibitions. And sometimes museums become influential patrons themselves by directly commissioning works of art.

The Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York City is an excellent case study of the role of museums as art patrons. Established in 1929, MoMA owes its existence to a trio of women—Lillie P. Bliss, Mary Quinn Sullivan, and Abby Aldrich Rockefeller (see "Art 'Matronage' in the United States," page 938)—who saw the need for a museum to collect and exhibit modernist art. Within a short period of time, the institution they founded became the most important museum of modern art in the world. Their success was extraordinary considering the skepticism and hostility greeting modernist art in the years before MoMA's inception. Indeed, few American museums then exhibited late-19th-century and 20th-century art at all.

In its quest to expose the public to the energy and challenge of modernist, particularly avant-garde, art, MoMA developed groundbreaking, progressive exhibitions. Among those the museum mounted during the early years of its existence were *Cubism and Abstract Art* and *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism* (1936). Two other noteworthy shows were *American Sources of Modern Art (Aztec, Maya, Inca)* in 1933 and *African Negro Art* in 1935, both among the first exhibitions to deal with non-European artifacts in artistic rather than anthropological terms (see "Primitivism and Colonialism," page 897).

The organization of MoMA's administrative structure and the scope of the museum's early activities were also remarkable. The museum's first director, Alfred H. Barr Jr., insisted on establishing departments not only for painting and sculpture but also for photography, prints and drawing, architecture, and the decorative arts. He developed a library of books on modern art and a film library, both of which have become world-class collections, as well as an extensive publishing program.

It is the museum's art collection, however, that has drawn the most attention. By cultivating an influential group of benefactors, MoMA has developed an extensive and enviable collection of late-19th-, 20th-, and 21st-century art. The museum owns a long list of important works, such as van Gogh's *Starry Night* (FIG. 28-20), Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* (FIG. 29-1), and Dalí's *The Persistence of Memory* (FIG. 29-39), as well as scores of others illustrated in this book. MoMA also played a role in the history of 20th-century art through its patronage of modernist artists. For example, in 1939, just a decade after the institution's founding, it commissioned Alexander Calder to produce the mobile *Lobster Trap and Fish Tail* (FIG. 30-21) for display in a prominent location in its midtown Manhattan building.

30-21 Alexander Calder, *Lobster Trap and Fish Tail*, 1939. Painted sheet aluminum and steel wire, 8′ 6″ × 9′ 6″. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

On commission from the Museum of Modern Art, Calder used his thorough knowledge of engineering to create a new kind of abstract sculpture—the mobile—that expressed nature's innate dynamism.

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30-22 **William van Alen, spire of the Chrysler Building (looking south), New York, New York, 1928–1930.**

The Chrysler Building's stainless steel spire exemplifies Art Deco architecture. The skyscraper's glittering crown of diminishing fan shapes has a streamlined form popular in America during the 1920s.

fashions, illustration, and commercial products of every sort. Art Deco products have a "streamlined," elongated, symmetrical aspect. Simple, flat shapes alternate with shallow volumes in hard patterns. Derived from nature, these simple forms are inherently aerodynamic, making them technologically efficient (because of their reduced resistance as they move through air or water) as well as aesthetically pleasing. Designers adopted streamlined designs for trains and cars, and the popular appeal of these designs led to their use in an array of objects, from machines to consumer products.

Chrsyler Building. Art Deco architecture's exemplary masterpiece is the stainless-steel spire of the Chrysler Building (fig. 30-22) in New York City, designed by William van Alen (1882–1954). The building and spire are monuments to the fabulous 1920s, when American millionaires and corporations competed with one another to raise the tallest skyscrapers in the biggest cities (compare fig. 30-8). Built up of diminishing fan shapes, the spire glitters triumphantly in the sky, a resplendent crown honoring the business achievements of the great auto manufacturer. As a temple of commerce, the Chrysler Building celebrated the principles and success of American business before the onset of the Great Depression.

Frank Lloyd Wright

One of the most striking personalities in the development of modern architecture on either side of the Atlantic was Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959). Born in Wisconsin, Wright moved to Chicago, where he eventually joined the firm headed by Louis Sullivan (see "Louis Henry Sullivan," page 883). Wright set out to create an American "architecture of democracy" (see "Frank Lloyd Wright on Organic Architecture," page 953).

Robie House. Wright's vigorous originality emerged early, and by 1900 he had arrived at a style entirely his own. In his work during the first decade of the 20th century, his cross-axial plan and his fabric of continuous roof planes and screens defined a new American domestic architecture. He fully expressed these elements and concepts in the Robie House (fig. 30-23), built between 1907 and 1909. Like other buildings in the Chicago area that Wright designed at about the same time, he called this home a "prairie house." Wright conceived the long, sweeping, ground-hugging lines, unconfined by abrupt wall limits, as reaching out toward and capturing the expansiveness of the Midwest's great flatlands. Abandoning all symmetry, he eliminated a facade, extended the roofs far beyond the walls, and all but concealed the entrance. Wright filled the house's "wandering" plan (fig. 30-24) with intricately joined spaces (some large and open, others closed) grouped freely around a great central fireplace. (He believed strongly in the hearth's age-old domestic significance as well as in its ability to keep a house's inhabitants warm in Chicago's frigid winters.) Wright designed enclosed patios, overhanging roofs (essential to provide shade in the summer heat), and strip windows to provide unexpected light sources and glimpses of the outdoors as the inhabitants moved through the interior space. These elements, together with the open ground plan, created a sense of space in motion, inside and out. Wright matched his new and fundamental interior spatial arrangement in his exterior treatment. For example, the flow of interior space determined the sharp angular placement of exterior walls.

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Frank Lloyd Wright on Organic Architecture

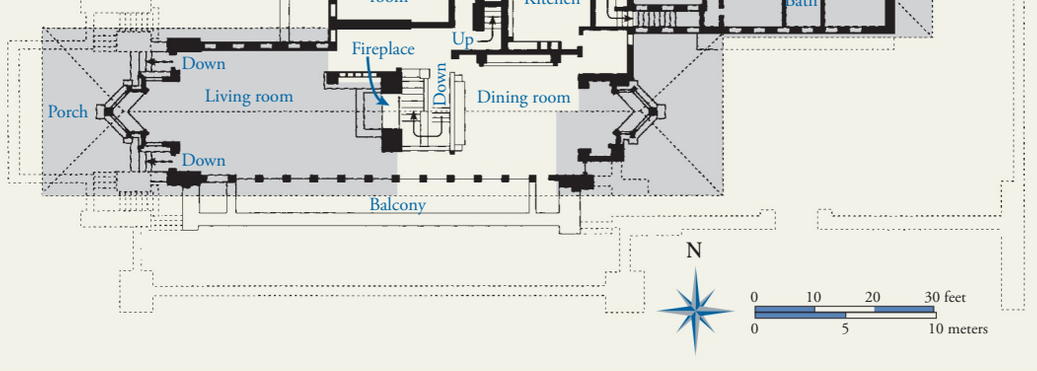
Always a believer in "natural" and "organic" buildings, Wright envisioned an "architecture of democracy"*—that is, buildings designed to serve free individuals who have the right to move within a "free" space. Wright equated free space with a nonsymmetrical design interacting spatially with its natural surroundings, as in his 1907–1909 Robie House (FIGS. 30-23 and 30-24) in Chicago. In his architectural designs, Wright sought to develop an organic unity of planning, structure, materials, and site, and identified the principle of "continuity" as fundamental to understanding his view of organic unity.

> Classic architecture was all fixation. . . . Now why not let walls, ceilings, floors become seen as component parts of each other? . . . You may see the appearance in the surface of your hand contrasted with the articulation of the bony structure itself. This ideal, profound in its architectural implications . . . I called . . . continuity.†
>
> In Organic Architecture . . . it is quite impossible to consider the building as one thing, its furnishings another and its setting and environment still another. The Spirit in which these buildings are conceived sees all these together at work as one thing. All are to be studiously foreseen and provided for in the nature of the structure. All these should become mere details of the character and completeness of the structure. . . . To thus make of a human dwelling-place a complete work of art, in itself expressive and beautiful, intimately related to modern life and fit to live in, lending itself more freely and suitably to the individual needs of the dwellers . . . this is the tall modern American opportunity in Architecture. True basis of a true Culture. . . . I believe this Ideal will become a new Tradition: a vast step in advance of the prescribed fashion in a day when a dwelling was a composite of cells arranged as separate rooms. . . . An organic-entity, this modern building as contrasted with that former insensate aggregation of parts. . . . One great thing instead of a quarrelling collection of so many little things.‡

*Quoted in Vincent Scully Jr., *Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York: Braziller, 1960), 18.
†Quoted in Edgar Kauffmann, ed., *Frank Lloyd Wright, An American Architecture* (New York: Horizon, 1955), 205, 208.
‡Quoted in Ulrich Conrads, ed., *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970), 25.

30-23 Frank Lloyd Wright, Robie House (looking northeast), Chicago, Illinois, 1907–1909.

The Robie House is an example of Wright's "architecture of democracy," in which free individuals move within a "free" space—a nonsymmetrical design interacting spatially with its natural surroundings.



30-24 Frank Lloyd Wright, plan of the second (main) level of the Robie House, Chicago, Illinois, 1907–1909.

Typical of Wright's "prairie houses," the Robie House has a bold "wandering" asymmetrical plan with intricately joined open and closed spaces grouped freely around a great central fireplace.

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30-25 Frank Lloyd Wright, Kaufmann House (Fallingwater; looking northeast), Bear Run, Pennsylvania, 1936–1939.

Perched on a rocky hillside over a waterfall, Wright's Fallingwater has long, sweeping lines, unconfined by abrupt wall limits, that reach out and capture the expansiveness of the natural environment.

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Fallingwater. Although Wright's long, universally acclaimed career extended well beyond World War II (FIG. 31-41), one of his greatest works dates to the 1930s: the Kaufmann House (FIG. 30-25), which he designed as a weekend retreat at Bear Run, Pennsylvania, for Pittsburgh department store magnate Edgar Kaufmann Sr. Perched on a rocky hillside over a small waterfall, the house, nicknamed Fallingwater, has become an icon of modernist architectural design. In keeping with his commitment to "organic architecture," Wright sought to find a way to incorporate the structure fully into its site in order to ensure a fluid, dynamic exchange between the interior of the house and the natural environment outside. Rather than build the house overlooking or next to the waterfall, Wright decided to build it *over* the waterfall, literally immersing the Kaufmanns' home in the sound and motion of the cascading water.

The key element of Wright's new architecture was space, not mass—a space designed to fit the patron's life and enclosed and divided as required. In Fallingwater, Wright took the blocky masses characterizing his earlier Robie House (FIG. 30-23) and extended them in all four directions. To take advantage of the location, he designed a series of terraces that extend on three levels from a central core structure. The contrast in textures among concrete, painted metal, and natural stones in the house's terraces and walls enlivens its shapes, as does Wright's use of full-length strip windows to create a stunning interweaving of interior and exterior space. Wright took special pains to meet his clients' requirements, often designing all the accessories of a house (including, in at least one case, gowns for his client's wife).

Usonian Houses. In the late 1930s, Wright acted on a cherished dream to provide good architectural design for less prosperous people by adapting the ideas of his prairie houses to plans for smaller, less expensive dwellings with neither attics nor basements. These residences, known as *Usonian* houses (for "United States of North America"), became templates for suburban housing developments in the post–World War II housing boom.

The publication of Wright's plans brought him a measure of fame in Europe, especially in Holland and Germany. The issuance in Berlin in 1910 of a portfolio of his work and an exhibition of his designs the following year stimulated younger architects to adopt some of his ideas about open plans that afforded clients freedom. Some 40 years before his career ended, his work was already of revolutionary significance. Mies van der Rohe wrote in 1940: "[The] dynamic impulse from [Wright's] work invigorated a whole generation. His influence was strongly felt even when it was not actually visible."[11]

Frank Lloyd Wright's influence in Europe was exceptional for any American artist before World War II. However, in the decades following that second global conflict, American painters, sculptors, and architects often took the lead in establishing innovative styles that artists elsewhere quickly emulated. This new preeminence of the United States in the arts is examined in Chapter 31.

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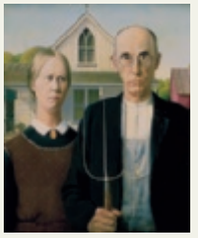
THE BIG PICTURE

Modernism in the United States and Mexico, 1900 to 1945

Painting

- The Armory Show of 1913, which included works by Henri Matisse, André Derain, Ludwig Kirchner, Vassily Kandinsky, Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, and Marcel Duchamp introduced avant-garde European art to American artists.
- Modernist art received a hostile reception in the United States, but Arthur Dove, Marsden Hartley, and Stuart Davis joined many European artists in rejecting traditional art forms in favor of abstraction in painting.
- The Harlem Renaissance brought African American artists to the forefront, including Aaron Douglas, whose paintings of African American history drew on Cubist principles. Jacob Lawrence documented the experiences of African Americans who had migrated to the North and experienced discrimination there as well as in the South.
- Charles Demuth, Georgia O'Keeffe, and the Precisionists used European modernist techniques to celebrate contemporary American subjects.
- Other American artists favored figural art. John Sloan and The Eight recorded the bleak and seedy aspects of life in New York City. Edward Hopper explored the loneliness of urban life in the Depression era. Grant Wood and the Regionalists depicted the people and places of rural America. Wood's *American Gothic* became an American icon.
- Mexican artists José Orozco and Diego Rivera painted epic mural cycles of the history of Mexico, both in their homeland and in the United States. Orozco's *Hispano-America* was painted on commission by Dartmouth College.

Davis, *Hot Still-Scape,* 1940



Wood, *American Gothic,* 1930

Orozco, *Hispano-America,* 1932–1934

Photography and Sculpture

- Photography emerged as an important American art form in the work of Alfred Stieglitz and Edward Weston, who emphasized the careful arrangement of forms and patterns of light and dark.
- By contrast, Dorothea Lange and Margaret Bourke-White won fame for their documentary photographs recording the plight of migratory pea pickers in California and Depression-era triumphs of American engineering.
- Alexander Calder pioneered mobiles (abstract sculptures with moving parts).

Lange, *Migrant Mother,* 1935

Architecture

- The leading American architect of the first half of the 20th century was Frank Lloyd Wright, who promoted "organic architecture," in which free individuals move in a "free" space. His acclaimed masterpiece, Fallingwater, integrates the built and natural environment.
- The Art Deco style, exemplified by the crowning spire of the Chrysler Building, features simple curvilinear aerodynamic shapes.

Wright, Fallingwater, 1936–1939

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◀**31-1a** Moore's circular postmodern Italy Square incorporates elements drawn from classical architecture, including a portico inspired by ancient Roman fora and an exedra loosely based on a triumphal arch.

▶**31-1b** Postmodernist architects frequently incorporate references to historical styles in their designs. In addition to motifs based on Roman buildings, Moore included modern versions of medieval flying buttresses.

31-1 **Charles Moore, Piazza d'Italia (looking northeast), New Orleans, 1976–1980.**

▶**31-1c** Many of Moore's historical motifs are rendered in high-tech materials unavailable to earlier architects—for example, stainless-steel columns and capitals and neon lighting for multicolored nighttime illumination.

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MODERNISM AND POSTMODERNISM IN EUROPE AND AMERICA, 1945 TO 1980

31

FRAMING THE ERA

After Modernism: Postmodernist Architecture

One of the most significant developments in later-20th-century architecture was *postmodernism.* Postmodernist architects rejected the severity and simplicity of the modernist idiom pioneered by Gropius (FIG. 29-53), Mies van der Rohe (FIG. 29-54), Le Corbusier (FIG. 29-55), and their postwar successors. Instead, they celebrated complexity and incorporated historical references in their designs, often rendered in high-tech materials unavailable to earlier architects.

An outstanding example of a postmodernist design that creates a dialogue between the past and the present is Piazza d'Italia (Italy Square; FIG. 31-1) in New Orleans by American architect CHARLES MOORE (1925–1993), dean of the Yale School of Architecture from 1965 to 1970. Designed in the late 1970s and restored after sustaining serious damage in the wake of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, Piazza d'Italia is dedicated to the city's Italian American community. Appropriately, Moore selected elements relating specifically to Italian history, all the way back to ancient Roman culture.

Piazza d'Italia is an open circular area partially formed by short segments of colonnades arranged in staggered concentric arcs, which direct the eye to the focal point of the composition—an *exedra.* This *arcuated* recessed area on a raised platform serves as a *rostrum* (speaker's platform) during the annual festivities of Saint Joseph's Day. Moore inlaid the piazza's pavement with a map of Italy centered on Sicily, from which the majority of the city's Italian families originated. From there, the map's Italian "boot" stretches to the steps, which correspond to the Alps, and ascends the rostrum.

The piazza's most immediate historical references are to the porticos of an ancient Roman forum (FIGS. 7-12 and 7-44) and to triumphal arches (FIGS. 7-40 and 7-44A), but the irregular placement of the concentrically arranged colonnade fragments inserts a note of instability into the design, reminiscent of Mannerism (FIG. 22-28). Illusionistic devices, such as the continuation of the piazza's pavement design (apparently through a building and out into the street), are Baroque in character (FIG. 24-4). Moore incorporated several classical orders—most with whimsical modifications, such as the stainless-steel columns and capitals, neon collars around the column necks, and neon lights framing various parts of the exedra and porticos for dramatic multicolored nighttime illumination. He even made references to medieval architecture by including modern versions of *flying buttresses,* and alternating white and gray-green stones in emulation of the revetment of medieval buildings in Florence, Orvieto, and Siena (FIGS. 12-30, 12-30A, 14-13, and 14-13A). This kind of eclecticism, especially rich in Piazza d'Italia, is a key ingredient of postmodernist architectural design.

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THE AFTERMATH OF WORLD WAR II

World War II, with the global devastation it unleashed on all dimensions of human life—political, economic, and psychological—set the stage for the second half of the 20th century. The dropping of atomic bombs by the United States on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 signaled a turning point not only in the war itself but in the geopolitical balance and the nature of international conflict as well. For the postwar generation, nuclear attack became a very real threat. Indeed, the two nuclear superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, divided the world into spheres of influence, and each regularly intervened politically, economically, and militarily wherever and whenever it considered its interests to be at stake.

The cessation of global warfare did not bring global peace. On the contrary, regional conflicts erupted throughout the world during the decades after World War II. In 1947, the British left India, which precipitated a murderous Hindu–Muslim war that divided South Asia into two new hostile nations—India and Pakistan. After a bloody civil war, Communists came to power in China in 1949. North Korea invaded South Korea in 1950 and fought a grim war with the United States and its allies. The Soviets brutally suppressed uprisings in their subject nations—East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. The United States intervened in disputes in Central and South America. Almost as soon as many of the colonial nations of Africa—Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique, Sudan, Congo, and Rwanda—won their independence, civil wars devastated them. Civil war also broke out in Indonesia, leaving more than 100,000 dead. Algeria expelled France in 1962 after the French waged a prolonged war with Algeria's Muslim natives. After 15 years of bitter war in Southeast Asia, the United States suffered defeat in Vietnam.

The period from 1945 to 1980 also brought upheaval in the cultural sphere. In the United States, for example, the struggles for civil rights for African Americans, for free speech on university campuses, and for disengagement from the Vietnam War led to a rebellion of the young, who took to the streets in often raucous demonstrations, some with violent repercussions. The prolonged ferment produced a new system of values, a "youth culture," expressed in the radical rejection not only of national policies but often also of the society generating them. Young Americans mocked their elders' lifestyles and adopted unconventional dress, manners, habits, and morals deliberately subversive of mainstream social standards, a phenomenon that continues today in different forms—for example, "punk" fashion. The postwar youth era witnessed the sexual revolution, the widespread use and abuse of drugs, and the development of rock music, then an art form appreciated almost exclusively by the young. Many people under 30 "dropped out" of regulated society, embraced alternative belief systems, and rejected Western university curricula as irrelevant.

This counterculture had considerable societal impact. The civil rights movement of the 1960s and the women's liberation movement of the 1970s reflected the spirit of rebellion, coupled with the rejection of racism and sexism. In keeping with the growing resistance to established authority, women systematically began to challenge the male-dominated culture, which they perceived as having limited their political power and economic opportunities for centuries. Feminists charged that the political, social, and economic institutions of Western society, as well as the traditional family unit headed by a patriarch, perpetuated male power and the subordination of women.

Increasingly, individuals and groups actively challenged the status quo and sought to change the balance of power. For example, by adapting strategies developed first in the civil rights movement and later in feminism, various ethnic groups and gays and lesbians mounted challenges to discriminatory policies and attitudes. These groups fought for recognition, respect, and legal protection and battled discrimination with political action, an effort that recently has begun to yield significant results—for example, in the widespread legalization of same-sex marriage. In addition, the growing scrutiny in numerous academic fields—cultural studies, literary theory, and colonial and postcolonial studies—of the dynamics and exercise of power also contributed to the dialogue on these issues. As a result, identity (both individual and group) emerged as a dynamic arena for discussion and action—and as a persistent and compelling subject for artists.

PAINTING, SCULPTURE, AND PHOTOGRAPHY

The end of World War II in 1945 left devastated cities, ruptured economies, and governments in chaos throughout Europe. These factors, coupled with the massive loss of life and the horrors of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and of the Holocaust, in which six million Jews died at the hands of the Nazis, resulted in a pervasive sense of despair, disillusionment, and skepticism. Although many people (for example, the Futurists in Italy; see "Futurism," page 904) had tried to find redemptive value in World War I, it was nearly impossible to do the same with World War II, coming as it did so soon after the "war to end all wars." Further, the "Great War" was largely a European conflict that left roughly

MODERNISM AND POSTMODERNISM, 1945 TO 1980

1945–1960

- European Expressionists capture in paintings and sculptures the revulsion and cynicism that emerged in the wake of World War II
- New York School painters develop Abstract Expressionism, emphasizing form and raw energy over subject matter
- Photographer Robert Frank documents life in America in the 1950s
- Sleek, geometrically rigid modernist skyscrapers become familiar sights in cities throughout the world

1960–1970

- Post-Painterly Abstractionists reject the passion and texture of action painting and celebrate the flatness of pigment on canvas
- Op artists produce the illusion of motion and depth using only geometric forms
- Minimalists reduce sculpture to basic shapes
- Pop artists find inspiration in popular culture and represent commonplace commercial products
- Superrealists create paintings and sculptures characterized by scrupulous reproduction of the appearance of people and objects
- Performance artists replace traditional stationary artworks with temporal action-artworks, while Conceptual artists insist that the essence of an artwork is its concept rather than its form

1970–1980

- Artists play a leading role in the feminist movement by promoting women's themes and employing materials traditionally associated with women, such as china and fabric
- Postmodern architects erect complex and eclectic buildings that often incorporate references to historical styles
- Environmental artists redefine what constitutes art by creating earthworks composed of natural materials
- Artists increasingly embrace new media—for example, video recorders and computers—as tools for creating artworks

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10 million people dead, whereas World War II was a truly global catastrophe, claiming 35 million lives.

Postwar Expressionism in Europe

The cynicism pervading Europe in the 1940s found a voice in *existentialism,* a philosophy asserting the absurdity of human existence and the impossibility of achieving certitude. Many who embraced existentialism also promoted atheism and questioned the possibility of situating God within a systematic philosophy. Scholars trace the roots of existentialism to the Danish theologian Søren Kierkegaard (1813–1855), but in the postwar period, the writings of French author Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980) most clearly captured the existentialist spirit. According to Sartre, if God does not exist, then individuals must constantly struggle in isolation with the anguish of making decisions in a world without absolutes or traditional values. This spirit of pessimism and despair emerged frequently in European art of the immediate postwar period. A brutality or roughness appropriately expressing both the artist's state of mind and the larger cultural sensibility characterized the work of many European sculptors and painters.

Alberto Giacometti. The sculptures of Swiss artist Alberto Giacometti (1901–1966) perhaps best express the existentialist spirit. Although Giacometti never claimed that he pursued existentialist ideas in his art, his works perfectly capture the spirit of that philosophy. Indeed, Sartre, Giacometti's friend, saw the artist's sculpted figures as the personification of existentialist humanity—alienated, solitary, and lost in the world's immensity. Giacometti's sculptures of the 1940s, such as *Man Pointing No. 5* (fig. 31-2), are thin, nearly featureless figures with rough, agitated surfaces. Rather than conveying the solidity and mass of conventional bronze sculpture, these thin and elongated figures seem swallowed up by the space surrounding them, imparting a sense of isolation and fragility. Giacometti's evocative sculptures spoke to the pervasive despair that emerged in the aftermath of the second world war.

31-2 Alberto Giacometti, *Man Pointing No. 5,* 1947. Bronze, 5′ 10″ high. Des Moines Art Center, Des Moines (Nathan Emory Coffin Collection).

The writer Jean-Paul Sartre saw Giacometti's thin and virtually featureless sculpted figures as the personification of existentialist humanity—alienated, solitary, and lost in the world's immensity.

31-3 Francis Bacon, *Painting,* 1946. Oil and pastel on linen, 6′ 5 7/8″ × 4′ 4″. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Painted in the aftermath of World War II, this intentionally repulsive image of a powerful figure presiding over a slaughter is a reflection of war's butchery. It is Bacon's indictment of humanity.

Francis Bacon. Although born in Dublin, Ireland, Francis Bacon (1909–1992) was the son of a well-to-do Englishman. He spent most of his life in London, where he experienced firsthand the destruction of lives and property that the Nazi bombing of 1940–1941 wrought on the city during World War II. *Painting* (fig. 31-3) is characteristic of Bacon's work—a reflection of war's butchery and an indictment of humanity. The artist presented a revolting image of a powerful, stocky man with a gaping mouth and a vivid red stain on his upper lip, as if he were a carnivore devouring the raw meat sitting on the railing surrounding him (compare fig. 31-3A). Bacon may have based his depiction

31-3A Bacon, *Figure with Meat,* 1954.

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Jean Dubuffet on Crude Art

In the introductory essay to the catalog of the autumn 1949 group exhibition of the Compagnie de l'Art Brut at the Galerie René Drouin in Paris, Jean Dubuffet (FIG. 31-4) explained the rationale for Crude Art in what became the movement's manifesto:

> [T]he approved art of the museums, galleries and salons—let us call it "cultural art" . . . [is not] representative of art in general, rather merely the activity of a particular clique: a cohort of careerist intellectuals. . . . There are still people, particularly the intellectuals, who do not clearly see that the intelligent are hopeless cases, and one needs to rely on the so-called imbeciles for moments of lucidity . . . [I]n July 1945 we [the Compagnie de l'Art Brut] undertook . . . methodical research into the relevant ways of producing that which we now call Crude Art. We understand by this works created by those untouched by artistic culture, in which copying has little part, unlike the art of intellectuals. Similarly, the artists take everything . . . from their own inner being, not from the canons of classical or fashionable art. We engage in an artistic enterprise that is completely pure, basic; totally guided in all its phases solely by the creator's own impulses.*

Not surprisingly, among the founding members of the Crude Art group was André Breton, the key intellectual champion of Dada and Surrealism (see "André Breton's *First Surrealist Manifesto,*" page 916).

*Jean Dubuffet, *L'art brut préféré aux arts culturels* (Paris: Galerie René Drouin, 1949), n.p. Translated by Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, eds., *Art and Theory 1900–2000: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2002), 606–607.

31-4 Jean Dubuffet, *Vie Inquiète* (*Uneasy Life*), 1953. Oil on canvas, 4′ 3″ × 6′ 4″. Tate Modern, London (gift of the artist, 1966).

Dubuffet expressed a tortured vision of the world through thickly encrusted painted surfaces and crude images of the kind that children and the insane produce. He called it Art Brut—untaught Crude Art.

of this central figure on news photos of similarly dressed European and American officials. The umbrella in particular recalls images of Neville Chamberlain (1869–1940), the wartime British prime minister who frequently appeared in photographs with an umbrella. Bacon added to the gut-wrenching impact of the painting by depicting the flayed carcass hanging behind the central figure like a crucified human form. Although the specific sources for the imagery in *Painting* are uncertain, the work is unmistakably "an attempt to remake the violence of reality itself," as Bacon often described his art, based on what he referred to as "the brutality of fact."[1]

Jean Dubuffet. Although less specific, the works of French artist Jean Dubuffet (1901–1985) also express a tortured vision of the world through manipulated materials. In works such as *Vie Inquiète* (*Uneasy Life*; FIG. 31-4), Dubuffet first built up an *impasto* (a layer of thickly applied pigment) of plaster, glue, sand, asphalt, and other common materials, on which he painted or incised crude images of the kind that children, the insane, and scrawlers of graffiti produce. Scribblings interspersed with the images heighten the impression of smeared and gashed surfaces of crumbling walls and worn pavements marked by random individuals. Dubuffet believed that the art of children, the mentally unbalanced, prisoners, and outcasts was more direct and genuine because those who created it did so unrestrained by conventional standards of art. He promoted *Art Brut*—untaught *Crude Art* (see "Jean Dubuffet on Crude Art," above).

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Gerhard Richter. Artistic repercussions of the devastation of World War II were not confined to England and France. Powerful, frightening memories of the destruction wrought in Europe during the war lingered forever after in the minds of all who lived through it. Decades later in Germany, Gerhard Richter (b. 1932) would paint a series of grey "damaged landscapes"—for example, *Townscape Paris* (fig. 31-4A) —that conjured the aerial bombardments of the 1940s.

31-4A Richter, *Townscape Paris,* 1968.

Abstract Expressionism

The devastation World War II had inflicted across Europe resulted in an influx of artists escaping to the United States. In the 1950s, the center of the Western art world shifted from Paris to New York. It was there that the first major American avant-garde art movement—*Abstract Expressionism*—emerged. The most important forerunner of the Abstract Expressionists, however, was an Armenian immigrant who arrived in New York in 1924.

Arshile Gorky. Born a Christian in Islamic Turkish Armenia, Vosdanik Manoog Adoian was four years old when his father escaped being drafted into the Turkish army by fleeing the country. His mother died of starvation in her 15-year-old son's arms in a refugee camp for victims of the Turkish campaign of genocide against the Christian minority. The penniless Vosdanik managed in 1920 to make his way to America, where a relative took him into his home near Boston. Four years later, then a young man, Vosdanik changed his name to Arshile Gorky (1904–1948)—"Bitter Achilles" in Russian—and moved to New York City, where he continued the art education he had begun in Boston. In 1948, Gorky hanged himself after suffering a series of misfortunes: a fire destroyed much of his recent work; he discovered his wife's infidelity; and an automobile accident robbed him of the use of his right arm. The injury might have been only temporary, but the depressed Gorky thought he would never be able to paint again. In a career lasting only two decades, the Armenian immigrant contributed significantly to the artistic revolution born in New York. His work is the bridge between the Biomorphic Surrealism of Joan Miró (fig. 29-42) and the completely abstract canvases of Jackson Pollock (fig. 31-6).

Garden in Sochi (fig. 31-5), painted in 1943, is the third in a series of canvases with identical titles named after a Black Sea resort but inspired by Gorky's childhood memories of the Garden of Wish Fulfillment in his birthplace. The women of the Armenian village of Khorkom believed that their wishes would be granted if they rubbed their bare breasts against a rock in that garden beneath a "wishing tree" to which they tied torn strips of their clothing in the hope that a wish or prayer would be granted. The brightly colored and thinly outlined forms in *Garden in Sochi,* which initially appear to be purely abstract biomorphic shapes, are loose sketches representing, at the left, a bare-breasted woman, and, at the center, a tree trunk with fluttering fabric. At the bottom are two oversized shoes—the Armenian slippers Gorky's father gave his son shortly before abandoning the family.

Clement Greenberg. The few traces of representational art in Gorky's work disappeared in Abstract Expressionism. As the name suggests, the artists associated with the New York School of Abstract Expressionism produced paintings that are for the most part abstract, but express the artist's state of mind, with the goal also of striking emotional chords in the viewer. The most important champion of this strict *formalism*—an emphasis on an artwork's visual elements rather than its subject—was the American art critic

1 ft.

31-5 Arshile Gorky, *Garden in Sochi,* ca. 1943. Oil on canvas, 2′ 7″ × 3′ 3″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (acquired through the Lillie P. Bliss Bequest).

Gorky's paintings of the 1940s, which still incorporate recognizable forms, are the bridge between the Biomorphic Surrealist canvases of Miró and the Abstract Expressionist paintings of Pollock.

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Greenbergian Formalism

Clement Greenberg, the most important critic of modern art in the postwar period, modified his complex ideas about art over the years, but consistently expounded certain basic concepts. He argued, for example, that Abstract Expressionism was no different than more traditional modes of painting in the sense that "abstract art like every other cultural phenomenon reflects the social and other circumstances of the age in which its creators live."* Greenberg championed abstraction because he believed that it represented purity in art: "Purity in art consists in the acceptance, willing acceptance, of the limitations of the medium of the specific art. . . . The purely plastic or abstract qualities of the work of art are the only ones that count."† In other words, Greenberg thought that artists should strive for a more explicit focus on the properties exclusive to each medium—for example, two-dimensionality or flatness in painting, and three-dimensionality in sculpture:

> [T]he unique and proper area of competence of each art coincide[s] with all that [is] unique to the nature of its medium.‡

> It follows that a modernist work of art must try, in principle, to avoid communication with any order of experience not inherent in the most literally and essentially construed nature of its medium. Among other things, this means renouncing illusion and explicit subject matter. The arts are to achieve concreteness, "purity," by dealing solely with their respective selves—that is, by becoming "abstract" or nonfigurative.§

The Abstract Expressionists turned inward to create, and the resulting works convey a rough spontaneity and palpable energy. The New York School painters—Jackson Pollock (FIGS. 31-6 and 31-7), Barnett Newman (FIG. 31-10), and others—wanted the viewer to grasp the content of their art intuitively, in a mental state free from structured thinking. Newman himself explained:

> We are reasserting man's natural desire for the exalted, for a concern with our relationship to the absolute emotions. We do not need the obsolete props of an outmoded and antiquated legend. We are creating images whose reality is self-evident . . . We are freeing ourselves of the impediments of memory, association, nostalgia, legend, myth . . . that have been the devices of Western European painting. Instead of making *cathedrals* out of Christ, man, or "life," we are making it out of ourselves, out of our own feelings. The image we produce is the self-evident one of revelation, real and concrete, that can be understood by anyone who will look at it without the nostalgic glasses of history.**

*Clement Greenberg, "Towards a Newer Laocoön," *Partisan Review* 7, no. 4 (July–August 1940): 296.
†Ibid., 305.
‡Clement Greenberg, "Sculpture in Our Time," *Arts Magazine* 32, no. 10 (June 1958): 22.
§Clement Greenberg, "Modernist Painting," *Art & Literature* 4 (Spring 1965): 195.
**Barnett Newman, "The Sublime in Now" (1948), quoted in Herschel B. Chipp, *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968), 552.

31-6 Jackson Pollock, *Number 1, 1950* (*Lavender Mist*), 1950. Oil, enamel, and aluminum paint on canvas, 7′ 3″ × 9′ 10″. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund).

Pollock's paintings are pure abstractions that emphasize the creative process. His mural-size canvases consist of rhythmic drips, splatters, and dribbles of paint that draw viewers into a lacy spider web.

Clement Greenberg (see "Modernism," page 850), who wielded considerable influence from the 1940s through the 1970s. Greenberg helped redefine the parameters of modernism by advocating the rejection of illusionism and the exploration of the properties of each artistic medium. So dominant was Greenberg that scholars often refer to the general modernist tenets during this period as Greenbergian formalism (see "Greenbergian Formalism," above).

The Abstract Expressionist movement developed along two lines—*gestural abstraction* and *chromatic abstraction.* The gestural abstractionists relied on the expressiveness of energetically applied pigment. By contrast, the chromatic abstractionists focused on color's emotional resonance.

Jackson Pollock. The artist whose work best exemplifies gestural abstraction is Jackson Pollock (1912–1956), who developed his signature style in the mid-1940s. By 1950, Pollock had refined his technique and was producing large-scale abstract paintings, such as *Number 1, 1950* (*Lavender Mist*; FIG. 31-6), which consist of

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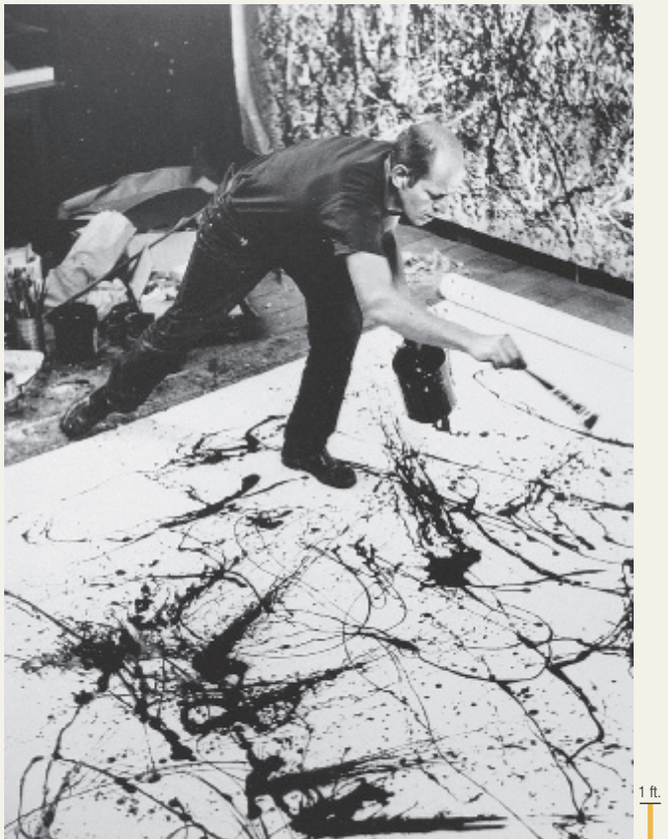
ARTISTS ON ART

Jackson Pollock on Easel and Mural Painting

Jackson Pollock's canvases (FIG. 31-6) constitute a revolution in the art of painting, not only because of their purely abstract form but also in the artist's rejection of the centuries-old tradition of applying pigment to stretched canvases supported vertically on an easel. In two statements Pollock made in 1947, one as part of his application for a Guggenheim Fellowship and one in a published essay, the artist explained the motivations for his new kind of "action painting" and described the tools he used and the way he produced his room-size canvases—immortalized in a 1950 photograph (FIG. 31-7) by HANS NAMUTH (1915–1990).

> I intend to paint large movable pictures which will function between the easel and mural. . . . I believe the easel picture to be a dying form, and the tendency of modern feeling is towards the wall picture or mural.*
>
> My painting does not come from the easel. I hardly ever stretch my canvas before painting. I prefer to tack the unstretched canvas to the hard wall or the floor. I need the resistance of a hard surface. On the floor I am more at ease. I feel nearer, more a part of the painting, since this way I can walk around it, work from the four sides and literally be *in* the painting. This is akin to the method of the Indian sand painters of the West [see "Navajo Painting," page 1102]. I continue to get further away from the usual painter's tools such as easel, palette, brushes, etc. I prefer sticks, trowels, knives and dripping fluid paint or a heavy impasto with sand, broken glass and other foreign matter added. When I am *in* my painting, I'm not aware of what I'm doing. . . . [T]he painting has a life of its own. I try to let it come through. . . . The source of my painting is the unconscious.†

Indeed, art historians have linked Pollock's ideas about improvisation in the creative process to his interest in what psychiatrist Carl Jung called the collective unconscious (see "Freud and Jung," page 907). The improvisational nature of Pollock's work and his reliance on the subconscious also have parallels in the "psychic automatism" of Surrealism and the work of Vassily Kandinsky (FIG. 29-7), whom critics described as an Abstract Expressionist as early as 1919. In addition to Pollock's unique working methods and the expansive scale of his canvases, the lack of a well-defined compositional focus in his paintings significantly departed from conventional easel painting.



31-7 HANS NAMUTH, Jackson Pollock painting in his studio in Springs, Long Island, New York, 1950. Gelatin silver print, 8″ × 10″. Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson.

"Gestural abstraction" well describes Pollock's working technique. Using sticks or brushes, he flung, poured, and dripped paint onto a section of canvas that he simply unrolled across his studio floor.

*Quoted in Francis V. O'Connor, *Jackson Pollock* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1967), 39.
†Ibid., 39–40.

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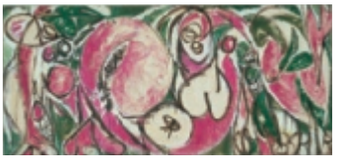
rhythmic drips, splatters, and dribbles of paint. The mural-size fields of energetic skeins of pigment envelop viewers, drawing them into a lacy spider web. Using sticks or brushes, Pollock flung, poured, and dripped paint (not only traditional oil paints but aluminum paints and household enamels as well) onto a section of canvas that he simply unrolled across his studio floor (see "Jackson Pollock on Easel and Mural Painting," above). This working method earned Pollock the nickname "Jack the Dripper"—a derisive pun on the epithet of Jack the Ripper, a notorious unidentified serial murderer in London in 1888. Responding to the image as it developed, Pollock created art that was spontaneous yet choreographed. His painting technique highlights the most significant aspect of gestural abstraction—its emphasis on the creative process. Indeed, Pollock literally immersed himself in the painting during its creation.

Lee Krasner. A towering figure in 20th-century art, Pollock tragically died in a car accident at age 44, cutting short the development of his innovative artistic vision. Surviving him was his wife, LEE KRASNER (1908–1984), whom art historians recognize as a major Abstract Expressionist painter (FIG. 31-7A), although overshadowed by Pollock during her lifetime.



31-7A KRASNER, *The Seasons*, 1957.

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Willem de Kooning. Despite the public's skepticism about Pollock's art, other artists enthusiastically pursued similar avenues of expression. Dutch-born Willem de Kooning (1904–1997) also developed a gestural abstractionist style. Even images such as *Woman I* (fig. 31-8), although rooted in figuration, display the sweeping gestural brushstrokes and energetic application of pigment typical of gestural abstraction. Out of the jumbled array of slashing lines and agitated patches of color appears a ferocious-looking woman with staring eyes and ponderous breasts. Her toothy smile, inspired by an ad for Camel cigarettes, seems to devolve into a grimace. Female models on advertising billboards partly inspired *Woman I* and de Kooning's other paintings of women. However, he did not consider the figures to be pictures of individual women but images of fertility goddesses or a satiric inversion of the traditional image of Venus, the goddess of love.

Process was important to de Kooning, as it was to Pollock. Continually working on *Woman I* for almost two years, de Kooning painted an image and then scraped it away the next day and began anew. His wife, Elaine, also an accomplished painter, estimated that he painted 200 scraped-away images of women on this canvas before settling on the final one.

In addition to his *Woman* series, de Kooning created nonrepresentational works dominated by huge swaths and splashes of pigment. The images suggest rawness and intensity. His dealer, Sidney Janis (1896–1989), confirmed this impression, recalling that de Kooning occasionally brought him paintings with ragged holes in them, the result of overly vigorous painting. Like Pollock, de Kooning was very much "in" his paintings. Vigorous physical interaction between the painter and the canvas led the critic Harold Rosenberg (1906–1978) to describe the work of the New York School as *action painting*. In his influential 1952 article, "The American Action Painters," Rosenberg described the attempts of Pollock, de Kooning, and others to get "in the painting," although he did not name any individual painters in his essay.

> At a certain moment the canvas began to appear to one American painter after another as an arena in which to act—rather than as a space in which to reproduce, redesign, analyze or "express" an object, actual or imagined. What was to go on the canvas was not a picture but an event. The painter no longer approached his easel with an image in his mind; he went up to it with material in his hand to do something to that other piece of material in front of him. The image would be the result of this encounter. . . . With traditional aesthetic references discarded as irrelevant, what gives the canvas its meaning is . . . the way the artist organizes his emotional and intellectual energy as if he were in a living situation. The interest lies in the kind of act taking place in the four-sided arena, a dramatic interest. Criticism must begin by recognizing in the painting the assumptions inherent in its mode of creation. Since the painter has become an actor, the spectator has to think in a vocabulary of action.[2]

Joan Mitchell. Critics and the public at large regarded action painting as a violent, heroic, and distinctly masculine art form, but some of the most prominent Abstract Expressionists were

31-8 Willem de Kooning, *Woman I*, 1950–1952. Oil on canvas, 6′ 3 $\frac{7}{8}$″ × 4′ 10″. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Although rooted in figuration, including pictures of female models on advertising billboards, de Kooning's *Woman I* displays the energetic application of pigment typical of gestural abstraction.

31-9 Joan Mitchell, *Untitled*, ca. 1955. Oil on canvas, 1′ 5″ × 1′ 4″. Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown (gift of Marilynn Meeker, 1986).

Influenced by the work of de Kooning (fig. 31-8) and Kline (fig. 31-9A), Mitchell's paintings of the 1950s feature asymmetrical compositions of broad intersecting bands of bright color and narrower curving strokes.

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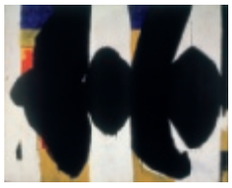
women, notably Lee Krasner (FIG. 31-7A), Helen Frankenthaler (FIG. 31-14), and JOAN MITCHELL (1925–1992). Mitchell enjoyed a privileged childhood in a wealthy and socially prominent Chicago family. She attended Smith College and the Art Institute of Chicago before moving to New York City in 1947 and the next year to France, returning to New York in 1949, where she took up in earnest her career as a painter. She returned to France often between 1955 and 1959 and painted there exclusively from 1959 on. Gorky (FIG. 31-5) and de Kooning (FIG. 31-8) were major influences on her early work—for example, the painting illustrated here (FIG. 31-9), one of Mitchell's characteristically untitled canvases. It features the energetic application of pigment seen in the work of other gestural abstractionists, including broad intersecting bands of red, black, and white, mixed with shorter, narrower, curving brushstrokes that fill almost the entire surface of the canvas. In contrast to the central placement of the main motif in most works in the Western tradition, both figural and abstract, this composition's focus of attention is off-center at the upper left.

Once, when asked to define her style and technique, Mitchell responded:

> Abstract is not a style. I simply want to make a surface work. This is just a use of space and form: it's an ambivalence of forms and space. Style in painting has to do with labels. Lots of painters are obsessed with inventing something. When I was young, it never occurred to me to invent. All I wanted to do was paint.[3]

Among the other prominent New York School Abstract Expressionists were Pennsylvania-born FRANZ KLINE (1910–1962), whose predominantly black-and-white paintings (FIG. 31-9A) resemble Chinese and Japanese calligraphy, and ROBERT MOTHERWELL (1915–1991), best known for his series of paintings inspired by the Spanish Civil War (FIG. 31-9B).

31-9A KLINE, *Mahoning,* 1956.



31-9B MOTHERWELL, *Elegy to the Spanish Republic,* 1953–1954.

Barnett Newman. In contrast to the aggressively energetic images of the gestural abstractionists, the paintings produced by the chromatic abstractionists exude a quieter aesthetic, exemplified by the work of Barnett Newman and Mark Rothko. The emotional resonance of their canvases derives from their eloquent use of color. In his early paintings, New York native BARNETT NEWMAN (1905–1970) presented organic abstractions inspired by his study of biology and his fascination with Native American art. He soon simplified his compositions so that each canvas—for example, the enormous Latin-titled *Vir Heroicus Sublimis* (*Sublime Heroic Man*; FIG. 31-10)—consists of a single slightly modulated color field split by narrow bands the artist called "zips," which run vertically from one edge of the painting to the other. As Newman explained it, "The streak was always going through an atmosphere; I kept trying to create a world around it."[4] He did not intend the viewer to perceive the zips as specific entities, separate from the ground, but as accents or interruptions energizing the large color fields and giving them scale. By simplifying his compositions, Newman increased color's capacity to communicate and to express his feelings about the tragic condition of modern life and the human struggle to survive. He claimed that "the artist's problem . . . [is] the idea-complex that makes contact with mystery—of life, of men, of nature, of the hard black chaos that is death, or the grayer, softer chaos that is tragedy."[5] Confronted by one of Newman's grandiose colored canvases, viewers truly feel as if they are in the presence of the epic.

Mark Rothko. The work of MARK ROTHKO (1903–1970) also deals with universal themes. Born in Russia, Rothko moved with

31-10 BARNETT NEWMAN, *Vir Heroicus Sublimis* (*Sublime Heroic Man*), 1950–1951. Oil on canvas, 7′ $11\frac{3}{8}$″ × 17′ $9\frac{1}{4}$″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ben Heller).

Newman's canvases consist of a single slightly modulated color field split by "zips" (narrow bands) running from the top to the bottom edge of the painting, energizing the color field and giving it scale.

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31-11 Mark Rothko, *No. 10,* 1950. Oil on canvas, 7′ 6 3/8″ × 4′ 9 1/8″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (gift of Philip Johnson).

Rothko's chromatic abstractionist paintings—consisting of hazy rectangles of pure color hovering in front of a colored background—are compositionally simple but compelling visual experiences.

his family to the United States when he was 10. His early paintings were figural, but he soon came to believe that references to anything specific in the physical world conflicted with the sublime idea of the universal, supernatural "spirit of myth," which he saw as the core of meaning in art. In a statement cowritten with Newman and artist Adolph Gottlieb (1903–1974), Rothko expressed his beliefs about art:

> We favor the simple expression of the complex thought. We are for the large shape because it has the impact of the unequivocal. . . . We assert that . . . only that subject matter is valid which is tragic and timeless. That is why we profess spiritual kinship with primitive and archaic art.[6]

In the late 1940s, Rothko's paintings became compositionally simple, and he increasingly focused on color as the primary conveyor of meaning. In works such as *No. 10* (fig. 31-11), Rothko created compelling visual experiences by confining his compositions to two or three large rectangles of pure color with hazy edges and sometimes, as in this case, one or two horizontal bands of color. Both the large and small forms seem to float on the canvas surface, hovering in front of a colored background. Rothko often displayed his paintings in rows so that the several canvases together presented shimmering veils of intensely luminous colors. Although the color juxtapositions are visually captivating, Rothko intended them as more than decorative. He saw color as a doorway to another reality, and insisted that color could express "basic human emotions—tragedy, ecstasy, doom. . . . The people who weep before my pictures are having the same religious experience I had when I painted them. And if you, as you say, are moved only by their color relationships, then you miss the point."[7] Like the other Abstract Expressionists, Rothko produced highly evocative paintings reliant on formal elements rather than on specific representational content to elicit emotional responses in the viewer.

Rothko painted *No. 10* in 1950, and the Museum of Modern Art acquired it only two years later through the generosity of Philip Johnson (figs. 31-46 and 31-49), when few museums and collectors were supporting the work of the Abstract Expressionists. The acquisition was considered so bold and radical at the time that one of MoMA's trustees resigned in protest.

Post-Painterly Abstraction

Post-Painterly Abstraction, another postwar American art movement, developed out of Abstract Expressionism. Indeed, many of the artists associated with Post-Painterly Abstraction produced Abstract Expressionist work early in their careers. Yet *Post-Painterly Abstraction,* a term coined by Clement Greenberg, manifests a sensibility radically different from Abstract Expressionism. Whereas Abstract Expressionism conveys a feeling of intense passion, Post-Painterly Abstraction is characterized by a cool, detached rationality emphasizing tighter pictorial control. Greenberg saw this art as contrasting with "painterly" art, which emphasized loose, visible pigment application. Evidence of the artist's hand, so prominent in gestural abstraction, is conspicuously absent in Post-Painterly Abstraction. Greenberg championed this art form because it embodied his idea of purity in art.

Ellsworth Kelly. Attempting to arrive at pure painting, the Post-Painterly Abstractionists distilled painting down to its essential elements, producing spare, elemental images. A key figure in the Post-Painterly Abstraction movement is Ellsworth Kelly (1923–2015). Born in Newburgh on the Hudson River north of New York City, Kelly studied at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and he always maintained his independence from any formal school. With its razor-sharp edges and clearly delineated simple abstract shapes, *Red Blue Green* (fig. 31-12) is a characteristic example of his work from the 1960s. Kelly's emphasis on pure form and color and his impulse to suppress gesture in favor of creating spatial unity played a pivotal role in the development of abstract art in America.

Frank Stella. Another artist associated with the Post-Painterly Abstraction movement of the 1960s is Massachusetts-born Frank Stella (b. 1936), the leading exponent of *hard-edge painting.* Stella studied history at Princeton University and moved to New York City in 1958, but did not favor the rough, expressive brushwork of

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31-12 Ellsworth Kelly, *Red Blue Green,* 1963. Oil on canvas, 6′ 11⅝″ × 11′ 3⅞″. Museum of Contemporary Art San Diego (gift of Dr. and Mrs. Jack M. Farris) ©Ellsworth Kelly Foundation.

Kelly was a leader of the Post-Painterly Abstraction movement of the 1960s. Suppressing gesture in favor of spatial unity, he distilled painting to its essential elements, emphasizing pure line, form, and color.

the Abstract Expressionists. In works such as *Mas o Menos* (*More or Less*; FIG. 31-13), Stella eliminated many of the variables associated with painting. His simplified compositions of thin, evenly spaced pinstripes on colored grounds have no central focus, no painterly or expressive elements, only limited surface modulation, and no tactile quality. His systematic method of painting illustrates Greenberg's insistence on purity in art. The artist's own famous comment on his work, "What you see is what you see," reinforces the notions that painters interested in producing advanced art must reduce their work to its essential elements and that the viewer must acknowledge that a painting is simply pigment on a flat surface.

31-13 Frank Stella, *Mas o Menos* (*More or Less*), 1964. Metallic powder in acrylic emulsion on canvas, 9′ 10″ × 13′ 8½″. Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris (purchase 1983 with participation of Scaler Foundation).

In his hard-edge paintings, Stella tried to achieve purity using evenly spaced pinstripes on colored grounds. His canvases have no central focus, no painterly or expressive elements, and no tactile quality.

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Helen Frankenthaler on Color-Field Painting

Helen Frankenthaler, the daughter of a New York State Supreme Court justice, began her study of art at the Dalton School in New York City under Rufino Tamayo (FIG. 30-14A). She painted in New York for virtually her entire career, and in 1958 married fellow abstract painter Robert Motherwell (FIG. 31-9B). In 1965, the art critic Henry Geldzahler (1935–1994) interviewed Frankenthaler about her work as a color-field painter. In the following excerpt, Frankenthaler described the approach she took to placing color on canvas in *The Bay* (FIG. **31-14**) and similar abstract paintings she produced in the early 1960s, and compared her method with the way earlier modernist artists used color in their paintings.

> I will sometimes start a picture feeling "What will happen if I work with three blues and another color, and maybe more or less of the other color than the combined blues?" And very often midway through the picture I have to change the basis of the experience. Or I add and add to the canvas. And if it's over-worked and beyond help I throw it away. I used to try to work from a given, made shape. But I'm less involved now with the shape as such. . . . When you first saw a Cubist or Impressionist picture there was a whole way of instructing the eye or the subconscious. Dabs of color had to stand for real things; it was an abstraction of a guitar or a hillside. The opposite is going on now. If you have bands of blue, green, and pink, the mind doesn't think sky, grass, and flesh. These are colors and the question is what are they doing with themselves and with each other. Sentiment and nuance are being squeezed out so that if something is not altogether flatly painted then there might be a hint of edge, chiaroscuro, shadow and if one wants just that pure thing these associations get in the way.*

Frankenthaler's "unsentimental" abstract canvases are very different from Matisse's emotive Fauve representations of recognizable figures, objects, and places, but her comments on a painter's struggle to find the right combination of colors without regard to colors in nature echo those of Matisse almost 60 years before (see "Henri Matisse on Color," page 890).

*Henry Geldzahler, "Interview with Helen Frankenthaler," *Artforum* 4, no. 2 (October 1965): 36–38.

31-14 HELEN FRANKENTHALER, *The Bay,* 1963. Acrylic on canvas, 6′ $8\frac{7}{8}$″ × 6′ $9\frac{7}{8}$″. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit.

Frankenthaler and other color-field painters poured paint onto plain canvas, allowing the pigments to soak into the fabric. Their works underscore that a painting is simply pigment on a flat surface.

Helen Frankenthaler. *Color-field painting,* another variant of Post-Painterly Abstraction, also emphasized painting's basic properties. However, rather than produce sharp, unmodulated shapes as the hard-edge artists had done, the color-field painters poured diluted paint onto plain canvas and allowed the pigments to soak in. It is hard to conceive of another painting method resulting in such literal flatness. The images created, such as *The Bay* (FIG. 31-14) by HELEN FRANKENTHALER (1928–2011), appear spontaneous and almost accidental (see "Helen Frankenthaler on Color-Field Painting," above). These works differ from those by Rothko and Newman in that Frankenthaler subordinated the emotional component, so integral to Abstract Expressionism, in favor of resolving formal problems.

Morris Louis. Baltimore native MORRIS LOUIS (1912–1962), who spent most of his career in Washington, D.C., also became a champion of color-field painting. Clement Greenberg, an admirer of Frankenthaler's paintings, took Louis to her studio, where she introduced him to the possibilities presented by the staining technique. Louis used this method of pouring diluted paint onto the surface of unprimed canvas in several series of paintings. *Saraband* (FIG. **31-15**) is one of the works in Louis's *Veils* series. By holding up the canvas edges and pouring diluted acrylic resin, Louis created billowy, fluid, transparent shapes running down the length of the canvas. Like Frankenthaler, Louis reduced painting to the concrete fact of the paint-impregnated material.

Clyfford Still. Although not a member of the New York School, another American painter whose work art historians usually classify as Post-Painterly Abstraction was CLYFFORD STILL (1904–1980), whom Clement Greenberg held in very high esteem. Born in North Dakota, Still spent most of his career on the West Coast and in Maryland. He is best known for the large series of canvases he titled simply with their dates, underscoring his rejection of the very notion that the purpose of art is to represent places, people, or objects. Nonetheless, Still's paintings remind many viewers of

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31-15 Morris Louis, *Saraband,* 1959. Acrylic resin on canvas, 8′ 5⅛″ × 12′ 5″. Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York.

Louis created his color-field paintings by holding up the canvas edges and pouring diluted acrylic resin to produce billowy, fluid, transparent shapes running down the length of the fabric.

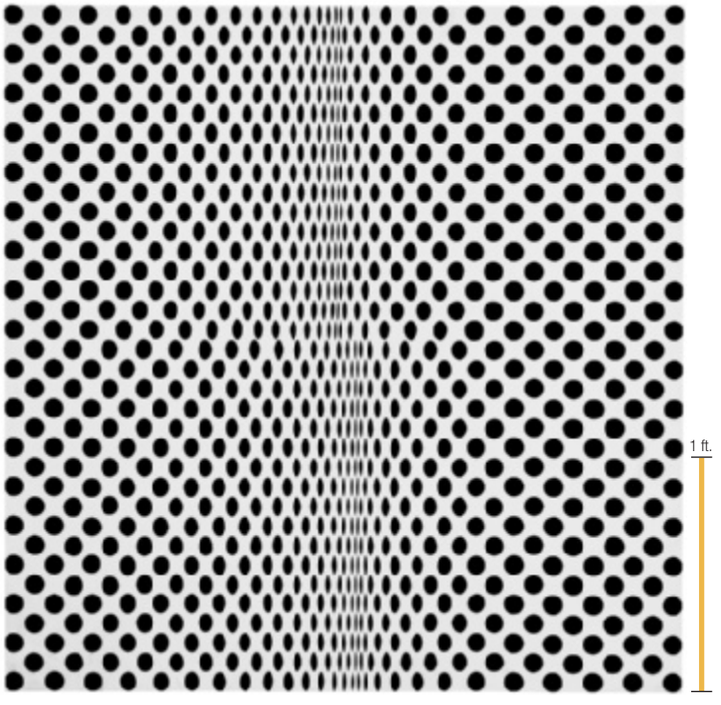
vast landscapes seen from the air, even though the artist's canvases make no reference to any forms in nature. His paintings—for example, *1948-C* (fig. I-2)—are pure exercises in the expressive use of color, shape, and texture. Said Greenberg of Still's work: "Clifford Still . . . is one of the great innovators of modernist art . . . The picture no longer divided itself into shapes or even patches, but into zones and areas and fields of color."[8]

Op Art

A major artistic movement of the 1960s was *Op Art* (short for Optical Art), in which painters sought to produce optical illusions of motion and depth using only geometric forms on two-dimensional surfaces. Among the primary sources of the movement was the work of Josef Albers, whose series of paintings called *Homage to the Square* (fig. I-11) explored the optical effects of placing different colors next to each other. Ultimately, Op Art can be traced to 19th-century theories of color perception and the pointillism of Georges Seurat (see "Pointillism and 19th-Century Color Theory," page 863, and figs. 28-17 and 28-18).

Bridget Riley. The artist whose name is synonymous with Op Art is the British painter Bridget Riley (b. 1931), who painted in a neo-pointillist manner in the 1950s before developing her signature black-and-white Op Art style. Her paintings—for example, *Fission* (fig. 31-16) of 1962—came to the public's attention after being featured in the December 1964 issue of *Life* magazine. The publicity unleashed a craze for Op Art designs in clothing. In 1965, the exhibition *The Responsive Eye* at the Museum of Modern Art, which also featured paintings by Ellsworth Kelly and Morris Louis, among others, bestowed an official stamp of approval on the movement.

In *Fission,* Riley filled the canvas with black dots of varied sizes and shapes, creating the illusion of a pulsating surface that caves in at the center (hence the painting's title). The effect on the viewer of Op Art paintings such as this one is disorienting and sometimes disturbing, and some works can even induce motion sickness. Thoroughly modernist is the Op artist's insistence that a painting is a two-dimensional surface covered with pigment and not a representation of any person, object, or place. Nonetheless, the Op Art movement embraced the Renaissance notion that the painter can create the illusion of depth through perspective.



31-16 Bridget Riley, *Fission,* 1962. Tempera on composition board, 2′ 11″ × 2′ 10″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (gift of Philip Johnson).

Op Art paintings create the illusion of motion and depth using only geometric forms. The effect can be disorienting. The pattern of black dots in Riley's *Fission* appears to cave in at the center.

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David Smith on Outdoor Sculpture

From ancient times, sculptors have frequently created statues for display in the open air, whether a portrait of a Roman emperor in a forum or Michelangelo's *David* (FIG. 22-13) in Florence's Piazza della Signoria. But rarely have sculptors taken into consideration the effects of sunlight in the conception of their works. American sculptor David Smith was an exception.

Smith learned to weld in an automobile plant in 1925 and later applied to his art the technical expertise in handling metals that he gained there. In addition, working on industrial-scale projects helped him visualize the possibilities for large-scale metal sculpture. Nonetheless, his works—for example, *Cubi XII* (FIG. 31-17)—differ from machine-made parts in important ways. Smith usually added gestural elements reminiscent of Abstract Expressionism by burnishing the metal with steel wool, producing swirling, random-looking patterns that draw attention to the two-dimensionality of the sculptural surface. This treatment, which captures the light hitting the artwork, activates the surface and imparts a texture to his pieces, a key element of all of his sculptures, which he designed for display outdoors. Indeed, the *Cubi* lose much of their character in the sterile lighting of a museum.

> I like outdoor sculpture and the most practical thing for outdoor sculpture is stainless steel, and I make them and I polish them in such a way that on a dull day, they take on the dull blue, or the color of the sky in the late afternoon sun, the glow, golden like the rays, the colors of nature. And in a particular sense, I have used atmosphere in a reflective way on the surfaces. They are colored by the sky and the surroundings, the green or blue of water. Some are down by the water and some are by the mountains. They reflect the colors. They are designed for the outdoors.*

*Quoted in Cleve Gray, ed., *David Smith by David Smith* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), 133.

31-17 DAVID SMITH, *Cubi XII,* 1963. Stainless steel, 9′ $1\frac{5}{8}$″ high. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (gift of the Joseph H. Hirshhorn Foundation, 1972). © Estate of David Smith/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

David Smith designed his abstract metal sculptures of simple geometric forms to reflect the natural light and color of their outdoor settings, not the sterile illumination of a museum gallery.

Abstraction in Sculpture

Painters were not the only artists interested in Clement Greenberg's formalist ideas (see "Greenberg Formalism," page 962). American sculptors also strove to arrive at purity in their medium. Whereas painters worked to emphasize flatness, sculptors, understandably, chose to focus on three-dimensionality as the essential characteristic and inherent limitation of the sculptural medium.

David Smith. After experimenting with a variety of sculptural styles and materials, Indiana-born and Ohio-raised DAVID SMITH (1906–1965) produced metal sculptures that have affinities with the Abstract Expressionist movement in painting. In the 1960s, he created a series of large-scale works called *Cubi,* which he intended to be seen in the open air (see "David Smith on Outdoor Sculpture," above). *Cubi XII* (FIG. 31-17), a characteristic example, consists of simple geometric forms—cubes and rectangular bars. Made of stainless-steel sections piled on top of one another, often at unstable angles, and then welded together, the *Cubi* sculptures make a striking visual statement.

31-18 TONY SMITH, *Die,* 1962. Steel, 6′ × 6′ × 6′. Museum of Modern Art, New York (gift of Jane Smith in honor of Agnes Gund).

By rejecting illusionism and symbolism and reducing sculpture to basic geometric forms, Minimalist Tony Smith emphasized the "objecthood" and concrete tangibility of his sculptures.

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Donald Judd on Sculpture and Industrial Materials

In a 1965 essay titled "Specific Objects," the Minimalist sculptor Donald Judd described the advantages of sculpture over painting and the attractions of using industrial materials for his works, such as his 1969 Plexiglas sculpture characteristically called *Untitled* (FIG. 31-19).

> Three dimensions are real space. That gets rid of the problem of illusionism . . . one of the salient and most objectionable relics of European art. The several limits of painting are no longer present. A work can be as powerful as it can be thought to be. Actual space is intrinsically more powerful and specific than paint on a flat surface. . . . The use of three dimensions makes it possible to see all sorts of materials and colors. Most of [my] work involves new materials, either recent inventions or things not used before in art. Little was done until lately with the wide range of industrial products. . . . Materials vary greatly and are simply materials—formica, aluminum, cold-rolled steel, plexiglas, red and common brass, and so forth. They are specific. If they are used directly, they are more specific. Also, they are usually aggressive. There is an objectivity to the obdurate identity of a material. . . . The form of a work of art and its materials are closely related. In earlier work the structure and the imagery were executed in some neutral and homogeneous material.*

*Donald Judd, *Complete Writings 1959–1975* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 181–189.

31-19 DONALD JUDD, *Untitled,* 1969. Brass and colored fluorescent Plexiglas on steel brackets, 10 units $6\frac{1}{8}'' \times 2' \times 2'\ 3''$ each, with 6″ intervals. Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn, 1972). © Donald Judd Estate/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

Judd's Minimalist sculpture incorporates boxes fashioned from undisguised industrial materials. The artist used Plexiglas because its translucency gives the viewer access to the work's interior.

Tony Smith. A predominantly sculptural movement that emerged in the 1960s among artists seeking Greenbergian purity of form was *Minimalism.* One of the leading Minimalist sculptors was New Jersey native TONY SMITH (1912–1980), who created simple volumetric sculptures such as *Die* (FIG. 31-18). Minimalist artworks generally lack identifiable subjects, colors, surface textures, and narrative elements, and are perhaps best described simply as three-dimensional objects. By rejecting illusionism and reducing sculpture to basic geometric forms, Smith and other Minimalists emphatically emphasized their art's "objecthood" and concrete tangibility. In so doing, they reduced experience to its most fundamental level, preventing viewers from drawing on assumptions or preconceptions when dealing with the art before them.

Donald Judd. Another important Minimalist sculptor was DONALD JUDD (1928–1994), who embraced a spare, universal aesthetic corresponding to the core tenets of the movement. Born in Missouri, Judd studied philosophy and art history at Columbia University in New York City, where he produced most of his major works. Judd's determination to arrive at a visual vocabulary devoid of deception or ambiguity propelled him away from representation and toward precise and simple sculpture. For Judd, a work's power derived from its character as a whole and from the specificity of its materials (see "Donald Judd on Sculpture and Industrial Materials," above).

Untitled (FIG. 31-19) presents basic geometric boxes constructed of brass and red Plexiglas, undisguised by paint or other materials. The artist did not intend the work to be metaphorical or symbolic. It is a straightforward declaration of sculpture's objecthood. Judd used Plexiglas because its translucency grants the viewer access to the interior, thereby rendering the sculpture both open and enclosed. This aspect of the design reflects Judd's desire to banish ambiguity or falseness from his works.

Perhaps surprisingly, despite the ostensible connections between Minimalism and Greenbergian formalism, the critic did not embrace this direction in art:

> Minimal Art remains too much a feat of ideation [the mental formation of ideas], and not enough anything else. Its idea remains an idea, something deduced instead of felt and discovered. The geometrical and modular simplicity may announce and signify the artistically furthest-out, but the fact that the signals are understood for what they want to mean betrays them artistically. There is hardly any aesthetic surprise in Minimal Art. . . . Aesthetic surprise hangs on forever—it is there in Raphael as it is in Pollock—and ideas alone cannot achieve it.[9]

Louise Nevelson. Although Minimalism was a dominant sculptural trend in the 1960s, many sculptors, including German artist EVA HESSE (1936–1970; FIG. 31-19A) and Russian-born LOUISE NEVELSON (1899–1988), pursued other styles. Nevelson created sculptures combining a sense of the architectural fragment with the power of Dada and Surrealist found objects to express

31-19A HESSE, *Hang-Up,* 1965.

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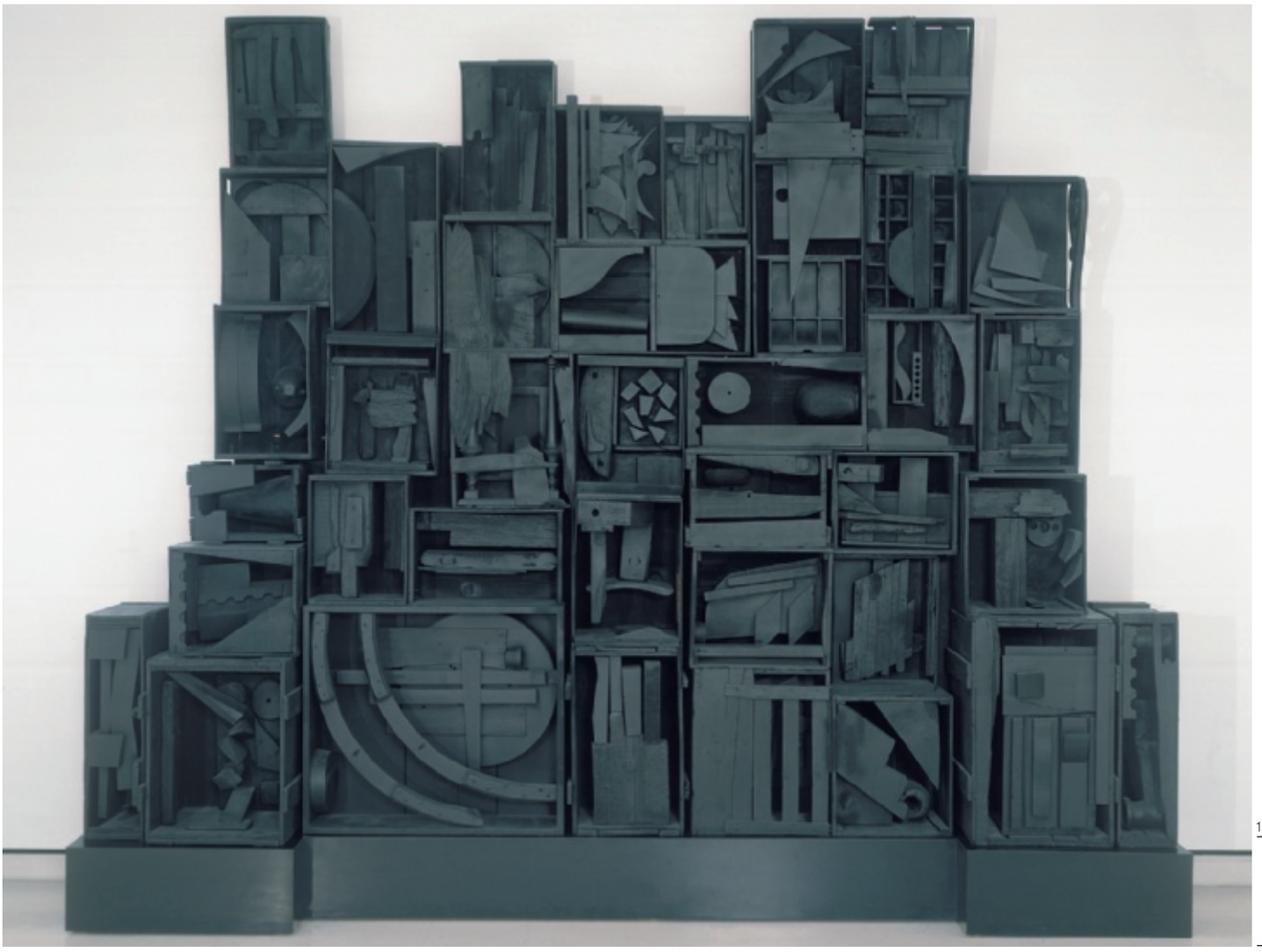

31-20 Louise Nevelson, *Sky Cathedral,* 1958. Wood painted black, 8′ 6½″ × 11′ 1½″ × 1′ 8″. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo.

The monochromatic color scheme unifies the diverse sculpted forms and found objects in Nevelson's "walls" and creates a mysterious field of shapes and shadows suggesting magical environments.

her personal sense of life's underlying significance. Multiplicity of meaning was important to Nevelson. She sought "the in-between place. . . . The dawns and the dusks"[10]—the transitional realm between one state of being and another.

Beginning in the late 1950s, Nevelson assembled sculptures of found wood objects and forms. She enclosed small sculptural compositions in boxes of varied sizes, and joined the boxes to one another to form "walls." She then painted the forms in a single hue—usually black, white, or gold. This monochromatic color scheme unifies the diverse parts of pieces such as *Sky Cathedral* (FIG. 31-20), which, while vaguely suggesting a richly articulated Gothic church facade with imposing towers (compare FIG. 13-43A), creates a mysterious field of shapes and shadows. The structures suggest magical environments resembling the treasured secret hideaways dimly remembered from childhood. Yet the boxy frames and the precision of the manufactured found objects create a rough geometric structure that the eye roams over freely, lingering on some details, including occasional pieces of unmodified driftwood.

Louise Bourgeois. In contrast to the architectural nature of Nevelson's work, a sensuous organic quality recalling the evocative Biomorphic Surrealist forms of Joan Miró (FIG. 29-42) pervades the work of French-American artist Louise Bourgeois (1911–2010). *Cumul I* (FIG. 31-21) is a collection of round-headed units huddled, with their heads protruding, within a collective cloak dotted with holes. The units differ in size, and their position within the group lends a distinctive personality to each. Although the shapes remain abstract, they refer strongly to human figures. Bourgeois used a wide variety of materials in her works, including wood, plaster, latex, and plastics, in addition to alabaster, marble, and bronze. She exploited each material's qualities to suit the expressiveness of the piece. In *Cumul I,* the alternating high gloss and matte finish of the marble increases the sensuous distinction between the group of swelling forms and the soft folds swaddling them.

Like Barbara Hepworth (FIG. 29-47), Bourgeois connected her sculpture with the body's multiple relationships to landscape: "[My pieces] are anthropomorphic and they are landscape also, since our body could be considered from a topographical point of view, as a land with mounds and valleys and caves and holes."[11] However, Bourgeois's sculptures are more personal and more openly sexual than Hepworth's. *Cumul I* perfectly represents the allusions Bourgeois sought: "There has always been sexual suggestiveness in my

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1 ft.

31-21 Louise Bourgeois, *Cumul I,* 1969. Marble, 1′ 10 3/8″ × 4′ 2″ × 4′. Musée national d'art moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris. © Louise Bourgeois/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

Bourgeois's sculptures are made up of sensuous organic forms that recall the Biomorphic Surrealist forms of Miró (FIG. 29-42). Although the shapes remain abstract, they refer strongly to human figures.

work. Sometimes I am totally concerned with female shapes—characters of breasts like clouds—but often I merge the activity—phallic breasts, male and female, active and passive."[12]

Isamu Noguchi. Another sculptor often considered a Minimalist because of pure geometric works such as *Red Cube,* which he created for the sidewalk in front of a New York City skyscraper, is Isamu Noguchi (1904–1988). His work defies easy classification, however. Although born in Los Angeles, Noguchi, the son of a Japanese poet and an American writer, spent most of his childhood in Japan. In 1926, he won a Guggenheim Fellowship to study sculpture in Paris, where he worked as an apprentice to Constantin Brancusi (FIGS. 29-45A and 29-46). During his long career, Noguchi completed a wide range of commissions in the United States, Europe, and Asia in a variety of styles ranging from the abstract *Kouros* of 1944, strongly influenced by Miró's Biomorphic Surrealism (FIG. 29-42), to the Minimalist *Red Cube* of 1968. Some of his most interesting works, however, wed the traditions of the West with those of the East, especially his designs for gardens and garden sculptures, which reflect his Japanese heritage.

A little-known work of great beauty in the last category is *Shodo Shima Stone Study* (FIG. 31-22), a miniature version of a Japanese garden in which two roughly shaped pieces of granite form a rectangular frame for several egg-like granite stones. Shodo Shima (Magical Island) is an island off the coast of Japan and the source of the stone Noguchi used for this work. In form it recalls the design of Zen Buddhist gardens (FIG. 35-4) and a bird's nest. Noguchi observed: "In Japan the rocks in a garden are so planted as to suggest a protuberance from the primordial mass below. Every rock gains enormous weight, and that is why the whole garden may be said to be a sculpture, whose roots are joined way below."[13] The "eggs" in Noguchi's miniature rock garden in the Walker Art Center suggest a birth out of a primordial nest.

Pop Art

Despite their differences, the Abstract Expressionists, Post-Painterly Abstractionists, Op Art painters, and Minimalist sculptors all adopted an artistic vocabulary of pure abstraction. Other artists, however, observing that the insular and introspective attitude of the avant-garde had alienated the public, sought to harness the communicative power of art to reach a wide audience. Thus was born the art movement that came to be known as Pop. Art historians trace the roots of *Pop Art* to the young British artists, architects, and writers who formed the Independent Group at the Institute of Contemporary Art in London in 1952. They sought to initiate fresh thinking in art, in part by sharing their fascination with the aesthetics and content of such facets of popular culture as advertising, comic books, and movies (see "Pop Art and Consumer Culture," page 974).

1 ft.

Richard Hamilton. In 1956, an Independent Group member, Richard Hamilton (1922–2011), made a small collage, *Just What Is It That Makes Today's Homes So Different, So Appealing?* (FIG. 31-23), which exemplifies British Pop Art. Trained as an engineering draftsman, exhibition designer, and painter, Hamilton studied the way advertising shapes public attitudes. Long intrigued by Marcel Duchamp's ideas (FIGS. 29-26 and 29-26A), Hamilton consistently combined elements of popular art and fine art, seeing both as belonging to the whole world of visual communication. He created *Just What Is It?* for the poster and catalog of one section of

31-22 Isamu Noguchi, *Shodo Shima Stone Study,* 1978. Granite, 5′ 6″ × 5′ 9″. Walker Art Center, Minneapolis (gift of the artist, 1978).

Japanese American sculptor Noguchi here created a miniature Japanese rock garden. Two irregularly shaped pieces of granite frame several egglike stones suggesting birth from a primordial nest.

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Pop Art and Consumer Culture

Although the acceptance of pure abstraction as an artistic mode had gained significant momentum in the decades after the end of World War II, many artists, as well as the general public, reacted against pure formalism in painting and sculpture. In the 1950s and 1960s, the artists of the Pop Art movement reintroduced all the devices the postwar abstractionists had purged from their artworks. Pop artists revived the tools traditionally used to convey meaning in art, such as signs, symbols, metaphors, allusions, illusions, and figural imagery. They not only embraced representation but also firmly grounded their art in the consumer culture and mass media of the postwar period, thereby making it much more accessible and understandable to the average person. Indeed, the name "Pop Art"—credited to the British art critic Lawrence Alloway (1926–1990)—is short for "popular art" and referred to the popular mass culture and familiar imagery of the contemporary urban environment, such as the collection of everyday objects, advertisements, and celebrity photographs featured in Richard Hamilton's collage *Just What Is It That Makes Today's Homes So Different, So Appealing?* (FIG. 31-23).

The fantasy interior in Hamilton's collage reflects the values of mid-20th-century consumer culture through figures and objects cut from glossy magazines. *Just What Is It?* includes references to mass media (the television, the theater marquee outside the window, the newspaper), to advertising (Hoover vacuum cleaners, Ford cars, Armour hams, Tootsie Pops), and to popular culture (the "girlie magazine," the body builder Charles Atlas, romance comic books). Artworks of this sort stimulated viewers' wide-ranging speculation about society's values. This kind of intellectual toying with mass-media meaning and imagery typified Pop Art in both Europe and America.

Alloway eloquently described the intellectual basis of Pop Art in a 1958 essay:

> The definition of culture is changing as the result of the pressure of the great audience . . . [I]t is no longer sufficient to define culture solely as something that a minority guards for the few and the future . . . Our definition of culture is being stretched beyond the fine art limits imposed on it by Renaissance theory, and refers now, increasingly, to the whole complex of human activities. Within this definition, rejection of the mass produced arts is not, as critics think, a defense of culture but an attack on it.*

*Lawrence Alloway, "The Arts and the Mass Media," *Architectural Design* (February 1958): 34–35.

31-23 Richard Hamilton, *Just What Is It That Makes Today's Homes So Different, So Appealing?* 1956. Collage, $10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 9\frac{3}{4}''$. Kunsthalle Tübingen, Tübingen.

The fantasy interior in Hamilton's collage of figures and objects cut from glossy magazines reflects the values of modern consumer culture. Toying with mass-media imagery typifies British Pop Art.

an exhibition titled *This Is Tomorrow,* which included images from Hollywood cinema, science fiction, and the mass media.

Jasper Johns. Although Pop Art originated in England, the movement found its greatest articulation and success in the United States, in large part because the more fully matured American consumer culture provided a fertile environment in which the movement flourished through the 1960s. Indeed, Independent Group members claimed that their inspiration came from Hollywood, Detroit, and New York's Madison Avenue, paying homage to America's predominance in the realms of mass media, mass production, and advertising.

One of the artists pivotal to the early development of American Pop Art was Jasper Johns (b. 1930), who grew up in South Carolina and moved to New York City in 1952. Johns sought to draw attention to common objects in the world—what he called things "seen but not looked at."[14] To this end, he did several series of paintings of numbers, alphabets, flags, and maps of the United

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1 ft.

31-24 Jasper Johns, *Three Flags,* 1958. Encaustic on canvas, 2′ 6⅞″ × 3′ 9½″. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York. © Jasper Johns/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

American Pop artist Jasper Johns wanted to draw attention to common objects that people view frequently but rarely scrutinize. He made many paintings of targets, flags, numbers, and alphabets.

States—all of which are items people view frequently but rarely scrutinize. He created his first flag painting in 1954 at the height of the Cold War. Initially labeled a Neo-Dadaist because of the kinship of his works to Marcel Duchamp's readymades (FIG. 29-26), Johns also had strong ties to the Surrealists, especially René Magritte, whose painting of a pipe labeled "This is not a pipe" (FIG. 29-40) is conceptually a forerunner of Johns's flags—for example, *Three Flags* (FIG. 31-24), which could easily carry the label "These are not flags." In fact, when asked why he chose the American flag as a subject, Johns replied that he had a dream in which he saw himself painting a flag. The world of dreams was central to Surrealism (see "André Breton's *First Surrealist Manifesto*," page 916).

In *Three Flags,* Johns painted a trio of overlapping American national banners of decreasing size, with the smallest closest to the viewer, reversing traditional perspective, which calls for diminution of size with distance. Johns drained meaning from the patriotic emblem by reducing it to a repetitive pattern—not the flag itself but three pictures of a flag in one. Nevertheless, the heritage of Abstract Expressionism is still apparent. Although Johns rejected the heroic, highly personalized application of pigment championed by the 1950s action painters, he painted his flags in *encaustic* (liquid wax and dissolved pigment; see "Encaustic Painting," page 223) mixed with newsprint on three overlapping canvases. His flags thus retain a pronounced surface texture, emphasizing that the viewer is looking at a handmade painting, not machine-made fabric. The painting, like the flags, is an object, not an illusion of other objects.

Robert Rauschenberg. A close friend of Johns's, Robert Rauschenberg (1925–2008), began using mass-media images in his work in the 1950s. Rauschenberg set out to create works that would be open and indeterminate, and he began by making multimedia works he called *combines,* which intersperse painted passages with sculptural elements. Rauschenberg's combines are, in a sense, his personal variation on *assemblages,* artworks constructed from already existing objects. At times, these combines seem to be sculptures with painting incorporated into certain sections. Others seem to be paintings with three-dimensional objects attached to the surface. In the 1950s, Rauschenberg's assemblages usually contained an array of art reproductions, magazine and newspaper clippings, and passages painted in an Abstract Expressionist style. In the early 1960s, he adopted the commercial medium of *silk-screen printing,* first in black and white and then in color, and began filling entire canvases with appropriated news images and anonymous photographs of city scenes.

Canyon (FIG. 31-25) is typical of Rauschenberg's combines. Pieces of printed paper and photographs

1 ft.

31-25 Robert Rauschenberg, *Canyon,* 1959. Oil, pencil, paper, fabric, metal, cardboard box, printed paper, printed reproductions, photograph, wood, paint tube, and mirror on canvas, with oil on bald eagle, string, and pillow, 6′ 9¾″ × 5′ 10″ × 2′. Sonnabend Collection, New York. © Robert Rauschenberg/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

Rauschenberg's "combines" intersperse painted passages with sculptural elements. *Canyon* incorporates pigment on canvas with pieces of printed paper, photographs, a pillow, and a stuffed eagle.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Roy Lichtenstein on Pop Art and Comic Books

In November 1963, Roy Lichtenstein was one of eight painters interviewed for a profile on Pop Art in *Art News*. Gene R. Swenson posed the questions. Some of Lichtenstein's answers follow.

> [Pop Art is] the use of commercial art as a subject matter in painting . . . [Pop artists portray] what I think to be the most brazen and threatening characteristics of our culture, things we hate, but which are also so powerful in their impingement on us. . . . I paint directly . . . [without] perspective or shading. It doesn't look like a painting *of* something, it looks like the thing itself. Instead of looking like a painting *of* a billboard . . . Pop art seems to be the actual thing. It is an intensification, a stylistic intensification of the excitement which the subject matter has for me; but the style is . . . cool. One of the things a cartoon does is to express violent emotion and passion in a completely mechanized and removed style. To express this thing in a painterly style would dilute it. . . .
>
> Everybody has called Pop Art "American" painting, but it's actually industrial painting. America was hit by industrialism and capitalism harder and sooner . . . I think the meaning of my work is that it's industrial, it's what all the world will soon become. Europe will be the same way, soon, so it won't be American; it will be universal.*

The influence of comic books is evident in Lichtenstein's mature works—for example, his 1963 painting titled *Hopeless* (FIG. 31-26). Here, Lichtenstein excerpted an image from a comic book, a form of entertainment meant to be read and discarded, and immortalized the image on a large canvas. Aside from that modification, Lichtenstein remained remarkably faithful to the original comic-strip image. His subjects were typically the melodramatic scenes that were mainstays of romance comic books popular at the time and included "balloons" with the words the characters speak. Lichtenstein also used the visual vocabulary of the comic strip, with its dark black outlines and unmodulated color areas, and retained the familiar square dimensions. Moreover, by emulating the printing technique called *benday dots,* he called attention to the mass-produced derivation of the image. Named after its inventor, the newspaper printer Benjamin Day (1810–1889), the benday-dot system involves the modulation of colors through the placement and size of colored dots. Lichtenstein thus transferred the visual shorthand language of the comic book to the realm of large-scale painting.

*G. R. Swenson, "What Is Pop Art? Interviews with Eight Painters," *Art News* 62, no. 7 (November 1963): 25, 64.

31-26 Roy Lichtenstein, *Hopeless,* 1963. Oil and synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 3′ 8″ × 3′ 8″. Kunstmuseum Basel, Basel. © Estate of Roy Lichtenstein.

Comic books appealed to Lichtenstein because they were a mainstay of popular culture. The Pop artist immortalized their images on large canvases emulating the benday dots of commercial printing techniques.

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cover parts of the canvas. Much of the unevenly painted surface consists of pigment roughly applied in a manner reminiscent of de Kooning's work (FIG. 31-8). A stuffed bald eagle attached to the lower part of the combine spreads its wings as if lifting off in flight toward the viewer. Completing the combine, a pillow dangles from a string attached to a wood stick below the eagle. The artist presented the work's components in a jumbled fashion. He tilted or turned some of the images sideways, and each overlays part of another image. The compositional confusion may resemble that of a Dada collage, but the parts of Rauschenberg's combines maintain their individuality more than those, for example, in a Schwitters piece (FIG. 29-29). The eye scans a Rauschenberg canvas much as it might survey the environment on a walk through a city. The various recognizable images and objects seem unrelated and defy a consistent reading, although Rauschenberg chose all the elements of his combines with specific meanings in mind. For example, Rauschenberg based *Canyon* on a Rembrandt painting of Jupiter in the form of an eagle carrying the boy Ganymede heavenward. The photo in the combine is a reference to the Greek boy, and the hanging pillow is a visual pun on his buttocks.

Roy Lichtenstein. As the Pop Art movement matured, the images became more concrete and tightly controlled. Roy Lichtenstein (1923–1997), who was born in Manhattan not far from Madison Avenue, the center of the American advertising industry, developed an interest in art in elementary school and as a teenager took weekend painting classes at the Parsons School of Design before enrolling at Ohio State University. He served in the army during World War II and was stationed in France, where he was able to visit the Musée du Louvre and Chartres Cathedral. In the late 1950s, however, he turned

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31-27 Andy Warhol, *Green Coca-Cola Bottles,* 1962. Oil on canvas, 6′ 10½″ × 4′ 9″. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York.

Warhol was the quintessential American Pop artist. Here, he selected an icon of mass-produced consumer culture and then multiplied it, reflecting Coke's omnipresence in American society.

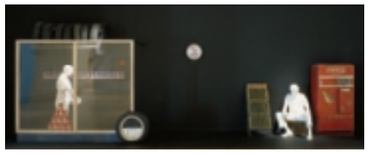
his attention to commercial art and especially to the comic book as a mainstay of American popular culture (see "Roy Lichtenstein on Pop Art and Comic Books," page 976).

Andy Warhol. The quintessential American Pop artist was Andy Warhol (1928–1987). An early successful career as a commercial artist and illustrator grounded Warhol in the sensibility and visual rhetoric of advertising and the mass media. This knowledge proved useful for his Pop artworks, which often depicted icons of mass-produced consumer culture, such as Coca-Cola bottles (fig. 31-27), and Hollywood celebrities, such as Marilyn Monroe (1926–1962; fig. 31-27A). Warhol favored reassuringly familiar objects and people. He explained his attraction to the omnipresent curved Coke bottle:

31-27A Warhol, *Marilyn Diptych,* 1962.

> What's great about this country is that America started the tradition where the richest consumers buy essentially the same things as the poorest. You can be watching TV and see Coca-Cola, and you can know that the President drinks Coke, Liz Taylor drinks Coke, and just think, you can drink Coke, too. A Coke is a Coke and no amount of money can get you a better Coke.[15]

Like other Pop artists, Warhol used a visual vocabulary and a printing method that reinforced the image's connections to consumer culture. The silk-screen technique enabled Warhol to print the image endlessly (although he varied each bottle slightly). The repetition and redundancy of the Coke bottle reflect the saturation of this product in American society—in homes, at work, literally everywhere, including gas stations, as immortalized by George Segal (1924–2000) in 1963 (fig. 31-27B). So immersed was Warhol in a culture of mass production that he not only produced numerous canvases of the same image but also named his studio "the Factory."



31-27B Segal, *Gas Station,* 1963.

James Rosenquist. Because of the close connection between Pop Art and consumer culture, many Pop artworks also incorporated social commentary. That is especially true of the work of James Rosenquist (1933–2017). Born in Grand Forks, North Dakota, Rosenquist studied painting at the Minneapolis Art Institute and the University of Minnesota and initially supported himself by painting commercial billboards. In 1955, he moved to New York City and met several of the most innovative artists of the day, including Ellsworth Kelly, Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, and Claes Oldenburg. In addition to painting billboards in Times Square and elsewhere, Rosenquist created window displays for upscale jewelry and fashion stores Tiffany and Bonwit Teller until he established his reputation as an artist with his first (sold-out) solo exhibition in 1962.

Rosenquist's largest and most important work is *F-111* (see "James Rosenquist on *F-111,*" page 978), a 23-panel, 10-foot-high and 86-foot-long mural-like painting designed to wrap around the four walls of the main room of the Leo Castelli Gallery in Manhattan.

Claes Oldenburg. In the 1960s, Claes Oldenburg (b. 1929) also produced Pop artworks that incisively commented on American consumer culture, but his medium was sculpture. The son of a Swedish diplomat who moved to the United States in 1936, Oldenburg attended school in Chicago and graduated from Yale University in 1950. His early works consisted of plaster reliefs of food and clothing items. Oldenburg constructed these sculptures of plaster layered on chicken wire and muslin, painting them with cheap commercial house enamel. In later works, focused on the same subjects, he shifted to large-scale stuffed sculptures of sewn vinyl or canvas, many of which he exhibited in a show he titled *The Store*—an appropriate comment on the function of art as a commodity in a consumer society.

Oldenburg is best known, however, for his mammoth outdoor sculptures. In 1966, a group of graduate students at the Yale School of Architecture, calling themselves the Colossal Keepsake Corporation, raised funds for materials for a giant sculpture that Oldenburg agreed to create (in secret and without a fee) as a gift

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James Rosenquist on *F-111*

F-111 (FIG. 31-28) is James Rosenquist's most ambitious work. It exemplifies his singular contribution to the Pop Art movement in its grandiose scale (comparable to the billboards he painted to earn a living), its imagery drawn from America's consumer culture, and its implied social and political commentary. The F-111 was the latest technological marvel, an enormously costly fighter jet that, for Rosenquist, was emblematic of the U.S. "military-industrial complex" that produced the Vietnam War, the subject of widespread protest demonstrations at the time (1965). The gigantic aircraft fills the full length of *F-111,* but interspersed are meticulously painted motifs from daily life, including spaghetti, a lightbulb, an automobile tire, a smiling girl under a hairdryer that resembles a missile head, and an atomic explosion under a beach umbrella. Rosenquist's idea was to show the F-111, a war machine, flying through consumer society, and to suggest complicity between the two. He explained:

> [The F-111] is the newest, latest fighter-bomber . . . This first of its type cost many million dollars. People are planning their lives through work on this bomber . . . A man has a contract from the company making the bomber, and he plans his third automobile and his fifth child because he is a technician and has work for the next couple of years. Then the original idea is expanded, another thing is invented; and the plane already seems obsolete. The prime force of this thing has been to keep people working, an economic tool; but behind it, this is a war machine.

In the same interview, Rosenquist also talked about his approach to painting and about the scale of *F-111*.

> The style I use was gained by doing outdoor commercial work as hard and as fast as I could. My techniques for me are still anti-style. I have an idea what I want to do, what it will look like when I want it finished—in between is just a hell of a lot of work. When they say the Rosenquist style is very precise, maybe they just know that painting style as they know it is going out of style. . . . The *F-111* was enclosed—four walls of a room in a gallery. My idea was to make an extension of ways of showing art in a gallery, instead of showing single pictures with wall space that usually gives your eye a relief. In this picture, because it did seal up all the walls, I could set the dial and put in the stops and rests for the person's eye in the whole room instead of allowing the eye to wander and think in an empty space.*

*G. R. Swenson, "The F-111: An Interview with James Rosenquist," *Partisan Review* 32, no. 4 (Autumn 1965): 589–601.

31-28 James Rosenquist, *F-111,* 1965. Oil on canvas and aluminum, detail of the entire 10′ × 86′ exhibit. Museum of Modern Art, New York (gift, by exchange, of Mr. and Mrs. Alex L. Hillman and Lillie P. Bliss Bequest). © 2011 James Rosenquist/ Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

In this billboardlike Pop Art masterpiece, Rosenquist interspersed everyday images with a fighter jet to comment on the connection between the "military-industrial complex" and the American consumer.

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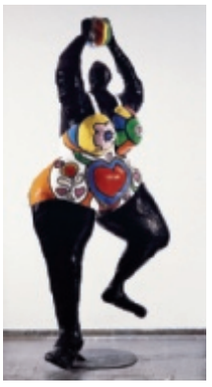
31-29 Claes Oldenburg, *Lipstick (Ascending) on Caterpillar Tracks,* 1969; reworked, 1974. Painted steel, aluminum, and fiberglass, 21′ high. Morse College, Yale University, New Haven (gift of Colossal Keepsake Corporation).

Designed as a speaker's platform for antiwar protesters, *Lipstick* humorously combines phallic and militaristic imagery. Originally, the lipstick tip was soft red vinyl and had to be inflated.

to his alma mater. The work, *Lipstick (Ascending) on Caterpillar Tracks* (fig. 31-29), was Oldenburg's first large-scale public sculpture. He installed *Lipstick* on Ascension Day, May 15, 1969, on Beineke Plaza across from the office of the university's president, the site of many raucous protests against the Vietnam War. Oldenburg's characteristic humor emerges unmistakably in the combination of phallic and militaristic imagery, especially in the double irony of the "phallus" being a woman's cosmetic item, and the Caterpillar-type endless-loop metal tracks suggesting not a tractor-earthmover for construction work but a military tank designed for destruction in warfare. *Lipstick* was to be a speaker's platform for protesters, and originally the lipstick tip was a drooping red vinyl balloon that the speaker had to inflate, underscoring the sexual innuendo. (Oldenburg once remarked that art collectors preferred nudes, so he produced nude cars, nude telephones, and nude electric plugs to please them.)

Vandalism and exposure to the elements (the original tractor was plywood) caused so much damage to *Lipstick* that it had to be removed, and Oldenburg reconstructed it in metal and fiberglass. Yale formally accepted the controversial and unsolicited repaired gift in 1974, when the architectural historian Vincent Scully (1920–2018), then master of Yale's Morse College, offered a permanent home for *Lipstick* in the college courtyard. Oldenburg expressed mixed feelings about the recognition of what he viewed as a political statement as a "work of art."

Niki de Saint-Phalle. Also usually classified as a Pop Art sculptor was French-born Niki de Saint-Phalle (1930–2002), because her sculptures remind many viewers of dolls and folk art. Her most famous works are the series of polyester statues of women she called "Nanas" (fig. 31-29A), oversized, brightly colored sculptures that are feminist commentaries on popular stereotypes of female beauty.



31-29A Saint-Phalle, *Black Venus,* 1965–1967.

Superrealism

Like the Pop artists, the artists associated with *Superrealism* sought a form of artistic communication more accessible to the public than the remote, unfamiliar visual language of the Abstract Expressionists, Post-Painterly Abstractionists, and Minimalists. The Superrealists expanded Pop's iconography in both painting and sculpture by making images in the late 1960s and 1970s involving scrupulous fidelity to optical fact. Because many Superrealists used photographs as sources for their imagery, art historians also refer to this postwar art movement as *Photorealism.*

Audrey Flack. One of Superrealism's pioneers was lifelong New Yorker Audrey Flack (b. 1931), who studied the history of art at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts after graduating from Yale. Her paintings, such as *Marilyn* (fig. 31-30), are not simply technical exercises in recording objects in minute detail. They are

31-30 Audrey Flack, *Marilyn,* 1977. Oil over acrylic on canvas, 8′ × 8′. University of Arizona Museum, Tucson (museum purchase with funds provided by the Edward J. Gallagher Jr. Memorial Fund).

Flack's pioneering Photorealist still lifes record objects with great optical fidelity. *Marilyn* alludes to Dutch vanitas paintings (fig. 25-1) and incorporates multiple references to the transience of life.

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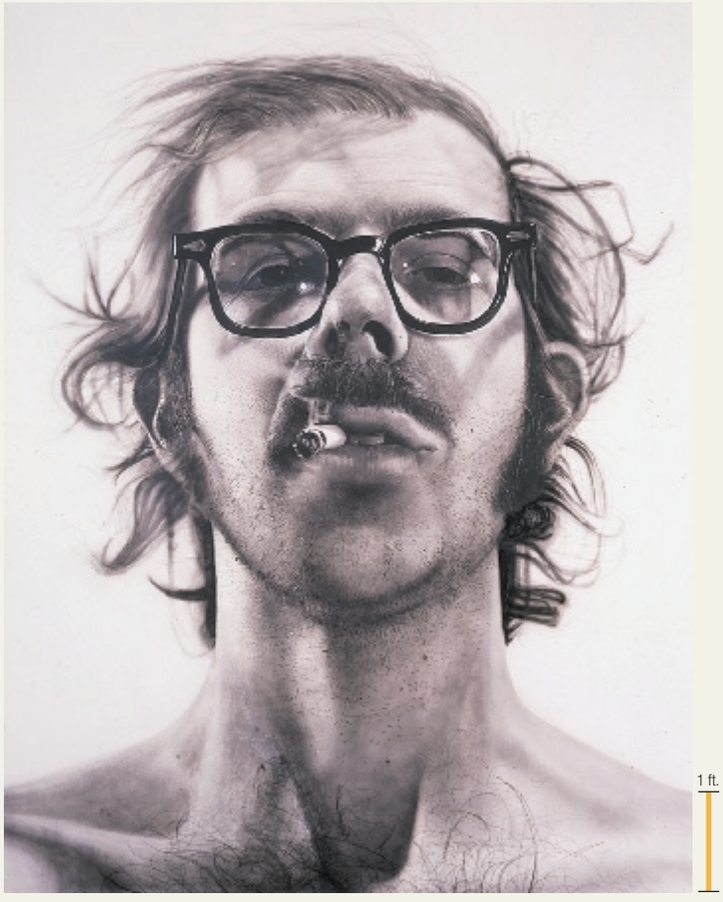
ARTISTS ON ART

Chuck Close on Photorealist Portrait Painting

Chuck Close (FIG. 31-31) based his paintings of the late 1960s and early 1970s on photographs, and his main goal was to translate photographic information into painted information. Because he aimed simply to record visual information about his subject's appearance, Close deliberately avoided creative compositions, flattering lighting effects, and revealing facial expressions. Not interested in providing great insight into the personalities of those portrayed, Close painted anonymous and generic people, mostly friends. By reducing the variables in his paintings (even their canvas size is a constant 9 by 7 feet), he could focus on employing his methodical presentations of faces, thereby encouraging the viewer to deal with the formal aspects of his works. Indeed, because of the large scale of Close's paintings, careful scrutiny causes the images to dissolve into abstract patterns.

In a widely read 1970 interview in the journal *Artforum,* art critic Cindy Nemser (b. 1937) asked Close about the scale of his huge portraits and the relationship of his Photorealist canvases to the photographs that lie behind them. He answered in part:

> The large scale allows me to deal with information that is overlooked in an eight-by-ten inch photograph . . . My large scale forces the viewer to focus on one area at a time. In that way he is made aware of the blurred areas that are seen with peripheral vision. Normally we never take those peripheral areas into account. When we focus on an area it is sharp. As we turn our attention to adjacent areas they sharpen up too. In my work, the blurred areas don't come into focus, but they are too large to be ignored. . . . In order to . . . make [my painted] information stack up with photographic information, I tried to purge my work of as much of the baggage of traditional portrait painting as I could. To avoid a painterly brush stroke and surface, I use some pretty devious means, such as razor blades, electric drills and airbrushes. I also work as thinly as possible and I don't use white paint as it tends to build up and become chalky and opaque. In fact, in a nine-by-seven foot picture, I only use a couple of tablespoons of black paint to cover the entire canvas.*



31-31 CHUCK CLOSE, *Big Self-Portrait,* 1967–1968. Acrylic on canvas, 8′ 11″ × 6′ 11″. Walker Art Center, Minneapolis (Art Center Acquisition Fund, 1969).

Close's goal was to translate photographic information into painted information. In his portraits, he deliberately avoided creative compositions, flattering lighting effects, and revealing facial expressions.

*Cindy Nemser, "Chuck Close: Interview with Cindy Nemser," *Artforum* 8, no. 5 (January 1970): 51–55.

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also conceptual inquiries into the nature of photography and the extent to which photography constructs an understanding of reality. Flack observed: "[Photography is] my whole life, I studied art history, it was always photographs, I never saw the paintings, they were in Europe. . . . Look at TV and at magazines and reproductions, they're all influenced by photo-vision."[16] The photograph's formal qualities also intrigued her, and she used photographic techniques by first projecting an image onto the canvas. By next using an *airbrush* (a device originally designed as a photo-retouching tool that sprays paint with compressed air), Flack could duplicate the smooth gradations of tone and color found in photographs.

Most of Flack's paintings are still lifes that present the viewer with a collection of familiar objects painted with great optical fidelity. *Marilyn* is a still life incorporating photographs of the face of famed Hollywood actress Marilyn Monroe (1926–1962). It is a poignant commentary on Monroe's tragic life and differs markedly from Warhol's *Marilyn Diptych* (FIG. 31-27A), which celebrates celebrity and makes no allusion to the death of the glamorous star. Flack's still life includes multiple references to death and alludes to Dutch *vanitas* paintings (FIG. 25-1). In addition to the black-and-white photographs of a youthful, smiling Monroe, Flack painted fresh fruit, an hourglass, a burning candle, a watch, and a calendar, all of which refer to the passage of time and the transience of life.

Chuck Close. Perhaps the most famous Superrealist is CHUCK CLOSE (b. 1940), who grew up near Seattle and attended the University of Washington and Yale University. He is best known for his large-scale portraits, such as *Big Self-Portrait* (FIG. 31-31). However, Close felt that his connection to the Photorealists was tenuous, because for him, realism was not an end in itself but rather the result of an intellectually rigorous, systematic approach to painting (see "Chuck Close on Photorealist Portrait Painting," above).

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1 ft.

31-32 **Lucian Freud, *Naked Portrait,* 1972–1973. Oil on canvas 2′ × 2′. Tate Modern, London.**

Freud's brutally realistic portrait of an unnamed woman lying on a bed in an awkward position gives the impression that the viewer is an intruder in a private space, but the setting is the artist's studio.

Lucian Freud. Born in Berlin in 1922, Lucian Freud (1922–2011) moved to London with his family in 1933 when Adolph Hitler became German chancellor. The grandson of Sigmund Freud, the painter is best known for his unflattering close-up views of faces in which the sitter seems almost unaware of the painter's presence, and for his portrayals of female and male nudes in foreshortened and often contorted poses. Although Freud always used living models whose poses he determined, his paintings convey the impression that the artist and the viewer are intruders in a private realm.

In *Naked Portrait* (fig. 31-32), the viewer observes an unnamed woman lying in an uncomfortable, almost fetal, position at the foot of a bed. Freud depicted her from a sharp angle above and to the left. In the foreground is a small table with the painter's tools on it, revealing that this is not the woman's bedroom but the painter's studio and that the woman is the subject of intense scrutiny by the artist. Freud's models do not have perfect bodies. Some are overweight, and many are well beyond their prime. These are truly "naked portraits" of real people. They break sharply with the Western tradition from Greek antiquity to the Renaissance and into the modern era of depicting idealized Venuses, Eves, and courtesans in graceful and often erotic poses. Freud explained his interest in nudity: "I'm really interested in people as animals. Part of my liking to work from them naked is for that reason. Because I can see more."[17] Regarding the setting of his paintings, Freud observed: "I work from people that interest me, and that I care about and think about, in rooms that I live in and know."[18]

1 ft.

Duane Hanson. Not surprisingly, many sculptors also were Superrealists, including Minnesota-born Duane Hanson (1925–1996), who spent much of his career in southern Florida. Hanson perfected a casting technique that enabled him to create life-size figurative sculptures that many viewers mistake at first for real people. Hanson began by making plaster molds from live models and then filled the molds with polyester resin. After the resin hardened, he removed the outer molds and cleaned, painted with an airbrush, and decorated the sculptures with wigs, clothes, and other accessories. These works, such as *Supermarket Shopper* (fig. 31-33), depict stereotypical average Americans, striking chords with the public specifically because of their familiarity. Hanson explained his choice of imagery:

> The subject matter that I like best deals with the familiar lower- and middle-class American types of today. To me, the resignation, emptiness and loneliness of their existence captures the true reality of life for these people. . . . I want to achieve a certain tough realism which speaks of the fascinating idiosyncrasies of our time.[19]

31-33 **Duane Hanson, *Supermarket Shopper,* 1970. Polyester resin and fiberglass polychromed in oil, with clothing, steel cart, and groceries, life-size. Nachfolgeinstitut, Neue Galerie, Sammlung Ludwig, Aachen. © Estate of Duane Hanson/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.**

Hanson used molds from live models to create his Superrealist life-size painted plaster sculptures. His aim was to capture the emptiness and loneliness of average Americans in familiar settings.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Robert Frank's *The Americans*

The publication in France in 1958 and in the United States the following year of Robert Frank's *The Americans* caused a sensation—and well beyond the art world. In 83 black-and-white "straight photographs," Frank recorded people from coast to coast as they went about their daily lives. His unblemished view of America—so different from the celebratory images published in popular magazines like *Life*—prompted accusations that Frank was "un-American." (He was, in fact, a naturalized citizen, a Jew born in Switzerland, who encountered anti-Semitism in his travels.)

Frank's Americans were factory workers in dreary jobs, Manhattan transvestites, and, in one of his most memorable photographs—*Trolley, New Orleans* (FIG. 31-34)—the passengers on a Southern trolley in which the poor, working-class blacks are seated at the vehicle's rear behind the privileged, well-dressed white residents of Louisiana. The tight framing of the trolley car forces the viewer to focus on the passengers gazing out the windows. Especially striking are the almost identical postures of the young white boy with his pressed shirt and bow tie and the black man in the row behind him. So close physically, yet worlds apart!

Trolley, New Orleans is an unvarnished picture of daily life in the segregated South. The message Frank conveyed in this photograph required no words. The picture itself was a wake-up call to most Americans, who were either unaware of or indifferent to the degradation of African Americans as the civil rights movement was first gaining momentum with the 1954 Supreme Court decision striking down "separate but equal" schools for blacks and whites.

31-34 ROBERT FRANK, *Trolley, New Orleans,* 1955. Gelatin silver print, 9″ × 1′ 1⅜″. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (Target Collection of American Photography).

Frank's unvarnished view of the segregated life of blacks in the mid-1950s South in his groundbreaking *The Americans* was a wake-up call for the American public at the beginning of the civil rights movement.

Photography

Although Superrealist artists admired the ability of photography to reproduce faithfully the appearance of people, objects, and places, photographers themselves used their medium to pursue varied ends. The photographs of Edward Weston (FIGS. 30-17 and 30-17A) and Dorothea Lange (FIG. 30-18) represent the two poles of American photography between the world wars—the art photograph (Weston), which transforms the real into the abstract, and the documentary photograph (Lange), which records people and events directly, without artifice. In the postwar period, leading photographers adopted both approaches.

Robert Frank. The documentary pole of American postwar photography is best exemplified by the work of ROBERT FRANK (b. 1924), who in 1955, with funding from the Guggenheim

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Foundation, undertook a road trip with his wife and two young children to document (in about 28,000 photographs) life in America in the mid-1950s (see "Robert Frank's *The Americans,*" page 982).

Minor White. Minneapolis native Minor White (1908–1976) moved to Portland, Oregon, in 1938 and became a photographer for the Works Progress Administration (see "The Great Depression," page 940). He served in the U.S. Army in World War II and then settled in New York City in 1945, where he met Alfred Stieglitz, whose *Equivalent* photographs (fig. 30-16A) he greatly admired. Deeply influenced by Zen Buddhism (see "Zen Buddhism," page 1077), White sought to incorporate a mystical element in his own work. His 1962 photograph (fig. 31-35) of a rock formation in Utah is a characteristic example. A "straight photograph" in the tradition of Stieglitz, it is also an abstract composition of jagged shapes and contrasts of light and dark reminiscent of Abstract Expressionist paintings (compare fig. 31-9). Viewers of *Capitol Reef* may recognize White's nominal subject as a detail of a landscape, but in his hands, nature becomes the springboard for meditation. As one of the founders and the longtime editor (1952–1975) of *Aperture,* the leading art photography magazine of the time, White had a profound influence on the development of the medium in the postwar period.

31-35 **Minor White, *Moencopi Strata, Capitol Reef, Utah,* 1962. Gelatin silver print, 1′ $\frac{1}{8}$″ × 9 $\frac{1}{4}$″. Museum of Modern Art, New York. © The Minor White Archive, Princeton University.**

White's "straight photograph" of a natural rock formation is also an abstract composition of jagged shapes and contrasts of light and dark reminiscent of Abstract Expressionist paintings.

Feminist Art

With the renewed interest in representation that the Pop artists and Superrealists introduced in the 1960s and 1970s, painters and sculptors once again began to embrace the persuasive powers of art to communicate with a wide audience. In the 1970s, many artists began to investigate the social dynamics of power and privilege, especially in relation to gender, although racial, ethnic, and sexual orientation issues have also figured prominently in the art of recent decades (see "Personal and Group Identity," page 1004). Women artists played a significant role in the feminist movement, which sought equal rights for women in contemporary society and focused attention on the subservient place of women in societies throughout history. Spearheading the feminist art movement of the 1970s were Judy Chicago (fig. 31-36) and Miriam Schapiro (fig. 31-37).

Chicago and a group of her students at California State University in Fresno founded the Feminist Art Program, and Chicago and Schapiro coordinated it at the California Institute of the Arts in Valencia. In 1972, as part of this program, teachers and students joined to create projects such as Womanhouse, an abandoned house in Los Angeles that they completely converted into a suite of "environments," each based on a different aspect of women's lives and fantasies.

Judy Chicago. A major goal of Chicago native Judy Cohen, who took the name Judy Chicago (b. 1939), was to educate the public about women's role in history and the fine arts and to establish a respect for women and their art. Chicago sought to forge a new kind of art expressing women's experiences and to find a way to make that art accessible to a large audience. Inspired early in her career by the work of Barbara Hepworth (fig. 29-47), Georgia O'Keeffe (figs. I-5 and 30-8), and Louise Nevelson (fig. 31-20), Chicago developed a personal painting style that consciously included abstract organic vaginal images.

In the early 1970s, Chicago began planning an ambitious piece, *The Dinner Party* (fig. 31-36), using craft techniques (such as china painting and needlework) traditionally practiced by women, to celebrate the achievements and contributions women had made throughout history (see "Judy Chicago on *The Dinner Party,*" page 984). She originally conceived the work as a feminist *Last Supper* for 13 "honored guests," as in the biblical account of Christ's passion, but at Chicago's table, the guests are women instead of men. The number of women in a witches' coven is also 13, and the artist intended her feminist *Dinner Party* additionally to refer to witchcraft and the worship of the Mother Goddess. However, because Chicago had uncovered so many worthy women in the course of her research, she tripled the number of guests at her dinner party and placed table settings for 39 women around a triangular table 48 feet long on each side. The triangular form refers to the ancient symbol for both woman and the Goddess. The notion of a dinner party also alludes to women's traditional role as homemakers.

Miriam Schapiro. After enjoying a thriving career as a hard-edge painter in California in the late 1960s, Toronto-born Miriam Schapiro (1923–2015) became fascinated with the hidden metaphors for womanhood she saw in her abstract paintings. Intrigued by the materials she had used to create a doll's house for her part in Womanhouse, in the 1970s Schapiro began to make huge sewn

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Judy Chicago on *The Dinner Party*

One of the acknowledged masterpieces of feminist art is Judy Chicago's *The Dinner Party* (FIG. 31-36), which required a team of nearly 400 to create and assemble. In 1979, Chicago published a book explaining the genesis and symbolism of the work.

> [By 1974] I had discarded [my original] idea of painting a hundred abstract portraits on plates, each paying tribute to a different historic female figure. . . . In my research I realized over and over again that women's achievements had been left out of history . . . My new idea was to try to symbolize this. . . . [I thought] about putting the plates on a table with silver, glasses, napkins, and tablecloths, and over the next year and a half the concept of *The Dinner Party* slowly evolved. I began to think about the piece as a reinterpretation of the Last Supper from the point of view of women, who, throughout history, had prepared the meals and set the table. In my "Last Supper," however, the women would be the honored guests. Their representation in the form of plates set on the table would express the way women had been confined, and the piece would thus reflect both women's achievements and their oppression. . . . My goal with *The Dinner Party* was . . . to forge a new kind of art expressing women's experience . . . [It] seemed appropriate to relate our history through art, particularly through techniques traditionally associated with women—china-painting and needlework.*

The Dinner Party rests on a triangular white tile floor inscribed with the names of 999 additional women of achievement to signify that the accomplishments of the 39 honored guests rest on a foundation other women had laid. Among those with place settings at the table are the Egyptian pharaoh Hatshepsut (FIG. 3-21), the Minoan snake goddess (FIG. 4-13), the Byzantine empress Theodora (FIG. 9-14), the medieval nun Hildegard of Bingen (FIG. 12-25), and the painters Artemisia Gentileschi (FIG. 24-19 and 24-20) and Georgia O'Keeffe (FIGS. I-5 and 30-8). Other woman artists among the 999 names include Lavinia Fontana (FIG. 22-37A), Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun (FIGS. 26-15 and 26-15A), Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (FIG. 26-16), Angelica Kauffman (FIG. 26-1), Mary Cassatt (FIG. 28-13), Berthe Morisot (FIGS. 28-14 and 28-14A), Gertrude Käsebier (FIG. 28-32), Käthe Kollwitz (FIG. 29-9), Paula Modersohn-Becker (FIG. 29-9A), Barbara Hepworth (FIG. 29-47), Dorothea Lange (FIG. 30-18), and Louise Nevelson (FIG. 31-20).

Each woman's place has identical eating utensils and a goblet, but features a unique oversized porcelain plate and a long place mat or table runner covered with imagery reflecting significant facts about that woman's life and culture. The plates range from simple concave shapes with china-painted imagery to dishes whose sculpted three-dimensional designs almost seem to struggle to free themselves. The designs on each plate incorporate both butterfly and vulval motifs—the butterfly as the ancient symbol of liberation and the vulva as the symbol of female sexuality. Each table runner combines traditional needlework techniques, including needlepoint, embroidery, crochet, beading, patchwork, and appliqué.

The Dinner Party is more than the sum of its parts, however. Of monumental size, as so many great works of public art have been throughout the ages, Chicago's 1979 masterwork provides viewers with a powerful launching point for considering broad feminist concerns.

*Judy Chicago, "The Dinner Party": *A Symbol of Our Heritage* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1979), 11–12.

31-36 Judy Chicago, *The Dinner Party*, 1979. Multimedia, including ceramics and stitchery, each side 48′ long. The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn.

Chicago's *Dinner Party* honors 39 women from the ancient world to 20th-century America. The triangular form and the materials—painted china and fabric—are traditionally associated with women.

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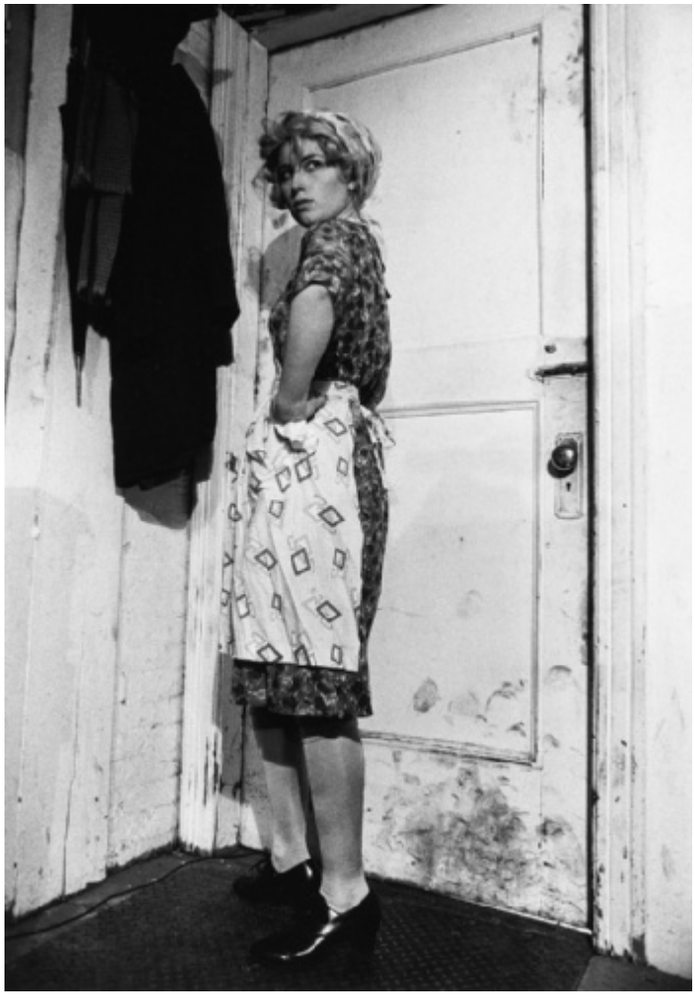
31-37 Miriam Schapiro, *Anatomy of a Kimono* (detail of 2 panels of a 10-panel composition), 1976. Fabric and acrylic on canvas, entire work 6′ 8″ × 52′ 2½″. Collection of Bruno Bischofberger, Zurich.

Schapiro calls her huge sewn collages "femmages" to make the point that women had been doing collages of fabric long before Picasso (FIG. 29-14). This femmage incorporates patterns from Japanese kimonos.



31-38 Cindy Sherman, *Untitled Film Still #35,* 1979. Gelatin silverprint, 10″ × 8″. Private collection.

Sherman here assumed a role for one of 80 photographs resembling film stills in which she addressed the way women have traditionally been presented in Western art for the enjoyment of the "male gaze."

collages, assembled from fabrics, quilts, buttons, sequins, lace trim, and rickrack collected at antique shows and fairs. She called these works *femmages*—from the French *femme* ("woman") and an inversion of the French *homage* ("homage") from *homme* ("man").

Shapiro wanted to make the point that women had been doing collages using these materials long before Pablo Picasso (FIG. 29-14) introduced them to the elite art world. *Anatomy of a Kimono* (FIG. 31-37) is one of a series of gigantic femmages that Schapiro based on the patterns of Japanese kimonos, fans, and robes. This vast 10-panel composition is more than 52 feet long and almost 7 feet high and repeats the kimono shape in a rich array of fabric fragments.

Cindy Sherman. After studying painting in Buffalo, Cindy Sherman (b. 1954) switched to photography as her primary means of expression. She addresses in her work the way much of Western art presents female beauty for the enjoyment of the "male gaze," a primary focus of contemporary feminist theory, which explores gender as a socially constructed concept. Beginning in 1977, Sherman produced a series of more than 80 black-and-white photographs called *Untitled Film Stills.* She got the idea for the series after examining soft-core pornography magazines and noting the stereotypical ways they depicted women. She decided to produce her own series of photographs, designing, acting in, directing, and photographing the works. In so doing, she took control of her own image and constructed her own identity, a primary feminist concern.

In works from the series, such as *Untitled Film Still #35* (FIG. 31-38), Sherman appears, often in costume and wig, in a photograph that seems to be a film still. Most of the images in this series recall popular film genres, but are sufficiently generic that the viewer cannot relate them to specific movies. Sherman often reveals the constructed nature of these images by holding in her hand the shutter release cable used to take the pictures. (The cord runs across the floor in *#35.*) Although the artist is still the object of the viewer's gaze in these images, the identity is one she alone chose to assume by posing for the photographs.

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Ana Mendieta. Two other feminist artists who used their bodies as key components of their artworks were New Yorker Hannah Wilke (1940–1993; fig. 31-38A) and Cuban-born Ana Mendieta (1948–1985), who left her native land as a child when Fidel Castro came to power. Although gender issues concerned Mendieta, her art also deals with issues of spirituality and cultural heritage. The artist's best-known series, *Silueta* (*Silhouettes*), consists of approximately 200 earth/body works completed between 1973 and 1980. These works represented Mendieta's attempt to carry on, as she described, "a dialogue between the landscape and the female body (based on my own silhouette)."[20]

31-38A Wilke, *S.O.S.,* 1974–1982.

Flowers on Body (fig. 31-39) is a documentary photograph of the first of the earth/body sculptures in the *Silueta* series. In this work, Mendieta appears covered with flowers in an earthen, womblike cavity. Executed at El Yagul, a Mexican archaeological site, the work speaks to issues of birth and death, the female experience of childbirth, and the human connection to the earth. Objects and locations from nature play an important role in Mendieta's art. She explained the centrality of this connection to nature:

> I believe this has been a direct result of my having been torn from my homeland during my adolescence. I am overwhelmed by the feeling of having been cast from the womb (nature). My art is the way I re-establish the bonds that unite me to the universe. It is a return to the maternal source. Through my earth/body sculptures I become one with the earth.[21]

Beyond their sensual, moving presence, Mendieta's works also generate a palpable spiritual force. In longing for her homeland, she sought the cultural understanding and acceptance of the spiritual powers inherent in nature that modern Western societies often seem to reject in favor of scientific and technological developments. Mendieta's art is lyrical and passionate and operates at the intersection of cultural, spiritual, physical, and feminist concerns.

Magdalena Abakanowicz. Not strictly feminist in subject, but created using materials traditionally associated with women, are the sculptures of Polish fiber artist Magdalena Abakanowicz (1930–2017). A leader in the exploration of the expressive power of weaving techniques in large-scale artworks, Abakanowicz gained fame with experimental freestanding figural works expressing the stoic, everyday toughness of the human spirit. For Abakanowicz, fiber materials are deeply symbolic:

> I see fiber as the basic element constructing the organic world on our planet, as the greatest mystery of our environment. It is from fiber that all living organisms are built—the tissues of plants and

31-39 Ana Mendieta, *Flowers on Body,* 1973. Color photograph of earth/body work with flowers, executed at El Yagul, Mexico. Courtesy of the Estate of Ana Mendieta and Galerie Lelong, New York.

In this earth/body sculpture, Cuban American Mendieta appears covered with flowers in a womblike cavity to address issues of birth and death, as well as the human connection to the earth.

1 ft.

31-40 Magdalena Abakanowicz, *80 Backs,* 1976–1980. Burlap and resin, each 2′ 3″ high. Museum of Modern Art, Dallas.

Polish fiber artist Abakanowicz explored the stoic, everyday toughness of the human spirit in this group of nearly identical sculptures that serve as symbols of distinctive individuals lost in the crowd.

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ourselves. . . . Fabric is our covering and our attire. Made with our hands, it is a record of our souls.[22]

Abakanowicz's sculptures are to a great degree reflections of her early life experiences as a member of an aristocratic family disturbed by the dislocations of World War II and its aftermath. Initially attracted to weaving as a medium easily adaptable to the small studio space she had available, Abakanowicz gradually developed huge abstract hangings she called Abakans, which suggest organic spaces as well as giant pieces of clothing. She returned to a smaller scale with works based on human forms—*Heads, Seated Figures,* and *Backs*—multiplying each type for exhibition in groups as symbols for the individual in society lost in the crowd yet retaining some distinctiveness.

This impression is especially powerful in *80 Backs* (FIG. 31-40). Abakanowicz made each piece by pressing layers of natural organic fibers into a plaster mold. Every sculpture depicts the slumping shoulders, back, and arms of a figure of indeterminate gender, and rests legless directly on the floor. The repeated pose of the figures in *80 Backs* suggests meditation, submission, and anticipation. Although made from a single mold, the figures convey a touching sense of individuality because each assumed a slightly different posture as the material dried and because the artist imprinted a different pattern of fiber texture on each.

ARCHITECTURE AND SITE-SPECIFIC ART

Some of the most innovative architects of the first half of the 20th century, most notably Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (FIG. 29-54), Le Corbusier (FIG. 29-55), and Frank Lloyd Wright (FIGS. 30-23, 30-24, and 30-25), concluded their long and productive careers in the postwar period. At the same time, younger architects rose to international prominence, some working in the modernist idiom, others taking architectural design in new postmodern directions (see "After Modernism: Postmodernist Architecture," page 957, and "Robert Venturi and Postmodernist Complexity and Contradiction," page 991).

Modernism

In parallel with the progressive movement toward formal abstraction in painting and sculpture in the decades following World War II, modernist architects became increasingly concerned with a formalism stressing simplicity. They articulated this in buildings that retained intriguing organic sculptural qualities, as well as in buildings adhering to a more rigid geometry.

Frank Lloyd Wright. The last great building Frank Lloyd Wright designed was the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (FIG. 31-41) in New York City. Using reinforced concrete almost as a sculptor might use resilient clay, Wright, who often described his architecture as "organic" (see "Frank Lloyd Wright on Organic Architecture," page 953), designed a structure inspired by the spiral of a snail's shell. Wright had introduced curves and circles into some of his plans in the 1930s, and as the architectural historian Peter Blake noted, "The spiral was the next logical step; it is the circle brought into the third and fourth dimensions."[23] Inside the building (FIG. 32-38 and 32-39), the shape of the shell expands toward the top, and a winding interior ramp spirals to connect the gallery bays. A skylight strip embedded in the museum's outer wall provides illumination to the ramp, which visitors can stroll down at a leisurely pace after taking an elevator to the top of the building, viewing the artworks displayed along the gently sloping pathway. Thick walls and the solid organic shape give the building, outside and inside, the sense of turning in on itself, and the long interior viewing area opening onto a 90-foot central well of space creates a sheltered environment, secure from the bustling city outside.

31-41 **FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (looking southeast), New York, 1943–1959.**

Using reinforced concrete almost as a sculptor might use resilient clay, Wright designed a snail shell–shaped museum with a winding, gently inclined interior ramp for the display of artworks.

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Le Corbusier. Compared with his pristine geometric design for Villa Savoye (FIG. 29-55), the organic forms of Le Corbusier's Notre Dame du Haut (FIG. 31-42) come as a startling surprise. Completed in 1955 at Ronchamp, France, the chapel attests to the boundless creativity of this great architect. A fusion of architecture and sculpture, the small chapel, which replaced a building destroyed in World War II, occupies a pilgrimage site in the Vosges Mountains. The impression of Notre Dame du Haut seen from afar is deceptive. Although one massive exterior wall (FIG. 31-42, *right*) contains a pulpit resembling a balcony that faces a spacious outdoor area for large-scale open-air services on holy days, the interior (FIG. 31-43) holds at most 200 people. The intimate scale, stark and heavy walls, and mysterious illumination (jewel tones cast from the deeply recessed stained-glass windows) give this space an aura reminiscent of a sacred cave or a medieval monastery.

Notre Dame du Haut's structure may look free-form to the untrained eye, but Le Corbusier, like the designers of Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals, based it on an underlying mathematical system. The pilgrimage church has a frame of steel and metal mesh, which the builders sprayed with concrete (an engineering innovation pioneered in Italy by PIER LUIGI NERVI (1891–1979; FIG. 31-43A) and painted white, except

31-43A NERVI, Palazzetto dello Sport, 1958–1959.

for two interior private chapel niches with colored walls and the roof, which Le Corbusier wished to have darken naturally with the passage of time. The roof appears to float freely above the worshipers in their pews (FIG. 31-43), intensifying the quality of mystery in the interior space. In reality, a series of nearly invisible blocks holds up the roof. The mystery of the roof's means of support recalls the reaction to Hagia Sophia's miraculously floating dome (FIG. 9-8) a millennium and a half before in Byzantium.

Le Corbusier's preliminary sketches for the building indicate that he linked the design with the shape of praying hands, with the wings of a dove (representing both peace and the Holy Spirit), and with the prow of a ship (a reminder that the term for the central aisle in a traditional basilican church is *nave*—Latin for "ship"). Le Corbusier hoped that in the mystical interior he created and in the rolling hills around the church, worshipers would reflect on the sacred and the natural. No one who has visited Notre Dame du Haut, whether on a bright sunlit day or in a thundering storm, has come away unmoved.

31-42 LE CORBUSIER, exterior of Notre Dame du Haut (looking northwest), Ronchamp, France, 1950–1955.

The organic forms of Le Corbusier's mountaintop chapel present a fusion of architecture and sculpture. The architect based the shapes on praying hands, a dove's wings, and a ship's prow.

31-43 LE CORBUSIER, interior of Notre Dame du Haut (looking southwest), Ronchamp, France, 1950–1955.

Constructed of concrete sprayed on a frame of steel and metal mesh, the heavy walls of the Ronchamp chapel enclose an intimate and mysteriously lit interior that has the aura of a sacred cave.

Eero Saarinen. Dramatic, sweeping, curvilinear reinforced concrete rooflines are also characteristic features of the buildings designed by Finnish-born architect EERO SAARINEN (1910–1961). One of his signature buildings of the late 1950s is the former Trans

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31-44 Eero Saarinen, Terminal 5 (JetBlue Airways terminal, formerly the Trans World Airlines terminal), John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, 1956–1962. ***Top:*** **exterior looking southeast;** ***bottom:*** **interior.**

Saarinen based his design on the theme of motion. The concrete-and-glass air terminal's dramatic, sweeping rooflines suggest expansive wings and flight. The interior features the same curvilinear vocabulary.

World Airlines terminal (now the JetBlue Airways terminal, FIG. 31-44, *top*) at New York's John F. Kennedy International Airport. The terminal, which Saarinen based on the theme of motion, consists of two immense concrete shells split down the middle and slightly rotated, giving the building a fluid curved outline that fits its corner site. The shells immediately suggest expansive wings and flight. Saarinen also designed every detail of the spacious, light-filled interior (FIG. 31-44, *bottom*), including the furniture, ventilation ducts, and signboards, with this same curvilinear vocabulary in mind. The design brilliantly combines symbolism, drama, and function.

Jørn Utzon. Saarinen was responsible for selecting a kindred spirit, the Danish architect Jørn Utzon (1918–2008), to build the Sydney Opera House (FIG. 31-45) in Australia. Utzon's design is a bold composition of organic forms on a colossal scale. Utzon worked briefly with Frank Lloyd Wright at Taliesin (Wright's Wisconsin residence), and the style of the Sydney Opera House resonates distantly with the graceful curvature of New York's Guggenheim Museum. Clusters of immense concrete shells—the largest is 200 feet tall—rise from massive platforms and soar to delicate peaks. Recalling at first the *ogival* (pointed) shapes of Gothic vaults, the shells also suggest both the buoyancy of seabird wings and the billowing sails of the tall ships of the European settlers who emigrated to Australia in the 18th and 19th centuries. These architectural metaphors are appropriate to the harbor surrounding Bennelong Point, whose

31-45 Jørn Utzon, Sydney Opera House (looking southeast), Sydney, Australia, 1959–1972.

The soaring clusters of concrete shells of Utzon's opera house on an immense platform in Sydney's harbor suggest both the buoyancy of seabird wings and the billowing sails of tall ships.

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bedrock foundations support the building. Utzon's matching of the structure with its site and atmosphere adds to the organic nature of the design.

Although construction of the building began in 1959, completion of the opera house had to wait until 1972, primarily because Utzon's daring design required construction technology not yet developed. Today the opera house is Sydney's defining symbol, a monument of civic pride that functions as the city's cultural center. In addition to the opera auditorium, the complex houses auxiliary halls and rooms for concerts, the performing arts, motion pictures, lectures, art exhibitions, and conventions.

Mies van der Rohe. Sculpturesque building design was not the only manifestation of postwar modernist architecture. From the mid-1950s through the 1970s, other architects created massive, sleek, and geometrically rigid buildings. They designed most of these structures following Bauhaus architect Mies van der Rohe's contention that "less is more." Many of these more Minimalist designs are powerful, heroic presences in the urban landscape, effectively symbolizing the giant corporations that often were the skyscrapers' primary tenants.

The purest example of these corporate towers is the mid-1950s rectilinear glass-and-bronze Seagram Building (FIG. 31-46) in Manhattan, designed by Mies van der Rohe and American architect Philip Johnson (FIG. 31-49). By this time, the concrete-steel-and-glass skyscrapers pioneered by Louis Sullivan (FIGS. 28-42, 28-42A, and 28-43) and carried further by Mies van der Rohe himself (FIG. 29-54) had become a familiar sight in cities all over the world. Appealing in its structural logic and clarity, the style, easily imitated, quickly became the norm for postwar commercial high-rise buildings. The architects of the Seagram Building deliberately designed it as a thin shaft, leaving the front quarter of its midtown site as an open pedestrian plaza. The tower appears to rise from the pavement on stilts. Glass walls even surround the recessed lobby. The building's recessed structural elements make it appear to have a glass skin, interrupted only by the thin strips of bronze anchoring the windows. The bronze strips and the amber glass windows give the tower a richness found in few of its neighbors. Mies van der Rohe and Johnson carefully planned every detail of the Seagram Building, inside and out, to create an elegant whole. They even designed the interior and exterior lighting to make the edifice an impressive sight both day and night.

31-46 LUDWIG MIES VAN DER ROHE and PHILIP JOHNSON, Seagram Building (looking northeast), New York, 1956–1958.

Massive, sleek, and geometrically rigid, this modernist skyscraper has a bronze-and-glass skin masking its concrete-and-steel frame. The giant corporate tower appears to rise from the pavement on stilts.

Skidmore, Owings & Merrill. The architectural firm SKIDMORE, OWINGS & MERRILL (SOM), perhaps the purest proponent of Miesian-inspired structures, designed a number of these simple rectilinear glass-sheathed buildings, and SOM's success indicates the popularity of this building type. By 1970, the company comprised more than a thousand architects and had offices in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Portland, and Washington, D.C. In 1974, the firm completed the Sears Tower (now Willis Tower; FIG. 31-47), a mammoth corporate building in Chicago. Consisting of nine clustered shafts soaring vertically, this 110-floor building provides offices for more than 12,000 workers. Original plans called for 104 stories, but the architects acquiesced to Sears's insistence on making the building the tallest (measured to the structural top) in the world at the time. The tower's size, coupled with the black aluminum and smoked glass sheathing it, establishes a dominant presence in a city of many corporate skyscrapers—exactly the image Sears executives wanted to project.

31-47 SKIDMORE, OWINGS & MERRILL, Willis Tower (formerly Sears Tower; looking east), Chicago, 1974.

Consisting of nine black aluminum and smoked glass shafts soaring to 110 stories, the Willis (Sears) Tower dominates Chicago's skyline. It was the world's tallest building at the time of its construction.

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Robert Venturi and Postmodernist Complexity and Contradiction

The restrictiveness of modernist architecture and the impersonality and sterility of many modernist structures eventually led to a rejection of modernism's authority in architecture. But the question faced by architects dissatisfied with the modernist mode was what to put in its place. The answer was the diversity of solutions that architectural historians use the generic term *postmodernism* to describe. Postmodernist architecture is not a unified style. It is a widespread cultural phenomenon far more encompassing and accepting than the more rigid confines of modernist practice, which, critics believed, failed to respond to the unique character of the cities and neighborhoods in which modernist architects erected their buildings. In contrast to modernist architecture, which features simple shapes and little ornamentation, postmodern architecture is complex and eclectic. Whereas the modernist program was reductive, the postmodern vocabulary is expansive and inclusive.

Among the first to explore this new direction in architecture were Jane Jacobs (1916–2006) and Robert Venturi (b. 1925). In their influential books *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Jacobs, 1961) and *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (Venturi, 1966), Jacobs and Venturi argued that the uniformity and anonymity of modernist architecture (in particular, corporate skyscrapers, such as the Seagram Building [fig. 31-46] and the Sears Tower [fig. 31-47] that then dominated many urban skylines) were unsuited to human social interaction. Jacobs and Venturi further maintained that diversity is the great advantage of urban life. Postmodern architects accepted, indeed embraced, the messy and chaotic nature of big-city life.

When designing these varied buildings, many postmodern architects consciously selected past architectural elements or references and juxtaposed them with contemporary elements or fashioned them of high-tech materials, thereby creating a dialogue between past and present, as Charles Moore did in Piazza d'Italia (fig. 31-1). Postmodern architecture incorporates references not only to traditional architecture but also to mass culture and popular imagery. This was precisely the "complexity and contradiction" Venturi referred to in the title of his book and that he explored further in *Learning from Las Vegas* (1972), coauthored with Denise Scott Brown (b. 1931) and Steven Izenour (1940–2001).

An early example of Venturi's work is the house (fig. **31-48**) he designed in 1962 for his mother. A fundamental axiom of modernism is that a building's form must arise directly and logically from its function and structure. Against this rule, Venturi asserted that form should be separate from function and structure. Thus the Vanna Venturi House has an oversized gable roof that recalls classical temple design more than domestic architecture. However, the gable has a missing central section, which reveals the house's "chimney" (a penthouse suite). Moreover, Venturi inserted an arch motif over the doorway's lintel, and the placement of the windows violates the symmetry of both classical and modernist design.

31-48 Robert Venturi, Vanna Venturi House, Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania, 1962.

Venturi advocated complexity and contradiction in architectural design, in contrast to modernist simplicity and uniformity. An early example of the postmodern approach he championed is his mother's house.

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Postmodernism

Within a few years of the completion of the Seagram Building (fig. 31-46) in the heart of New York City, some architects were already questioning the validity of the modernist approach to architectural design. Thus was born the diverse and complex style called postmodernism (see "After Modernism," page 957 and "Robert Venturi and Postmodernist Complexity and Contradiction," above).

Philip Johnson. Even architects instrumental in the proliferation of the modernist idiom embraced postmodernism. Early in his career, Philip Johnson (1906–2005), for example, had been a leading proponent of modernism and worked with Mies van der Rohe on the design of the Seagram Building (fig. 31-46). Johnson even served as director of the Department of Architecture at New York's Museum of Modern Art, the bastion of modernism, in 1930–1934 and 1946–1954. Yet he made one of the most startling shifts

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Philip Johnson on Postmodern Architecture

Philip Johnson, who died in 2005 at age 98, had a distinguished career spanning almost the entire 20th century, during which he transformed himself from a modernist closely associated with Mies van der Rohe (FIG. 31-46) into one of the leading postmodernists, whose AT&T (now Sony) Building (FIG. 31-49) in New York City remains an icon of 1970s postmodernism. In the following passages, Johnson comments on his early "Miesian" style and about the incorporation of various historical styles in postmodernist buildings.

> My eyes are set by the Miesian tradition . . . The continuity with my Miesian approach also shows through in my classicism. . . . [But in] 1952, about the same time that my whole generation did, I became very restless. . . . In the last decade there has been such a violent switch that it is almost embarrassing. But it isn't a switch, so much as a centrifugal splintering of architecture, to a degree that I don't think has been seen in the past few hundred years. Perfectly responsible architects build, even in one year, buildings that you cannot believe are done by the same person.*

> Structural honesty seems to me one of the bugaboos that we should free ourselves from very quickly. The Greeks with their marble columns imitating wood, and covering up the roofs inside! The Gothic designers with their wooden roofs above to protect their delicate vaulting. And Michelangelo, the greatest architect in history, with his Mannerist column! There is only one absolute today and this is change. There are no rules, surely no certainties in any of the arts. There is only the feeling of a wonderful freedom, of endless possibilities to investigate, of endless past years of historically great buildings to enjoy.†

*Quoted in Paul Heyer, *Architects on Architecture: New Directions in America* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1993), 285–286.
†Ibid., 279.

31-49 PHILIP JOHNSON and JOHN BURGEE (with SIMMONS ARCHITECTS), Sony Building (formerly AT&T Building; looking northeast), New York, 1978–1984.

In a startling shift of style, modernist Johnson (FIG. 31-46) designed this postmodern skyscraper with more granite than glass and with a variation on a classical pediment as the crowning motif.

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of style in 20th-century architecture, eventually moving away from the severe geometric formalism exemplified by the Seagram Building to a classical transformation of it in his AT&T (American Telephone and Telegraph) Building—now the Sony Building (FIG. 31-49)—in New York City. Architect JOHN BURGEE (b. 1933) codesigned the Manhattan skyscraper with assistance from the firm SIMMONS ARCHITECTS. This structure was influential in turning architectural taste and practice away from modernism and toward postmodernism—from organic "concrete sculpture" and the rigid "glass box" to elaborate shapes, motifs, and silhouettes freely adapted from historical styles (see "Philip Johnson on Postmodern Architecture," above).

The 660-foot-high slab of the former AT&T Building is mostly granite. Johnson reduced the window space to some 30 percent of the structure, in contrast to modernist glass-sheathed skyscrapers. His design of its exterior elevation is classically tripartite, having an arcaded base and arched portal; a tall, shaftlike body segmented by slender *mullions* (vertical elements dividing a window); and a crowning pediment broken by an *orbiculum* (a disklike opening). The arrangement refers to the base, column, and entablature system of classical architecture (FIG. 5-13). More specifically, the pediment, indented by the circular space, resembles the crown of a typical 18th-century Chippendale high chest of drawers. It rises among the monotonously flat-topped glass towers of the New York skyline as an ironic rebuke to the rigid uniformity of modernist architecture.

Michael Graves. Philip Johnson at first endorsed, then disapproved of, one of the most controversial buildings of the early postmodern era—the Portland Building (see "The Portland Building," page 993) by Indianapolis-born architect MICHAEL GRAVES (b. 1934).

Rogers and Piano. During their short-lived partnership, British architect RICHARD ROGERS (b. 1933) and Italian architect RENZO PIANO (b. 1937) used motifs and techniques from ordinary industrial buildings in their design for the Georges Pompidou National Center of Art and Culture in Paris (FIG. 31-51). The architects fully exposed the anatomy of this six-level building, which is a kind of updated version of the Crystal Palace (FIG. 27-48), and made its "metabolism" visible. They color-coded pipes, ducts, tubes, and

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A SECOND OPINION

The Portland Building

Erected in 1980, while construction was in progress on Philip Johnson's AT&T Building (FIG. 31-49), the Portland Building (FIG. 31-50) in the center of Oregon's largest city was greeted with both derision and praise. In Michael Graves's innovative design, the structure is tall but lacks the proportions of modernist skyscrapers. Graves favored the square's solidity and stability, making it the main body of his composition (echoed in the windows), which rests on a wider base and carries a set-back penthouse crown. Narrow vertical windows tie together the seven stories on each side of the building. These support capital-like large hoods on one pair of opposite facades and a frieze of stylized Baroque roundels tied by bands on the other pair. A huge painted keystone motif joins five upper levels on one facade pair, and painted surfaces further define the building's base, body, and penthouse levels.

Modernist purists reacted strongly against the Portland Building's ornamental wall, color painting, and historical references, and Graves endured a vocal backlash from the architectural community and the general public alike. Various critics denounced the building as "an enlarged jukebox," an "oversized Christmas package," a "marzipan monstrosity," a "histrionic masquerade," and a kind of "pop surrealism." Yet others approvingly noted its classical references as constituting a "symbolic temple" and praised the building as a courageous architectural adventure. Few buildings in the modern era have elicited such a dichotomy of opinions.

Whatever history's verdict will eventually be, the Portland Building, like the AT&T tower, is an early marker of postmodernist innovation that borrowed from the lively, if more-or-less garish, language of pop culture. The night-lit dazzle of entertainment sites such as Las Vegas, and the carnival colors, costumes, and fantasy of theme-park props, all lie behind the Portland Building design, which many critics regard as a vindication of architectural populism against the pretension of modernist elitism.

31-50 MICHAEL GRAVES, Portland Building (looking northeast), Portland, 1980.

In this early example of postmodern architecture, Graves reasserted the horizontality and solidity of the wall. He drew attention to the wall surfaces through polychromy and ornamental motifs.

31-51 RICHARD ROGERS and RENZO PIANO, Centre Georges Pompidou (the "Beaubourg," looking northeast), Paris, France, 1977.

The architects fully exposed the anatomy of this six-level building, as in the century-earlier Crystal Palace (FIG. 27-48), and color-coded the internal parts according to function, as in a factory.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Robert Smithson on *Spiral Jetty*

As he was driving by Utah's Great Salt Lake one day, Robert Smithson came across some abandoned mining equipment, left there by a company that had tried and failed to extract oil from the site. Smithson saw this as a testament to the enduring power of nature and the inability of humans to conquer it. He decided to create an artwork in the lake that ultimately became *Spiral Jetty* (FIG. 31-52), a mammoth 1,500-foot-long coil of black basalt, limestone rocks, and earth curving out from the shoreline into the water. Smithson insisted on designing his work in response to the location itself. He wanted to avoid the arrogance of an artist merely imposing an unrelated concept on the site. The spiral idea grew from Smithson's first impression of the location. Then, while researching Great Salt Lake, Smithson discovered that the molecular structure of the salt crystals coating the rocks at the water's edge is spiral in form.

> As I looked at the site, it reverberated out to the horizons only to suggest an immobile cyclone while flickering light made the entire landscape appear to quake. A dormant earthquake spread into the fluttering stillness, into a spinning sensation without movement. The site was a rotary that enclosed itself in an immense roundness. From that gyrating space emerged the possibility of the Spiral Jetty.*

Smithson not only recorded *Spiral Jetty* in photographs but also filmed its construction in a movie describing the forms and life of the whole site. The photographs and film have become increasingly important, because fluctuations in Great Salt Lake's water level often place *Spiral Jetty* underwater.

Smithson tragically died at age 35 in a plane crash while surveying a site for a new earthwork at Amarillo, Texas.

*Quoted in Nancy Holt, ed., *The Writings of Robert Smithson* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 111.

31-52 Robert Smithson, *Spiral Jetty* (looking northeast), Great Salt Lake, Utah, 1970. © Estate of Robert Smithson/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

Smithson used industrial equipment to create Environmental artworks by manipulating earth and rock. *Spiral Jetty* is a mammoth coil of black basalt, limestone, and earth extending into Great Salt Lake.

corridors according to function (red for the movement of people, green for water, blue for air-conditioning, and yellow for electricity), much as in a sophisticated factory.

The erection of a building with such a radical design in the historic center of Paris understandably caused a sensation. Critics who deplored the building's industrial qualities disparagingly referred to the complex as a "cultural supermarket" and pointed out that its exposed entrails require excessive maintenance to protect them from the elements. Nevertheless, the Pompidou Center has been immensely popular with visitors since it opened. The flexible interior spaces and the colorful structural body provide a festive environment for the crowds flowing through the building and enjoying its art galleries, industrial design center, library, science and music centers, conference rooms, research and archival facilities, movie theaters, rest areas, and restaurant (which looks down inside the building), as well as dramatic panoramas of Paris from its terrace. The sloping plaza in front of the main entrance has become part of the local scene. Peddlers, street performers, Parisians, and tourists fill this square at almost all hours of the day and night. The kind of secular activity that once occurred in the open spaces in front of cathedral entrances now takes place next to a center for culture and popular entertainment.

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Environmental and Site-Specific Art

One of the most exciting developments in postwar art and architecture has been *Environmental Art,* sometimes called *earthworks.* Environmental Art stands at the intersection of architecture and sculpture. It emerged as a major form of artistic expression in the 1960s and includes a wide range of artworks, most of which are *site-specific* (created for a unique location) and in the open air. Many artists associated with the Environmental Art movement also used natural or organic materials, including the land itself. It is no coincidence that this art form developed during a period of increased concern for the environment. The ecology movement of the 1960s and 1970s aimed to publicize and combat escalating pollution, depletion of natural resources, and the dangers of toxic waste. The problems of public aesthetics (for example, litter, urban sprawl, and compromised scenic areas) were also at issue. Widespread concern in the United States about the environment led to the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act in 1969 and the creation of the federal Environmental Protection Agency. Environmental artists used their art to call attention to the landscape and, in so doing, were part of this national dialogue.

As an innovative artistic genre challenging traditional assumptions about art making, Environmental Art clearly has an avant-garde, progressive dimension. But as Pop artists did in their time, Environmental artists, today as in the 1960s, insist on moving art out of the rarefied atmosphere of museums and galleries and into the public sphere. Most encourage spectator interaction with their works. Ironically, the remote locations of many earthworks have limited the public's access to them.

Robert Smithson. One of the pioneering Environmental artists was New Jersey–born Robert Smithson (1938–1973), who used industrial construction equipment to manipulate vast quantities of earth and rock on isolated sites. Smithson's best-known project is *Spiral Jetty* (see "Robert Smithson on *Spiral Jetty,*" page 994).

PERFORMANCE AND CONCEPTUAL ART AND NEW MEDIA

Environmental Art, although a singular artistic phenomenon, typifies postwar developments in the art world in redefining the nature of an "artwork" and expanding the range of works that artists and the general public consider art. Some of the new types of artworks are the result of the invention of new media, such as computers and video cameras. But the new art forms also reflect avant-garde artists' continued questioning of the status quo.

Performance Art

An important new artistic genre that emerged in the decades following World War II was *Performance Art.* Performance artists replace traditional stationary artworks with movements, gestures, and sounds performed before an audience, whose members sometimes participate in the performance. The informal and spontaneous events staged by early Performance artists anticipated the rebellion and youthful exuberance of the 1960s and at first pushed art outside the confines of the mainstream art institutions—museums and galleries. Performance Art also served as an antidote to the pretentiousness of most traditional art objects and challenged art's function as a commodity. In the later 1960s, however, museums began to commission performances with increasing frequency, thereby neutralizing much of the subversiveness characteristic of this new art form. Unfortunately, because the earliest Performance artists created their works before the widespread availability of inexpensive handheld video cameras (and, now, of smartphones with video capability), the only records of their performances are the documentary photographs taken during the events. Photographs are unsatisfying, if invaluable, records because they lack the elements of sound and motion integral to Performance Art.

John Cage. Many of the artists instrumental in the development of Performance Art were students or associates of the charismatic American teacher and composer John Cage (1912–1992). Cage encouraged his students at both the New School for Social Research in New York and Black Mountain College in North Carolina to link their art directly with life. He brought to music composition some of the ideas of Marcel Duchamp and of Eastern philosophy. Cage used methods such as chance to avoid the closed structures marking traditional music and, in his view, separating it from the unpredictable and multilayered qualities of daily existence. For example, the score for one of Cage's piano compositions instructs the performer to appear, sit down at the piano, raise the keyboard cover to mark the beginning of the piece, remain motionless at the instrument for 4 minutes and 33 seconds, and then close the keyboard cover, rise, and bow to signal the end of the work. The "music" would be the unplanned sounds and noises (such as coughs and whispers) emanating from the audience during the "performance."

Allan Kaprow. One of Cage's students in the 1950s was Allan Kaprow (1927–2006). Schooled in art history as well as music composition, Kaprow sought to explore the intersection of art and life. He believed, for example, that Jackson Pollock's actions when producing a painting (fig. 31-7) were more important than the finished painting. This led Kaprow to develop a type of event known as a *Happening.* He described a Happening as

> an assemblage of events performed or perceived in more than one time and place. Its material environments may be constructed, taken over directly from what is available, or altered slightly: just as its activities may be invented or commonplace. A Happening, unlike a stage play, may occur at a supermarket, driving along a highway, under a pile of rags, and in a friend's kitchen, either at once or sequentially. If sequentially, time may extend to more than a year. The Happening is performed according to plan but without rehearsal, audience, or repetition. It is art but seems closer to life.[24]

Happenings were often participatory. One Happening consisted of a constructed setting with partitions on which viewers wrote phrases, while another involved spectators walking on a pile of tires. One of Kaprow's first Happenings, titled *18 Happenings in Six Parts,* took place in 1959 in the Reuben Gallery in New York City. For the event, he divided the gallery space into three sections with translucent plastic sheets. Over the course of the 90-minute piece, performers, including Kaprow's artist friends, bounced balls, read from placards, extended their arms like wings, and played records as slides and lights switched on and off in programmed sequences.

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Fluxus and Joseph Beuys. Other Cage students interested in the composer's search to find aesthetic potential in the nontraditional and commonplace formed the *Fluxus* group. Eventually expanding to include European and Japanese artists, this group's performances were more theatrical than Happenings. To distinguish their performances from Happenings, the artists associated with Fluxus coined the term *Events* to describe their work. Events focused on single actions, such as turning a light on and off or watching falling snow—what Fluxus artist La Monte Young (b. 1935) called "the theater of the single event."[25] Events usually took place on a stage separating the performers from the audience but without costumes or added decor. Events were not spontaneous. They followed a compositional "score," which, given the restricted nature of these performances, was short.

One important German artist whose work in the 1960s was strongly influenced by the Fluxus group was Joseph Beuys (1921–1986; fig. 31-52A).

Carolee Schneemann. Some artists, notably Carolee Schneemann (b. 1939) in the United States and members of the Concrete Art Association (fig. 35-19) in Japan, produced artworks integrating painting and performance (see "Carolee Schneemann on Painting, Performance Art, and Art History," below). Schneemann's self-described "kinetic theater"

31-52A Beuys, *How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare,* 1965.

ARTISTS ON ART

Carolee Schneemann on Painting, Performance Art, and Art History

Born in Pennsylvania, Carolee Schneemann (fig. 31-53) studied painting at Bard College and the University of Illinois before settling in New York City in 1962, where she became one of the pioneering Performance artists of the 1960s. In notes she wrote in 1962–1963, Schneemann reflected on the nature of art production and contrasted her kinetic works with more traditional art forms.

> Environments, happenings—concretions—are an extension of my painting-constructions which often have moving (motorized) sections. . . . [But the] steady exploration and repeated viewing which the eye is required to make with my painting-constructions is reversed in the performance situation where the spectator is overwhelmed with changing recognitions, carried emotionally by a flux of evocative actions and led or held by the specified time sequence which marks the duration of a performance. In this way the audience is actually *visually* more *passive* than when confronting a . . . "still" work . . . With paintings, constructions and sculptures the viewers are able to carry out repeated examinations of the work, to select and vary viewing positions (to walk with the eye), to touch surfaces and to freely indulge responses to areas of color and texture at their chosen speed.*

Readers of this book will also take special interest in Schneemann's 1975 essay titled "Woman in the Year 2000," in which she envisioned what introductory art history courses would be like at the beginning of the 21st century:

> By the year 2000 [every] young woman will study Art Istory [sic] courses enriched by the inclusion, discovery, and re-evaluation of works by women artists: works (and lives) until recently buried away, willfully destroyed, [or] ignored.†

A comparison between this 16th edition of *Art through the Ages* and editions published in the 1960s and 1970s will immediately reveal the accuracy of Schneemann's prediction.

*Quoted in Bruce McPherson, ed., *More Than Meat Joy: Complete Performance Works and Selected Writings* (New Paltz, N.Y.: Documentext, 1979), 10–11.
†Ibid., 198.

31-53 Carolee Schneemann, *Meat Joy* (performance at Judson Church, New York City), 1964.

In her performances, Schneemann transformed the nature of Performance Art by introducing a feminist dimension through the use of her body (often nude) to challenge traditional gender roles.

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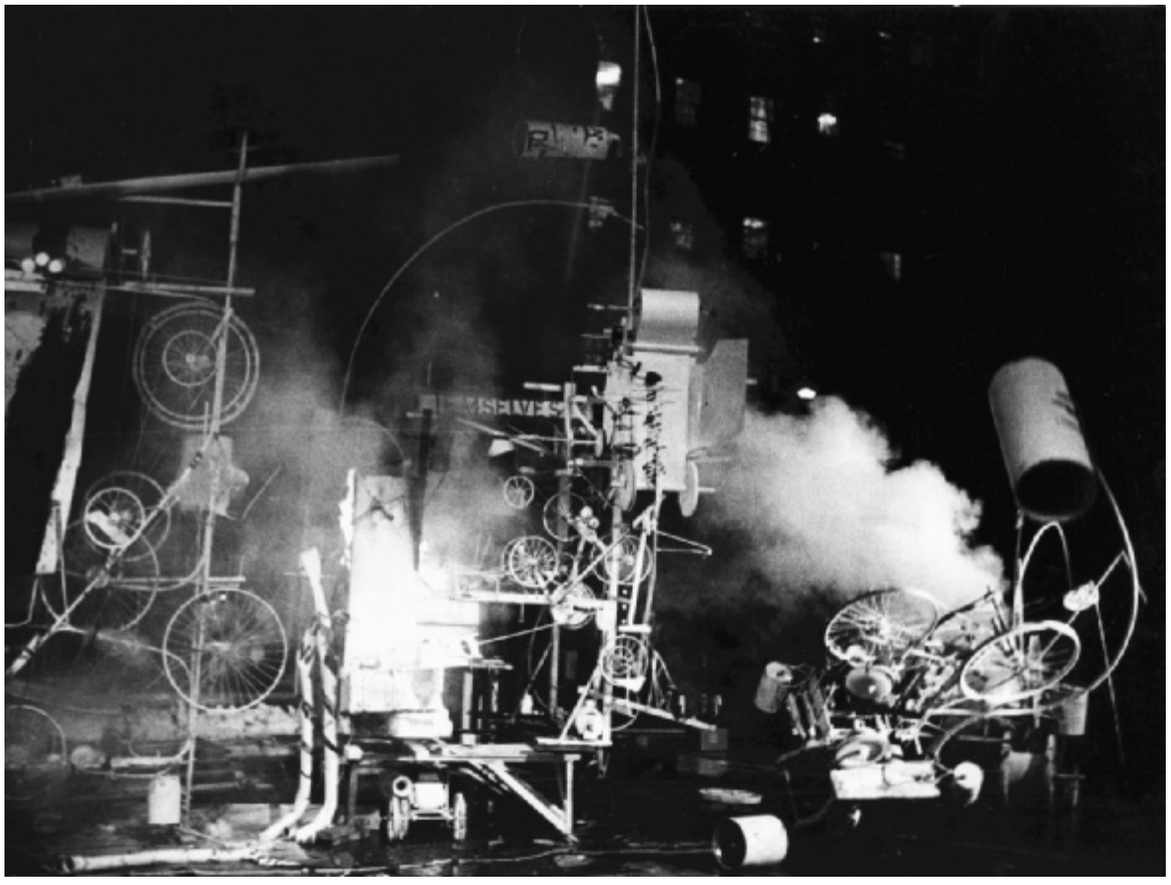

31-54 Jean Tinguely, *Homage to New York*, 1960, just prior to its self-destruction in the garden of the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Tinguely produced motor-driven devices programmed to make instant abstract paintings. To explore the notion of destruction as an act of creation, he designed this one to perform and then destroy itself.

radically transformed the nature of Performance Art by introducing a feminist dimension through the use of her body (often nude) to challenge "the psychic territorial power lines by which women were admitted to the Art Stud Club."[26] In her 1964 performance, *Meat Joy* (fig. 31-53), which was designed to be both erotic and repulsive, Schneemann cavorted with male performers and reveled in the taste, smell, and feel of raw sausages, chickens, and fish.

Jean Tinguely. The paradoxical notion of destruction as an act of creation surfaces in a number of kinetic artworks, most notably in the sculpture of Jean Tinguely (1925–1991). Trained as a painter in his native Switzerland, Tinguely gravitated to motion sculpture. In the 1950s, he made a series of motor-driven devices that he called *metamatics,* which produced instant abstract paintings. He programmed these metamatics electronically to act with an antimechanical unpredictability when someone inserted a felt-tipped marking pen into a pincer and pressed a button to initiate the pen's motion across a small sheet of paper clipped to an "easel." Participants in his metamatic demonstrations could use different-colored markers in succession and could stop and start the device to achieve some degree of control over the final image. These operations created a series of small works resembling Abstract Expressionist paintings.

In 1960, Tinguely expanded the scale of his work with a kinetic piece designed to "perform" and then destroy itself in the sculpture garden of the Museum of Modern Art in New York City. He created *Homage to New York* (fig. 31-54) with the aid of engineer Billy Klüver (1927–2004), who helped him scrounge wheels and other moving objects from a dump near Manhattan. The completed structure, painted white for visibility against the dark night sky, included a player piano modified into a metamatic painting machine, a weather balloon that inflated during the performance, vials of colored smoke, and a host of gears, pulleys, wheels, and other found machine parts.

Homage to New York premiered (and instantly self-destructed) on March 17, 1960, with the state's governor, Nelson Rockefeller (1908–1979), an array of other distinguished guests, and three television crews in attendance. Once Tinguely turned on the machine, smoke poured from its interior and the piano caught fire. Various parts of the machine broke off and rambled away, while one of the metamatics tried but failed to produce an abstract painting. Finally, Tinguely summoned a firefighter to extinguish the blaze and ensure the demise of his artwork-machine with an ax. Like Tinguely's other kinetic sculptures, *Homage to New York* recalls the satiric Dadaist spirit and the droll import of Klee's *Twittering Machine* (fig. 29-43). But Tinguely deliberately made the wacky behavior of *Homage to New York* more playful and more endearing. Having been given a freedom of eccentric behavior unprecedented in the mechanical world, Tinguely's creations often seemed to behave with the whimsical individuality of human actors.

Conceptual Art

The relentless challenges to artistic convention fundamental to the historical avant-garde reached a logical conclusion with *Conceptual Art* in the mid-1960s and the work of Joseph Kosuth (b. 1945) and others (see "Rethinking 'Art': Conceptual Art," page 998).

Bruce Nauman. About the time that Kosuth made *One and Three Chairs* (fig. 31-55), his slightly older contemporary, Indiana native Bruce Nauman (b. 1941), made his artistic presence known in California when he abandoned painting and turned to

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Rethinking "Art": Conceptual Art

In many ways, the most radical of the many avant-garde art movements of the postwar era was Conceptual Art, which reconsidered the very definition of what art is. Conceptual artists maintain that the "artfulness" of art lies in the artist's idea, rather than in its final expression. These artists regard the idea, or concept, as the defining component of the artwork. Indeed, in their effort to solve the problem of creating artworks that are ideas instead of tangible objects, some Conceptual artists do not create new objects at all.

One of the leading Conceptual artists and theorists was Joseph Kosuth. Born in Toledo, Ohio, and educated at the School of Visual Arts in New York City, Kosuth summarized the intellectual transformation he and other Conceptual artists had to undergo in their effort to rethink everything they had been taught about art.

> Like everyone else I inherited the idea of art as a set of *formal* problems. So when I began to re-think my ideas of art, I had to re-think that thinking process . . . [T]he radical shift, was in changing the idea of art itself. . . . It meant you could have an art work which was that *idea* of an art work, and its formal components weren't important. I felt I had found a way to make art without formal components being confused for an expressionist composition. The expression was in the idea, not the form—the forms were only a device in the service of the idea.*

Kosuth's work operates at the intersection of language and vision, and deals with the relationship between the abstract and the concrete. For example, in *One and Three Chairs* (FIG. 31-55), Kosuth juxtaposed a real chair, a full-scale photograph of the same chair, and an enlarged reproduction of a dictionary definition of the word "chair." By so doing, the Conceptual artist asked viewers to ponder the notion of what constitutes "chairness."

Other Conceptual artists pursued the notion that the idea itself is a work of art by creating works involving invisible materials, such as inert gases, radioactive isotopes, or radio waves. In each case, viewers must base their understanding of the artwork on what they know about the properties of these materials, rather than on any visible empirical data, and must depend on the artist's verbal description of the work. Ultimately, the Conceptual artists challenged the very premises of artistic production, pushing art's boundaries to a point where no concrete definition of art is possible.

*"Joseph Kosuth: Art as Idea as Idea," in Jeanne Siegel, ed., *Artwords: Discourse on the 60s and 70s* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1985), 221, 225.

31-55 Joseph Kosuth, *One and Three Chairs,* 1965. Wood folding chair, photographic copy of a chair, and photographic enlargement of a dictionary definition of "chair"; chair 2′ $8\frac{3}{8}$″ × 1′ $2\frac{7}{8}$″ × 1′ $8\frac{7}{8}$″; photo panel 3′ × 2′ $\frac{1}{8}$″; text panel 2′ × 2′ $\frac{1}{8}$″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (Larry Aldrich Foundation Fund).

Conceptual artists regard the concept as an artwork's defining component. To portray "chairness," Kosuth juxtaposed a chair, a photograph of the chair, and a dictionary definition of "chair."

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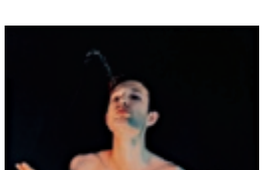
1 ft.

31-56 Bruce Nauman, *The True Artist Helps the World by Revealing Mystic Truths,* 1967. Neon with glass tubing suspension frame, 4′ 11″ high. Private collection.

In his art, Nauman explores his interest in language and wordplay. He described this Conceptual neon sculpture's emphatic assertion as "a totally silly idea," but an idea he believed.

object-making. Since then, his work, produced since 1979 in New Mexico, has been extremely varied. In addition to sculptural pieces constructed from different materials, including neon lights (fig. 31-56), rubber, fiberglass, and cardboard, he has also produced photographs (fig. 31-56A), films, videos, books, and large room installations, as well as Performance Art. Nauman's work of the 1960s intersected with that of the Conceptual artists, especially in terms of the philosophical exploration that was the foundation of much of his art, and in his interest in language and wordplay.



31-56A Nauman, *Self-Portrait as Fountain,* 1966–1967.

The True Artist Helps the World by Revealing Mystic Truths (fig. 31-56) was the first of Nauman's many neon sculptures. Nauman selected neon, which Charles Moore also employed to great effect in his postmodern Piazza d'Italia (fig. 31-1), because he wanted to find a medium that would be identified with a nonartistic function. Determined to discover a way to connect objects with words, he drew on the method outlined in *Philosophical Investigations,* in which the Austrian philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951) encouraged contradictory and nonsensical arguments. Nauman's neon sculpture spins out an emphatic assertion, which is also the work's title, but as Nauman explained, "[The statement] was kind of a test—like when you say something out loud to see if you believe it. . . . [I]t was on the one hand a totally silly idea and yet, on the other hand, I believed it."[27]

New Media

During the 1960s and 1970s, in their attempt to find new avenues of artistic expression, many avant-garde artists eagerly embraced technologies previously unavailable. Among the most popular new media were video recording and computer graphics.

Video. Initially, only commercial television studios possessed video equipment, but in the 1960s, with the development of relatively inexpensive portable video recorders and of electronic devices allowing manipulation of recorded video material, artists began to explore in earnest the expressive possibilities of this new technology. In its basic form, video recording involves a special motion-picture camera that captures visible images and translates them into electronic data for display on a video monitor or television screen. Video pictures resemble photographs in the amount of detail they contain, but, like computer graphics, a video image consists of a series of points of light on a grid, giving the impression of soft focus. Viewers looking at television or video art are not aware of the monitor's surface. Instead, fulfilling the ideal of Renaissance artists, they concentrate on the image and look through the glass surface, as through a window, into the "space" beyond. Video images combine the optical realism of photography with the sense that the subjects move in real time in a deep space "inside" the monitor.

Nam June Paik. When video introduced the possibility of manipulating subjects in real time, artists such as Korean-born Nam June Paik (1932–2006) were eager to work with the medium. After studying music performance, art history, and Eastern philosophy in Korea and Japan, Paik worked with electronic music in Germany in the late 1950s. In 1965, after relocating to New York City, Paik acquired the first inexpensive video recorder (the Sony Porta-Pak) and immediately recorded everything he saw out the window of his taxi on the return trip to his studio downtown. Experience acquired as artist-in-residence at television stations WGBH in Boston and WNET in New York enabled him to experiment with the most advanced broadcast video technology.

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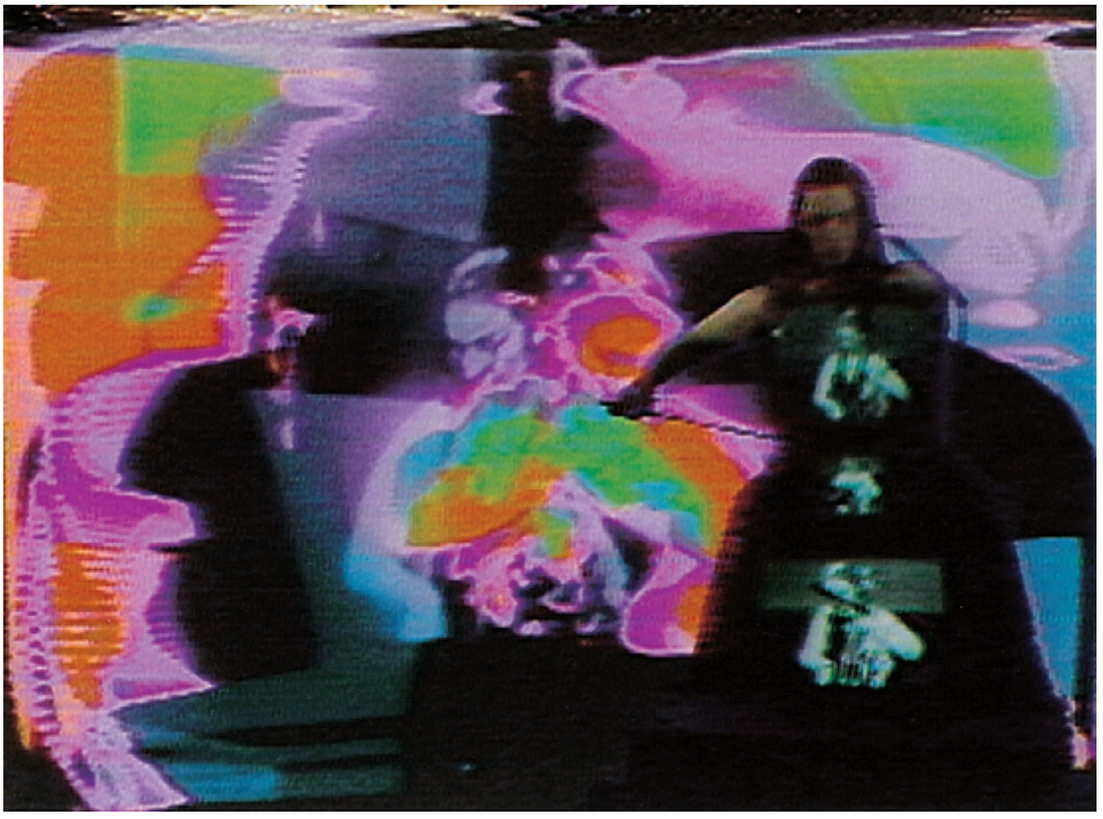


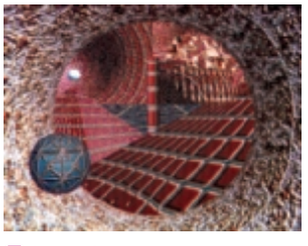
31-57 Nam June Paik, video still from *Global Groove,* 1973. ¾″ color videotape, sound, 30 minutes. Collection of the artist.

Korean-born video artist Paik's best-known work is a cascade of fragmented sequences of performances and commercials intended as a sample of the rich worldwide television menu of the future.

A grant permitted Paik to collaborate with the gifted Japanese engineer-inventor Shuya Abe (b. 1932) in developing a video synthesizer. This instrument enables artists to manipulate and change the electronic video information in various ways, causing images or parts of images to stretch, shrink, change color, or break up. With the synthesizer, artists can also layer images, inset one image into another, or merge images from various cameras with those from video recorders to make a single visual kaleidoscopic "time-collage." This kind of compositional freedom enabled Paik to combine his interests in painting, music, Eastern philosophy, global politics for survival, humanized technology, and cybernetics. Inspired by the ideas of John Cage, Paik called his video works "physical music" and said his musical background enabled him to understand time better than could video artists trained in painting or sculpture.

Paik's best-known video work, *Global Groove* (fig. 31-57), was commissioned for broadcast over the United Nations satellite. The video combines in quick succession fragmented sequences of female tap dancers, poet Allen Ginsberg (1926–1997) reading his work, a performance by Fluxus artist and cellist Charlotte Moorman (1933–1991) using a man's back as her instrument, Pepsi commercials from Japanese television, Korean drummers, and a shot of the Living Theatre group performing a controversial piece called *Paradise Now.* The cascade of imagery in *Global Groove* gives viewers a glimpse of the rich worldwide television menu that Paik predicted would be available in the future—a prediction that has been fulfilled with the advent of affordable cable and satellite television service.

Computer Graphics. Perhaps the most promising new medium for creating and manipulating illusionistic three-dimensional forms is computer graphics. This new medium uses light to make images and, like photography, can incorporate specially recorded camera images. Unlike video recording, computer graphic art enables artists to work with wholly invented forms, as painters can. Developed during the 1960s and 1970s, this technology opened up new possibilities for both abstract and figural art. It involves electronic programs dividing the surface of the computer into a grid of tiny boxes called "picture elements," or *pixels.* Artists can electronically address pixels individually to create a design, much as knitting or weaving patterns have a grid matrix as a guide for making a design in fabric. Once created, parts of a computer graphic design can be changed quickly through an electronic program, enabling artists to revise or duplicate shapes in the design and to manipulate at will the color, texture, size, number, and position of any desired detail. Computer graphic pictures appear in luminous color on the monitor. The effect suggests a view into a vast world existing behind the screen. One of the pioneering artists working in this electronic painting mode is David Em (b. 1952; fig. 31-57A).



31-57A Em, *Nora,* 1979.

After 1980. The decades following the conclusion of World War II were unparalleled in the history of art for innovation in form and content and for the development of new media. Those exciting trends have continued unabated since 1980—and with an increasingly international dimension that will be explored in Chapter 32.

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THE BIG PICTURE

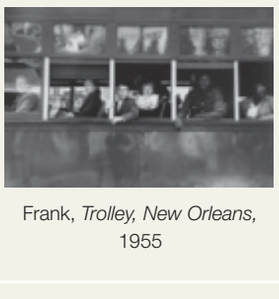
Modernism and Postmodernism in Europe and America, 1945 to 1980

Painting, Sculpture, and Photography

- The art of the decades following World War II reflects cultural upheaval—the rejection by the young of traditional values, the civil rights and feminist movements, and the new consumer society.
- The first major postwar avant-garde art movement was Abstract Expressionism, which championed an artwork's formal elements rather than its subject. Gestural abstractionists, such as Pollock, de Kooning, Krasner, and Mitchell, sought expressiveness through energetically applied pigment. Chromatic abstractionists, such as Rothko, struck emotional chords through large areas of pure color.
- Post-Painterly Abstraction promoted a cool rationality in contrast to Abstract Expressionism's passion. Both hard-edge painters, such as Kelly and Stella, and color-field painters, such as Frankenthaler and Louis, pursued purity in art by emphasizing the flatness of pigment on canvas.
- Pop artists, including Johns, Lichtenstein, and Warhol, represented subjects grounded in popular culture—comic strips, Coca-Cola bottles—sometimes employing commercial printing techniques. Rosenquist incorporated social and political commentary into his billboard-size paintings.
- Riley and other Op artists sought to produce optical illusions of motion and depth using only geometric forms on two-dimensional surfaces.
- Superrealists, such as Flack, Close, and Hanson—kindred spirits to Pop artists in many ways—created paintings and sculptures featuring scrupulous fidelity to optical fact.
- The leading sculptural movement of this period was Minimalism. Tony Smith and Judd created artworks consisting of simple unadorned geometric shapes to underscore the "objecthood" of their sculptures.
- Frank and White represent the two poles of photography in the postwar period—documentary photography and art photography.
- Many artists pursued social agendas in their work. Postwar feminist artists include Chicago, whose *Dinner Party* honors women throughout history and features crafts traditionally associated with women; Sherman, who explored the "male gaze" in her photographs resembling film stills; and Mendieta and Wilke, whose bodies were their subjects.

Pollock, *Lavender Mist,* 1950

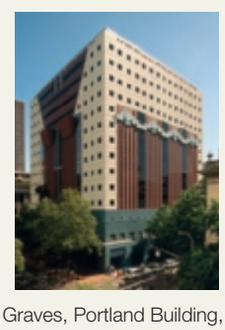
Warhol, *Green Coca-Cola Bottles,* 1962



Frank, *Trolley, New Orleans,* 1955

Architecture and Site-Specific Art

- Some of the leading early-20th-century modernist architects remained active after 1945. Wright built the snail-shell Guggenheim Museum, Le Corbusier the sculpturesque Notre Dame du Haut, and Mies van der Rohe the Minimalist Seagram skyscraper. Younger architects Saarinen and Utzon designed structures with dramatic curvilinear rooflines.
- In contrast to modernist architecture, postmodern architecture is complex and eclectic and often incorporates references to historical styles. Among the best-known postmodern projects are Moore's Piazza d'Italia and Graves's Portland Building, both of which incorporate classical motifs.
- Site-specific art stands at the intersection of architecture and sculpture. Smithson's *Spiral Jetty* is a mammoth coil of natural materials in Utah's Great Salt Lake.



Graves, Portland Building, 1980

Performance and Conceptual Art and New Media

- Among the most significant developments in the art world after World War II has been the expansion of the range of works considered art.
- Performance artists, notably Schneemann and Beuys, replace traditional stationary artworks with movements and sounds performed before an audience. Performance Art often addresses the same social and political issues that contemporaneous painters and sculptors explore.
- Kosuth and other Conceptual artists believe that the "artfulness" of art is in the artist's idea, not the work resulting from the idea.
- Paik and others have embraced video recording technology to produce artworks combining images and sounds.

Schneemann, *Meat Joy,* 1964

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▲**32-1a** Smith's *Trade* celebrates her Native American identity. The cheap trinkets she offers in return for confiscated land include sports team memorabilia with offensive names, such as Braves and Redskins.

▲**32-1b** Newspaper clippings chronicle the conquest of Native America by Europeans and include references to the problems facing those living on reservations today—poverty, alcoholism, and disease.

32-1 **Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, *Trade* (*Gifts for Trading Land with White People*), 1992. Oil and mixed media on canvas, 5′ × 14′ 2″. Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk.**

▶**32-1c** Overlapping the collage and the central motif of the canoe in Smith's anti–Columbus Quincentenary Celebration is dripping red paint, symbolic of the shedding of Native American blood.

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CONTEMPORARY ART WORLDWIDE 32

FRAMING THE ERA

Art as Sociopolitical Message

Although televisions, smartphones, and the Internet have brought people all over the world closer together than ever before, national, ethnic, religious, and racial conflicts are also an unfortunate and pervasive characteristic of contemporary life. Some of the most eloquent voices raised in protest about the major political and social issues of the day have been those of painters and sculptors, who can harness the power of art to amplify the power of the written and spoken word.

Jaune Quick-to-See Smith (b. 1940) is a Native American artist descended from the Shoshone, Salish, and Cree peoples. Raised on the Flatrock Reservation in Montana, she is steeped in the traditional culture of her ancestors, but she trained as an artist in the European American tradition at Framingham State University in Massachusetts and at the University of New Mexico. Smith's ethnic heritage has always informed her art, however, and her concern about the invisibility of Native American artists has led her to organize exhibitions of their art. Her ethnic identity has also been the central theme of her mature work as an artist.

In 1992, Smith created what many critics consider her masterpiece: *Trade* (fig. 32-1), subtitled *Gifts for Trading Land with White People.* A complex multimedia work of imposing size, *Trade* is Smith's response to what she called "the Quincentenary Non-Celebration"—that is, white America's celebration of the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in what Europeans called the New World. *Trade* incorporates collage elements and attached objects, reminiscent of a Rauschenberg combine (fig. 31-25), with energetic brushwork recalling Willem de Kooning's Abstract Expressionist canvases (fig. 31-8). Among the items in *Trade*'s collage are clippings from Native American newspapers featuring images chronicling the conquest of North America by Europeans and references to the problems facing those living on reservations today—poverty, alcoholism, and disease. The dripping red paint overlaying the collage with the central motif of the canoe is symbolic of the shedding of Native American blood.

Above the painting, as if hung from a clothesline, is an array of objects. These include Native American artifacts, such as beaded belts and feather headdresses; plastic tomahawks; "Indian princess" dolls; and contemporary sports memorabilia from teams with American Indian–derived names: the Cleveland Indians, Atlanta Braves, and Washington Redskins. The inclusion of these objects reminds viewers of the vocal opposition to the use of these and similar names for high school and college as well as professional sports teams. All the cheap artifacts together also have a deeper significance. As the title indicates and Smith explained: "Why won't you consider trading the land we handed over to you for these silly trinkets that so honor us? Sound like a bad deal? Well, that's the deal you gave us."[1]

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ART TODAY

This is an "incomplete" chapter, because the story of the art of the present generation—that is, the history of the art and architecture of the past four decades—is still unfolding, and the body of material to be surveyed is increasing literally daily. It is both impractical and unwise to try to impose a strict chronological development scheme on the extraordinarily diverse range of paintings, sculptures, photographs and videos, buildings and monuments, and multimedia works produced worldwide since 1980. Instead, this survey of contemporary art is organized thematically and stylistically and, to a lesser degree, by medium, under the following headings: Personal and Group Identity; Political and Social Commentary; Representation and Abstraction; Electronic and Digital Media; Installation and Site-Specific Art; and Architecture. It is important to note, however, that most contemporary artworks fall into more than one of these categories. For example, a painting that explores personal and group identity, such as Jaune Quick-to-See Smith's *Trade* (FIG. 32-1), can also be a work of social commentary and combine representation and abstraction and several different media. Nevertheless, these six categories constitute a useful way to approach the complex phenomenon of contemporary art and architecture.

PERSONAL AND GROUP IDENTITY

Trade is the unique product of Smith's heritage as a Native American who has sought to bridge native and European artistic traditions, but her work parallels that of many other innovative artists of the decades since 1980 in addressing contemporary life. This focus on the content and meaning of art represents, as did the earlier work of the Pop artists (see "Pop Art," page 974) and Superrealists (see "Superrealism," page 979), a rejection of modernist formalist doctrine and a desire on the part of artists once again to embrace the persuasive power of art to communicate with a wide audience—an audience that, thanks to 21st-century technological breakthroughs, is now instantly international in character. It also represents in many respects a return to the core principle of the 19th-century Realists, as defined by Gustave Courbet (FIGS. 27-26 and 27-27): "art in painting should consist only of the representation of things that are visible and tangible to the artist. Every age should be represented only by its own artists, that is to say, by the artists who have lived in it."[2]

The multicultural diversity of the world today has made almost everybody keenly aware of her or his distinct national, ethnic, racial, and religious identity. Not surprisingly, Jaune Quick-to-See Smith is but one of many leading contemporary artists who have made their personal and group identity the focus of their work.

African American Art

Prominent among those for whom race has been a key element of the art they have produced during the past few decades are African Americans. This is a very significant development in the history of art because outside Africa, Africans and people of African descent have rarely been the subject of artworks produced by European and American artists except in marginal and often demeaning roles. Black artists have also been omitted from most histories of Western art until recently.

1 ft.

32-2 JEAN-MICHEL BASQUIAT, *Horn Players,* 1983. Acrylic and oil paintstick on three canvas panels, 8′ × 6′ 3″. Broad Art Foundation, Santa Monica.

In this tribute to two legendary African American musicians, Basquiat combined bold colors, fractured figures, and graffiti to capture the dynamic rhythms of jazz and the excitement of New York.

CONTEMPORARY ART WORLDWIDE

1980–1990

- Social and political issues—gender and sexuality; ethnic, religious, and national identity; violence, homelessness, and AIDS—figure prominently in the art of Kruger, Wojnarowicz, Wodiczko, Ringgold, Weems, and many others
- Stirling, Pei, and other postmodern architects incorporate historical references into designs for museums and other public buildings
- Site-specific artworks by Lin and Serra and exhibitions of the work of Mapplethorpe and Ofili become lightning rods for debate over public financing of art

1990–2000

- Artworks addressing pressing political and social issues continue to be produced in great numbers by, among others, Quick-to-See Smith, Rosler, Sikander, Bester, Neshat, and Zhang
- Realistic figure painting and sculpture (Kiki Smith, Saville) as well as abstraction (Schnabel, Murray, Oji, Donovan, Kusama) remain vital components of the contemporary art scene
- Deconstructivist (Behnisch, Gehry, Hadid) and Hi-Tech and Green architecture (Piano, Foster) emerge as major movements

2000–

- Modern, postmodern, and traditional art forms coexist today in the increasingly interconnected worldwide art scene as artists on all continents work with age-old materials and also experiment with the new media of digital photography, computer graphics, and video

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32-3 Kerry James Marshall, *De Style,* 1993. Acrylic on canvas, 8′ 8″ × 10′ 2″. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles (purchased with funds provided by Ruth and Jacob Bloom).

At a scale traditionally reserved for historical, mythological, and religious subjects, Marshall depicted the well-dressed and distinctively coiffed African American customers of a neighborhood barbershop.

Jean-Michel Basquiat. One black artist who, despite his very short career, now figures prominently in most histories of modern art is Jean-Michel Basquiat (1960–1988), whose father was an accountant from Haiti and whose mother was a black Puerto Rican. Basquiat grew up in a comfortable middle-class home in Brooklyn, but he rebelled against his parents' values, dropped out of school at 17, and took to the streets. He first burst onto the New York art scene as the anonymous author of witty graffiti in Lower Manhattan signed SAMO (a dual reference to the derogatory name *Sambo* for African Americans and to "same old shit"). Basquiat first drew attention as an artist in 1980 when he participated in a group show—the "Times Square Show"—in an abandoned 42nd Street building. Eight years later, after a meteoric rise to fame, he died of a heroin overdose at age 27.

Basquiat was self-taught, both as an artist and about the history of art, but he was not a "primitive." His sophisticated style owes a debt to diverse sources, including the late paintings of Pablo Picasso, Abstract Expressionism, the Art Brut of Jean Dubuffet (fig. 31-4), and urban graffiti. Many of Basquiat's paintings celebrate black heroes—for example, the legendary jazz musicians Charlie "Bird" Parker and Dizzy Gillespie, whom he memorialized in *Horn Players* (fig. 32-2). The fractured figures, the bold colors against a black background, and the deliberately scrawled, crossed-out, and misspelled graffiti ("ornithology"—the study of birds—is a pun on Parker's nickname and also the title of one of Parker's musical compositions) create a dynamic composition suggesting the rhythms of jazz music and the excitement of the streets of New York, "the city that never sleeps."

Kerry James Marshall. Also chronicling the urban experiences of African Americans, but in a very different way, is Kerry James Marshall (b. 1955), who moved as a child from Alabama to Los Angeles and studied at the Otis Art Institute. His *De Style* (fig. 32-3), painted in 1993 and acquired the same year by the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, depicts the interior of a South Central LA barbershop in which Marshall worked as a boy shining shoes and sweeping the floor. (The name of the shop, visible in the window, is Percy's House of Style, but Marshall also chose the name for his painting as a reference to an influential early-20th-century Dutch art movement; see "De Stijl," page 922.) In this huge (9-by-10-foot) canvas, Marshall set out to depict the life of ordinary black Americans at a scale traditionally reserved almost exclusively for historical, mythological, and religious subjects. The Realist canvases of Gustave Courbet (figs. 27-26 and 27-27) are prominent and equally deliberate exceptions to that rule. Marshall's style, however, bears no relationship to Courbet's and resembles a collage of cutout shapes of unmodulated color. The barber and his well-dressed customers all look directly at the painter, as if posing for an informal group portrait. The viewer is drawn quickly to the distinctive coiffures of the woman and one of the men, which proudly proclaim their African American heritage. African American hairstyles are also the subject of the 1988 photograph *Stereo Styles* (fig. 32-3A) by Lorna Simpson (b. 1960).

32-3A Simpson, *Stereo Styles,* 1988.

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32-4 Kehinde Wiley, *Napoleon Leading the Army over the Alps,* 2005. Oil on canvas, 9′ × 9′. Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn (Collection of Suzi and Andrew B. Cohen).

Wiley's trademark paintings are reworkings of famous portraits (fig. 27-2A) in which he substitutes young African American men in contemporary dress in order to situate them in "the field of power."

Kehinde Wiley. The paintings and photographs of Basquiat, Marshall, and Simpson, which all feature African Americans as subjects, stand in vivid contrast to the near-total absence of blacks in Western painting and sculpture until the past half century. One major contemporary artist who has set out to correct that discriminatory imbalance is Los Angeles native Kehinde Wiley (b. 1977). Wiley earned his BFA at the San Francisco Art Institute and his MFA at Yale University and is currently based in New York City, where he was artist-in-residence at the Studio Museum in Harlem in 2001–2002. Wiley has achieved renown for his large-scale portraits of young urban African American men. His trademark paintings, however, are reworkings of historically important portraits in which he substitutes figures of young black men in contemporary dress in order to situate them in what he calls "the field of power."

A characteristic example is *Napoleon Leading the Army over the Alps* (fig. 32-4) based on Jacques-Louis David's painting (fig. 27-2A) of the same subject. To evoke the era of the original, Wiley presented his portrait of an African American Napoleon on horseback in a gilt wood frame. Although in many details an accurate reproduction of David's canvas, Wiley's version is by no means a mechanical copy. His heroic narrative unfolds against a vibrantly colored ornate wallpaper-like background instead of a dramatic sky—a distinctly modernist reminder to the viewer that this is a painting and not a window onto an Alpine landscape.

32-4A Edwards, *Tambo,* 1993.

Faith Ringgold. Like Basquiat and Wiley, Melvin Edwards (b. 1937) has examined the lives—or, more precisely, the death by lynching (fig. 32-4A)—of African American men in his art. Similarly, Simpson

32-5 Faith Ringgold, *Who's Afraid of Aunt Jemima?* 1983. Acrylic on canvas with fabric borders, quilted, 7′ 6″ × 6′ 8″. Private collection.

In this quilt, a medium associated with women, Ringgold presented a tribute to her mother that also addresses African American culture and the struggles of women to overcome oppression.

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and other black women artists have made the challenges faced by African American women the subject of their artworks. One of the best known today is Harlem native Faith Ringgold (b. 1930), who studied painting at the City College of New York and taught art in the New York public schools for 18 years. In the 1960s, Ringgold produced numerous works that provided incisive commentary on the realities of racial prejudice. She increasingly incorporated references to gender as well and, in the 1970s, turned to fabric as the predominant material in her art. Using fabric enabled Ringgold to make more pointed reference to the domestic sphere, traditionally associated with women, and to collaborate with her mother, Willi Posey, a fashion designer.

After her mother's death, Ringgold created *Who's Afraid of Aunt Jemima?* (fig. 32-5), a quilt composed of dyed, painted, and pieced fabric. A moving tribute to her mother, this "story quilt"—Ringgold's signature art form (a second example is *Subway Graffiti #3*; fig. 32-5A)—merges the personal and the political. Combining words with pictures, as did Basquiat (fig. 32-2) and many other contemporary artists (figs. 32-7 and 32-9), Ringgold incorporates a narrative in her quilt. *Aunt Jemima* tells the witty story of the family of the stereotypical black "mammy" in the mind of the public, but here Jemima is a successful African American businesswoman. Ringgold narrates the story using black dialect interspersed with embroidered portraits and traditional patterned squares. *Aunt Jemima,* while incorporating autobiographical references, also speaks to the larger issues of the history of African American culture and the struggles of women to overcome oppression.

32-5A Ringgold, *Subway Graffiti #3,* 1987.

Carrie Mae Weems. Like Lorna Simpson (fig. 32-3A), Carrie Mae Weems (b. 1953) has chosen photography as her favored medium of expression to address the racial and social issues of concern to African American women. Born in Oregon, Weems trained at the California Institute of the Arts in Valencia and the University of California, San Diego, and now lives in Syracuse, New York. Her critically acclaimed work as a photographer and video artist includes the *Kitchen Table* series of 20 photographs interwoven with 13 text panels and audio recordings examining the domestic life of an African American family in which Weems plays the leading role, as did Cindy Sherman in her *Film Stills* series (fig. 31-38) of the 1970s.

The setting of each photo is a kitchen table, with the viewer positioned at one end and Weems seated at the other. A ceiling fixture resembling a lamp in an interrogation cell illuminates the small room. In *Man Smoking/Malcolm X* (fig. 32-6), Weems and a man smoking a cigarette play cards while consuming alcohol. Weems stares at her companion, attempting not only to determine the cards he holds but to size up the man's character. Behind her on the wall is a large photograph of Malcolm X (1925–1965) preaching, flanked by smaller personal photographs revealing Weems's own character. Like the other 19 images in the *Kitchen Table* series, this photograph tells a universal story about personal relationships in addition to capturing a characteristic moment in one African American household (compare fig. 27-39). As Weems explained,

> I'm not simply describing African-American culture. I'm really involved with other levels of description that move across several different kinds of categories. On the one hand, I might be interested in what's happening in gender with men and women, black and white and Asian, and maybe I'm interested in questions of globalism and class.[3]

1 ft.

32-6 Carrie Mae Weems, *Man Smoking/Malcolm X,* from the *Kitchen Table* series, 1990. Gelatin silver print, 2′ 4¼″ × 2′ 4¼″. Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn (Caroline A.L. Pratt Fund).

Weems appears in each of the photographs in her *Kitchen Table* series, in which she examines racial and social issues of concern to black women by recording the domestic life of an African American family.

Gender and Sexuality

The interest in feminist issues among African American women artists is but one aspect of a more general concern among contemporary artists of all races and nationalities with gender and sexuality as core elements of their personal identity. Feminism and homosexuality are the central themes explored in a variety of media by a diverse group of artists, including Barbara Kruger, Robert Mapplethorpe, and David Wojnarowicz in America and the Pakistani artist Shahzia Sikander.

Barbara Kruger. In the 1970s, some feminist artists, chief among them Cindy Sherman (fig. 31-38), used their art to explore the "male gaze" and the culturally constructed notion of gender. Barbara Kruger (b. 1945), who studied at Syracuse University and

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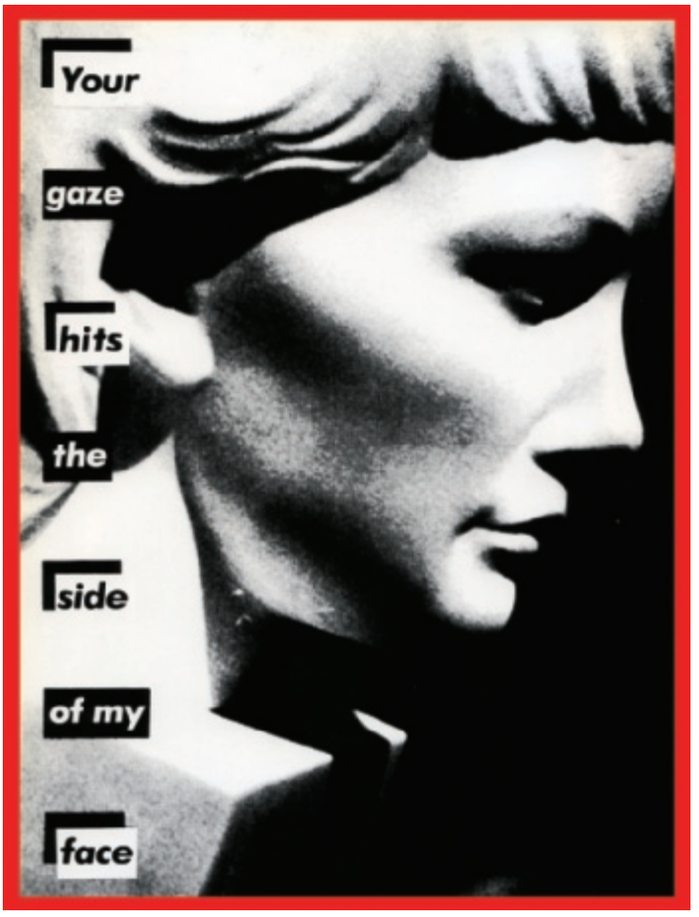

1 ft.

32-7 Barbara Kruger, *Your Gaze Hits the Side of My Face,* 1981. Photograph, paper letters, red painted frame, 4′ 7″ × 3′ 5″. Courtesy Mary Boone Gallery, New York.

Kruger has explored the "male gaze" in her art. Using the layout techniques of mass media, she constructed this word-and-photograph collage to challenge culturally constructed notions of gender.

then at the Parsons School of Design in New York, examines similar issues in her photographs. The strategies and techniques of contemporary mass media have fascinated Kruger, who was a commercial graphic designer early in her career and the art director of *Mademoiselle* magazine in the late 1960s. In *Your Gaze Hits the Side of My Face* (fig. 32-7), Kruger incorporated the layout techniques that magazine and billboard designers use to sell consumer goods. Although she chose the reassuringly familiar format and look of advertising for *Your Gaze* and similar works, Kruger's goal is to subvert the typical use of advertising imagery. She aims to expose the deceptiveness of the media messages that viewers complacently absorb. Kruger wants to undermine the myths—particularly those about women—that the media constantly reinforce. Her large (often 4-by-6-foot) posterlike word-and-photograph collages challenge the cultural attitudes embedded in commercial advertising. She often uses T-shirts, postcards, matchbooks, and billboards to present her work to a wide public audience.

In *Your Gaze,* Kruger overlaid a photograph of a classically beautiful sculpted head of a woman (compare fig. 5-62A) with a vertical row of text composed of eight words. The words cannot be taken in with a single glance. Reading them is a staccato exercise, with a cumulative quality that delays understanding and intensifies the meaning (rather like a series of words painted on the pavement to be read by a driver in a moving car). Kruger's use of text in her work is significant. Many cultural theorists have asserted that language is one of the most powerful vehicles for internalizing stereotypes and conditioned roles. The combined pictorial and verbal message in this case is that the woman being viewed not only feels the viewer's gaze but can repel it, reversing the power relationship between the male observer and the observed woman. In fact, some feminist artists, most notably the Guerrilla Girls (fig. 32-7A), have created powerful artworks consisting only of words—presented in a style and format reminiscent of the same kinds of magazine ads that Kruger incorporates in her photo-collages.

32-7A Guerrilla Girls, *Advantages of Being a Woman Artist,* 1988.

Robert Mapplethorpe. For many artists, their homosexuality is as important an element of their personal identity as their gender, ethnicity, or race—often more important. One brilliant gay artist who became the central figure in a heated debate in the halls of the U.S. Congress as well as among the public at large was Robert Mapplethorpe (1946–1989). Born in Queens, New York, Mapplethorpe studied drawing, painting, and sculpture at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, but after he purchased a Polaroid camera in 1970, he became increasingly interested in photography. Mapplethorpe's *Perfect Moment* traveling exhibition, funded in part by the National Endowment for the Arts, featured an extensive series of his photographs, including many of people, often nude, some depicting children, some openly homoerotic and sadomasochistic in nature. The show led to a landmark court case on freedom of expression for artists and prompted new legislation establishing restrictions on government funding of the arts (see "Public Funding of Controversial Art," page 1009).

Never at issue was Mapplethorpe's technical mastery of the photographic medium. His gelatin silver prints have glowing textures with rich tonal gradations of black, gray, and white. In many ways, Mapplethorpe was the heir of Edward Weston, whose innovative compositions of still lifes (fig. 30-17) and nudes (fig. 30-17A) helped establish photography as an art form on a par with painting and sculpture. What shocked the public was not nudity per se—a traditional subject with roots in antiquity, indeed at the very birth of art during the Old Stone Age (figs. 1-4, 1-5, and 1-5A)—but the openly gay character of many of Mapplethorpe's images. *The Perfect Moment* photographs included, in addition to some very graphic images of homosexual men, a series of self-portraits documenting Mapplethorpe's changing appearance (from having contracted AIDS) almost up until he died only months after the show opened in Philadelphia in December 1988. The self-portrait reproduced here (fig. 32-8) presents Mapplethorpe as an androgynous young man with long hair and makeup, confronting the viewer with a steady gaze. Mapplethorpe's photographs, like the work of David Wojnarowicz (fig. 32-9) and other gay and lesbian artists of the time, are inextricably bound up with the social upheavals in American society and the struggle for equal rights for women, homosexuals, minorities, and the disabled during the second half of the 20th century.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Public Funding of Controversial Art

Although art can be beautiful and uplifting, throughout history, art has also often challenged and offended. Since the early 1980s, a number of heated controversies about art have surfaced in the United States. There have been many calls to remove "offensive" works from public view (see "Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc,*" page 1033) and, in reaction, accusations of censorship. The central questions in all cases have been whether there are limits to what art can appropriately be exhibited and whether governmental authorities have the right to monitor and pass judgment on creative endeavors. A related question is whether the acceptability of a work should be a criterion in determining the public funding of art.

Two exhibits in 1989 placed the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), a U.S. government agency charged with distributing federal funds to support the arts, squarely in the middle of this debate. One of the exhibitions, devoted to recipients of the Awards for the Visual Arts (AVA), took place at the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art in North Carolina. Among the award winners was Andres Serrano (b. 1950), whose *Piss Christ,* a photograph of a crucifix submerged in urine, sparked an uproar. Responding to this artwork, Donald Wildmon, an evangelical minister from Mississippi and head of the American Family Association, expressed outrage that this kind of work was in an exhibition funded by the NEA and the Equitable Life Assurance Society (a sponsor of the AVA). He demanded that *Piss Christ* be removed, and launched a letter-writing campaign that caused Equitable Life to cancel its sponsorship of the awards. To staunch conservatives, this exhibition, along with *Robert Mapplethorpe: The Perfect Moment,* which included erotic homosexual images of the artist (FIG. 32-8) and others, served as evidence of cultural depravity and immorality. These critics insisted that art of an offensive character should not be funded by government agencies such as the NEA.

As a result of media furor over *The Perfect Moment,* the director of the Corcoran Museum of Art in Washington, D.C., decided to cancel the scheduled exhibition of this traveling show. But Dennis Barrie, director of the Contemporary Arts Center in Cincinnati, chose to mount the exhibition. The government indicted Barrie on charges of obscenity, but a jury acquitted him six months later.

These controversies intensified public criticism of the NEA and its funding practices. The next year, the head of the NEA, John Frohnmayer, vetoed grants for four lesbian, gay, or feminist performance artists—Karen Finley, John Fleck, Holly Hughes, and Tim Miller—who became known as the "NEA Four." Infuriated by what they perceived as governmental censorship, the artists filed suit, eventually settling the case and winning reinstatement of their grants. Congress responded by dramatically reducing the NEA's budget, and the agency no longer awards grants or fellowships to individual artists.

32-8 Robert Mapplethorpe, *Self-Portrait,* 1980. Gelatin silver print, $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{3}{4}''$. Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation, New York.

Mapplethorpe's *Perfect Moment* show led to a landmark court case on freedom of expression for artists. In this self-portrait, an androgynous Mapplethorpe confronts the viewer with a steady gaze.

Controversies have also erupted on the municipal level. In 1999, Rudolph Giuliani, then mayor of New York, joined a number of individuals and groups protesting the inclusion of several artworks in the exhibition *Sensation: Young British Artists from the Saatchi Collection* at the Brooklyn Museum. Chris Ofili's *Holy Virgin Mary* (FIG. 32-12), a collage of Mary incorporating cutouts from pornographic magazines and shellacked clumps of elephant dung, became the flashpoint for public furor. Denouncing the show as "sick stuff," the mayor threatened to cut off all city subsidies to the museum.

Art that seeks to unsettle and challenge is critical to the cultural, political, and psychological life of a society. The regularity with which this kind of art raises controversy suggests that it operates at the intersection of two competing principles: free speech and artistic expression on the one hand, and a reluctance to impose images on an audience that finds them repugnant or offensive on the other (see "Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc,*" page 1033). What these controversies do demonstrate, beyond doubt, is the enduring power of art—and artists.

David Wojnarowicz. The disease that killed Mapplethorpe in 1989 and cut short the careers of many other gay artists in the 1980s and 1990s was a most unwelcome reinforcement of these artists' self-identification. Some sculptors and painters responded to the devastating impact of AIDS in the gay community by producing deeply moving works of art. David Wojnarowicz (1955–1992) was a gay-rights activist who dropped out of high school in his hometown of Red Bank, New Jersey, and moved to New York City, where, like Basquiat (FIG. 32-2) he lived on the streets before achieving success as an artist. As did so many others in the gay community, Wojnarowicz watched his lover and many of his friends die of AIDS. He reacted by creating disturbing yet eloquent works about the tragedy of this disease, which eventually claimed his own life.

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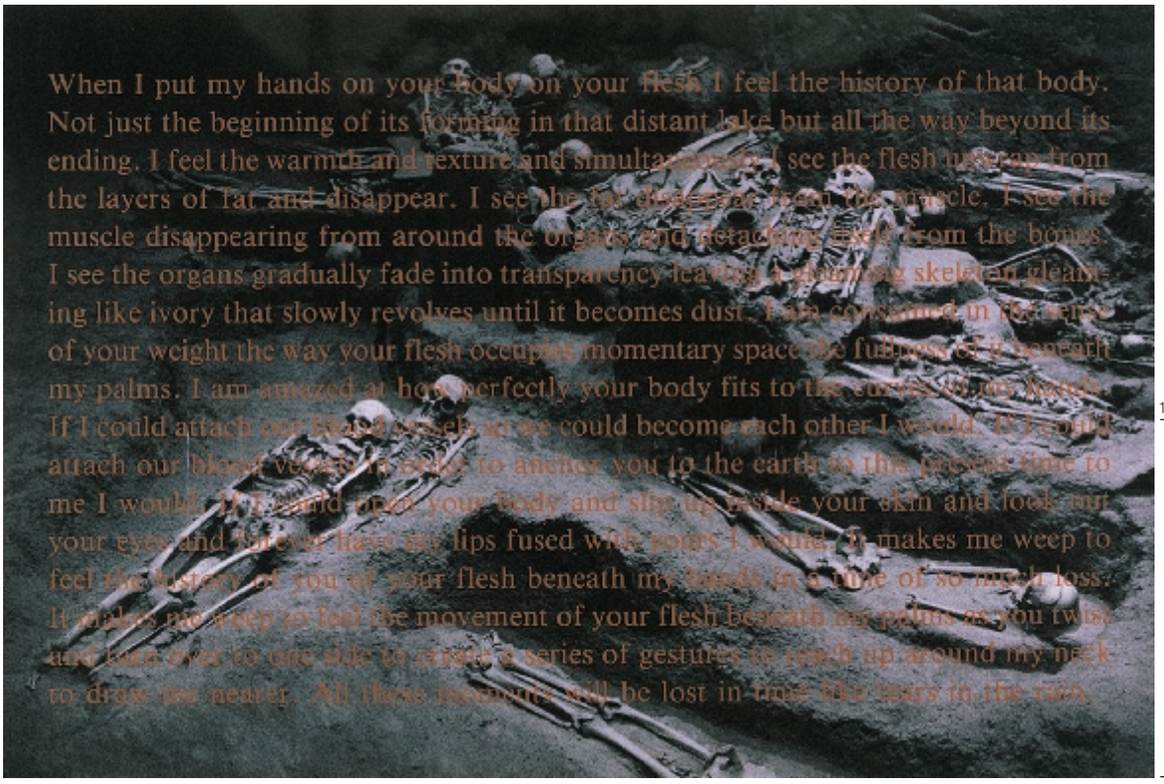

1 ft.

32-9 David Wojnarowicz, *When I Put My Hands on Your Body,* 1990. Gelatin silver print and silk-screened text on museum board, 2′ 2″ × 3′ 2″. Private collection.

In this disturbing yet eloquent work, Wojnarowicz overlaid typed commentary on a photograph of skeletal remains. He movingly communicated his feelings about watching a loved one die of AIDS.

In *When I Put My Hands on Your Body* (fig. 32-9), Wojnarowicz overlaid a photograph of a pile of skeletal remains with evenly spaced typed commentary communicating his feelings about watching a loved one dying of AIDS. Wojnarowicz movingly describes the effects of AIDS on the human body and soul:

> When I put my hands on your body on your flesh I feel the history of that body. . . . I see the flesh unwrap from the layers of fat and disappear. . . . I see the organs gradually fade into transparency. . . . It makes me weep to feel the history of you of your flesh beneath my hands.

Wojnarowicz's juxtaposition of text and imagery, as in the works by Barbara Kruger (fig. 32-7) and Lorna Simpson (fig. 32-3A), paralleled the use of both words and images in advertising. The public's familiarity with this format ensured greater receptivity to these artists' messages.

1 in.

32-10 Shahzia Sikander, *Perilous Order,* 1994–1997. Vegetable color, dry pigment, watercolor, and tea on Wasli paper, $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8''$. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York (purchased with funds from the Drawing Committee).

Imbuing miniature painting with a contemporary message about hypocrisy and intolerance, Sikander portrayed a gay friend as a homosexual Mughal emperor who enforced Muslim orthodoxy.

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32-11 Sokari Douglas Camp, *Big Alagba and Sekibo,* 1995. Steel, feathers, wood, and mirrors. Each 7′ 5 3/8″ high. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

As a woman, Douglas Camp could not have pursued her profession as a steel sculptor in her native Nigeria, but her work draws heavily on Kalabari traditions, especially masquerades performed only by men.

Shahzia Sikander. The struggle for recognition and equal rights has never been confined to the United States, least of all in the present era of instant global communication. In the Muslim world, women and homosexuals face especially difficult challenges, which Shahzia Sikander (b. 1969) brilliantly addresses in her work. Born in Lahore, Pakistan, and trained at the National College of Arts in the demanding South Asian/Persian art of miniature painting (see "Indian Miniature Painting," page 1047), Sikander earned an MFA from the Rhode Island School of Design and now lives in New York City. So thoroughly immersed in the methods of miniature painting that she makes her own paper, pigments, and squirrel-hair brushes, Sikander nonetheless imbues this traditional art form with contemporary meaning. In *Perilous Order* (fig. 32-10), she addresses homosexuality, intolerance, and hypocrisy by portraying a gay friend in the guise of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (r. 1658–1707), who was a strict enforcer of Islamic orthodoxy although reputed to be a homosexual. Sikander depicted him framed against a magnificent marbleized background ringed by voluptuous nude Hindu nymphs and behind the shadow of a veiled Hindu goddess. *Perilous Order* thus also incorporates a reference to the tensions between the Muslim and Hindu populations of Pakistan and India today.

National Identity

As in the case of Shahzia Sikander, a person's birthplace is often a central component of personal identity, even if the artist has migrated to another country. National identity looms large in the work of many contemporary artists.

Sokari Douglas Camp. Born in Buguma in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, Sokari Douglas Camp (b. 1958) studied art at the California College of Arts and Crafts in Oakland and at the Central School of Art and Design and the Royal College of Art in London, where she has long resided. Her work, which would have been inconceivable if she had remained in Nigeria, where women are never trained as sculptors of wood or steel, is, however, not inspired by recent trends in America or in England but by her Kalabari heritage (fig. 38-1). *Big Alagba and Sekibo* (fig. 32-11) is a characteristic work fashioned predominately of steel and feathers. It is based on Kalabari masquerades, funerals, and festivals—events in which the role of women is also very limited. Alagba is a female water spirit, here performed, as in Nigeria, by a Kalabari man wearing an enormous headdress. Sekibo, who holds a cane, is also a male masquerader, but he represents a living dancer, not a character from the spiritual world. Thus Douglas Camp's sculptures, while rooted in and celebrating Kalabari culture, could only have been produced by a woman working in the West.

Chris Ofili. A British-born Catholic of Nigerian descent, Chris Ofili (b. 1968) is another leading European artist whose familial homeland figures prominently in his art. One of the major themes Ofili has addressed is religion, as interpreted through the eyes of an artist with his racial and national background. His *The Holy Virgin Mary* (fig. 32-12)* depicts Mary in a manner that departs radically from conventional Renaissance and later representations. Ofili's work presents the Virgin in simplified form, and she appears to float in an indeterminate space. The artist employed brightly colored pigments applied to the canvas in multiple layers of beadlike dots (inspired by images from ancient caves in Zimbabwe). Surrounding the Virgin,

* The artist denied reproduction rights as this book went to press. Photographs of this work are widely available online.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Shirin Neshat on Iran after the Revolution

In an interview with Arthur C. Danto in 2000, expatriate Iranian artist Shirin Neshat discussed how the Islamic Revolution of 1979 affected her work as an artist.

> [I]n 1993 . . . I began to seriously make artworks again. . . . I thought photography was the most appropriate medium for my subject as it had the realism that I needed. In the 1990s I finally began going back to Iran. I had been away for over ten years—since the Islamic Revolution. As I traveled back and forth a lot of things started to go through my mind, which eventually led me to develop the work that I have. My focus from the beginning was the subject of women in relation to the Iranian society and the revolution, so I produced a series of photographic images that explored that topic. . . . The first group of photographic work I produced in 1993 certainly reflected the point of view of an Iranian living abroad, looking back in time and trying to analyze and comprehend the changes that had taken place in Iran since the revolution. It was the approach of an artist who had been away for a long time, and it was an important turning point for me artistically and personally, as it became more than art making but a type of journey back to my native country. I was deeply invested in understanding the ideological and philosophical ideas behind contemporary Islam, most of all the origin of the revolution and how it had transformed my country. I knew the subject was very complex and broad so I minimized my focus to something tangible and specific. I chose to concentrate on the meanings behind "martyrdom," a concept which became the heart of the Islamic government's mission at the time, particularly during the Iran/Iraq War. It promoted faith, self-sacrifice, rejection of the material world, and ultimately, life after death. Mostly, I was interested in how their ideas of spirituality, politics and violence were and still are so interconnected and inseparable from one another.*

Neshat often poses for her photographs wearing a veil—which is for her a symbol both of ethnic pride and of the repression of Muslim women—and with her face and exposed parts of her body covered with Farsi (Persian) messages. Unlike the words in the photographs and posters of Simpson (FIG. 32-3A), Kruger (FIG. 32-7), the Guerrilla Girls (FIG. 32-7A), and Wojnarowicz (FIG. 32-9), which evoke commercial typography, Neshat's handwritten additions to her photographs remind the viewer of the long tradition of calligraphy in Persian art (FIGS. 10-33 and 10-34). A rifle also often figures prominently in Neshat's photographs as an emblem of militant feminism, a notion foreign to the Muslim faith.

32-13 SHIRIN NESHAT, *Allegiance and Wakefulness,* 1994. Offset print with ink calligraphy, 3′ 5¼″ × 2′ 9″. Israel Museum, Jerusalem (anonymous gift, New York, to American Friends of the Israel Museum).

Neshat's photographs address the repression of women in postrevolutionary Iran. She poses in traditional veiled garb but wields a rifle and displays militant Farsi poetry on her exposed body parts.

In *Allegiance and Wakefulness* (FIG. 32-13) from her *Women of Allah* series, Neshat omitted her face and most of her body, and focused on her feet covered with verses of militant Farsi poetry and on the barrel of a rifle she points menacingly toward the viewer.

*Kristine Stiles and Peter Selz, *Theories and Documents of Contemporary Art: A Sourcebook of Artists' Writings,* 2d ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 547–548.

whose face is that of an African woman, are tiny images of genitalia and buttocks cut out from pornographic magazines, which, to the artist, parallel the putti often surrounding Mary in Renaissance and Baroque paintings (for example, FIGS. 20-19 and 20-20A). Another reference to Ofili's African heritage surfaces in the clumps of elephant dung—one forming the Virgin's right breast, and two more serving as supports for the canvas. The dung enabled Ofili to incorporate Africa into his work in a literal way. Still, he wants the viewer to move beyond the cultural associations of the materials and see them in new ways.

Not surprisingly, *The Holy Virgin Mary* elicited strong reactions, as Ofili clearly intended it to do when he decided to merge the sacred and the vile. The painting's inclusion in the *Sensation* exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum in 1999 with other "sensational" works by young British artists prompted indignant (but unsuccessful) demands for cancellation of the show and countercharges of censorship (see "Public Funding of Controversial Art," page 1009).

Shirin Neshat. Born in Iran, SHIRIN NESHAT (b. 1957) grew up in a Westernized home and attended a Catholic boarding school in Tehran before leaving her homeland to study art in California, where she earned undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of California, Berkeley. Today she lives in New York City

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and produces films, videos, and photographs critical of the fundamentalist Islamic regime in Iran, especially its treatment of women (see "Shirin Neshat on Iran after the Revolution," page 1012).

Cliff Whiting. Not every artist who has achieved an international reputation has migrated to the West to pursue a career. Cliff Whiting (Te Whanau-A-Apanui, 1936–2017) of New Zealand, for example, carried on the Maori tradition of woodcarving into the 21st century, but in a distinctly modern style in works such as *Tawhiri-Matea* (fig. 32-13A).

32-13A Whiting, *Tawhiri-Matea,* 1984.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL COMMENTARY

Although almost all of the works discussed thus far are commentaries on contemporary society (seen through the lens of the artists' personal experiences), they do not incorporate references to specific events, nor do they address conditions affecting all people regardless of their race, national origin, gender, or sexual orientation—for example, homelessness, industrial pollution, and street violence. Other artists, however, have confronted precisely those aspects of late 20th- and early 21st-century life in their work.

Edward Burtynsky. The destructive effects of industrial plants and mines on the environment have been the motivation for the photographs of "manufactured landscapes" by Canadian Edward Burtynsky (b. 1955). The son of a Ukrainian immigrant who worked in the General Motors plant in St. Catharines, Ontario, Burtynsky studied photography and graphic design at Ryerson University and Niagara College. He uses a large-format field camera to produce high-resolution negatives of industrial landscapes littered with tires, scrap metal, and industrial refuse. His choice of subjects is itself an unambiguous negative commentary on modern manufacturing processes, but Burtynsky transforms ugliness into beauty in his color prints. For example, his photograph (fig. 32-14) of a Toronto recycling plant from his *Urban Mines* series converts bundles of compressed scrap metal into a striking abstract composition of multicolored rectangles. Burtynsky's work thus merges documentary and fine-art photography and bears comparison with the photographs of Margaret Bourke-White (fig. 30-19) and Minor White (fig. 31-35).

32-14 Edward Burtynsky, *Densified Scrap Metal #3A, Toronto, Ontario,* 1997. Dye coupler print, 2′ $2\frac{3}{4}$″ × 2′ $10\frac{3}{8}$″. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (gift of the artist, 1998).

Burtynsky's "manufactured landscapes" are commentaries on the destructive effects on the environment of industrial plants and mines, but his photographs transform ugliness into beauty.

Krzysztof Wodiczko. When working in Canada in 1980, Polish-born Krzysztof Wodiczko (b. 1943) developed artworks involving the outdoor display of enormous slide images. He projected photographs on specific buildings to expose how civic buildings embody, legitimize, and perpetuate power. When Wodiczko moved to New York City in 1983, he became troubled by the pervasive homelessness in a city that is the financial capital of the world and home to many of America's wealthiest families. He resolved to use his art to publicize this problem, and got the opportunity in 1987, albeit in Boston (fig. 32-15) instead of New York. On Boston

32-15 Krzysztof Wodiczko, *The Homeless Projection,* 1986. Outdoor slide projection at the Civil War Soldiers and Sailors Monument, Boston Common, Boston.

To publicize the plight of the homeless, Wodiczko projected on the walls of a monument on Boston Common images of them with their plastic bags containing their few possessions.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Leon Golub on *Mercenaries*

Mercenaries IV (FIG. 32-16), which rivals the huge history paintings of the 19th century in size, presents a mysterious tableau of five tough freelance military professionals willing, for a price, to fight for anyone who will pay them enough. The three clustering at the right side of the canvas react with tense physical gestures to something one of the two other mercenaries standing at the far left is saying. The dark uniforms and skin tones of the four black fighters flatten their figures and make them stand out against the searing dark-red background. The slightly modulated background seems to push their forms forward up against the picture plane and becomes an echoing void in the space between the two groups. Golub painted the mercenaries so that the viewer's eye is level with the menacing figures' knees. He placed the men so close to the front plane of the work that the lower edge of the painting cuts off their feet, thereby trapping the viewer in the painting's compressed space. The feeling of peril confronts viewers mercilessly. They become one with all the victims caught in today's conflicts.

Golub emphasized both the scarred light tones of the white mercenary's skin and the weapons. Modeled with shadow and gleaming highlights, the guns contrast with the harshly scraped, flattened surfaces of the figures. The rawness of the canvas reinforces the rawness of the imagery. Indeed, Golub's working method is, appropriately, itself violent, as he explained in a 1981 interview with art historian Matthew Baigell:

> [My *Mercenaries* paintings] arise out of the contemporary world as given to us by the media: the uses of mercenaries or irregulars . . . to enforce political ends. The mercenary is not a common subject of art, but is a near-universal means of establishing or maintaining control under volatile or up-for-grabs political circumstances.
>
> I do not have the total conceptual framework for a painting in mind until the later stages. I orient the figures, their gestures, their glances, their intentions. I reinterpret these on the basis of changing body stances. For example, I intend a figure to act out a certain gesture. As I work, the psychic dimensions of that individual and what he portends might shift. The figure gets more or less menacing, more or less active. My original intentions shift considerably in the balancing of energies which move across the canvas. I may use drawings or parts of photographs enlarged through an opaque projector onto the vertical hanging canvas. A figure might develop from two or three or half a dozen photographs or drawings. Other figures are then located in stressed tension to the first. I then evolve the drawing to precise military dress, weapons, and, most important, intention. . . . The particular individual has to both typify and illustrate mercenaries and to appear to possess an idiosyncratic, singular experience. The figures are outlined and partially shaded in black paint. Then a coat of white paint is put on for highlights and lighter areas. I then apply layers of local colors to define skin, metal, wood, cloth, etc. The painting is then laid on the floor. Areas are partially dissolved with solvents and scraped with sculpture tools, more recently, a meat cleaver, to erode the paint skin. . . . I continue to reconstruct and erode until I get to the point where . . . the different figures, their gestures, grins and leers, etc., are in some sort of achieved tension.*

*Kristine Stiles and Peter Selz, *Theories and Documents of Contemporary Art: A Sourcebook of Artists' Writings,* 2d ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 266–268.

32-16 LEON GOLUB, *Mercenaries IV,* 1980. Acrylic on linen, 10′ × 19′ 2″. Courtesy Ronald Feldman Fine Arts, New York. © Leon Golub/Licensed by VAGA, New York.

The violence of contemporary life is the subject of Golub's huge paintings. Here, five mercenaries loom over the viewer, instilling a feeling of peril. The rough textures reinforce the raw imagery.

Common, as part of the city's New Year's celebration, Wodiczko produced *The Homeless Projection*), a temporary artwork consisting of images of homeless people projected on all four sides of the Civil War Soldiers and Sailors Monument. In these photos, the homeless appear flanked by plastic bags filled with their few possessions. At the top of the monument, Wodiczko projected a local condominium construction site, which helped viewers make a connection between urban development and homelessness.

Leon Golub. The brutality of urban life and warfare was the focus of painter LEON GOLUB (1922–2004) during his long career. Born in Chicago and trained at the University of Chicago and the Art Institute of Chicago, Golub is best known for his two series of paintings titled *Assassins* and *Mercenaries* (FIG. 32-16). In these large-scale works, anonymous characters inspired by newspaper and magazine photographs of urban gangs and Latin American death squads participate in atrocious street violence and military operations (see "Leon Golub on *Mercenaries,*" above). The paintings have a universal impact because they suggest not specific stories but a condition of being. This impression is fostered in large part by Golub's removal of the figures from time and space by placing them against a featureless red background, which, although

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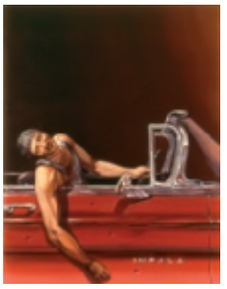
inspired by and modeled freely on ancient Roman mural paintings (compare FIG. 7-18), also is the color of the blood shed by the victims of Golub's assassins.

Martha Rosler. Street violence and armed combat are themes that have also been explored in depth by SANDOW BIRK (b. 1962) in paintings such as *Death of Manuel* (FIG. 32-16A) and by MARTHA ROSLER, especially in a series of photomontages called *House Beautiful: Bring the War Home*. Born in Brooklyn, Rosler graduated from Brooklyn College and earned an MFA at the University of California, San Diego. A professor at Rutgers University for three decades and a prolific writer, Rosler has produced a diverse body of artistic work, including videos and performance art as well as photography. Throughout her career, Rosler has focused on social and political commentary, primarily issues concerning housing and homelessness, women, and war and its depiction in the media.



32-16A BIRK, *Death of Manuel,* 1992.

GLADIATORS (FIG. 32-17) is from the 2004–2008 *New Series* of *House Beautiful*, originally created between 1967 and 1972 as a critical commentary on the Vietnam War but expanded in 2004 in reaction to the war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Like the other photomontages in the series, *GLADIATORS* brings disturbing images of combat into the domestic sphere by inserting armed soldiers (modern "gladiators") into the tranquil living rooms of upscale houses, literally "bringing the war home" to those whose sons and daughters, unlike those of working-class families, rarely enlist in the armed forces and fight for their country.

1 in.

32-17 MARTHA ROSLER, *GLADIATORS,* 2004, from *House Beautiful: Bring the War Home.* Photomontage, 1′ 8″ × 2′.

Rosler's *House Beautiful* photomontages disturbingly insert images of armed soldiers (modern "gladiators") into the tranquil living rooms of upscale houses, literally "bringing the war home."

Fernando Botero. Perhaps the most emotionally wrenching recent artworks to express outrage against war in general and specifically the inhumane treatment of prisoners is the large series of paintings and drawings by Colombian artist FERNANDO BOTERO (b. 1932). Still active in his 80s, Botero, who has lived and worked in Paris for decades, reacted with horror to the news reports and photographs of the humiliation and torture of Iraqi prisoners at the hands of American military personnel in the prison at Abu Ghraib. The paintings—for example, *Abu Ghraib 46* (FIG. 32-18)—are peopled by Botero's trademark larger-than-life inflated bodies, but they differ markedly from his usually tranquil domestic subjects. As in the published photographs from Abu Ghraib, the men in Botero's paintings are stripped of their clothes, blindfolded, bound, beaten, and bloodied, and are often threatened by ferocious dogs or forced to wear women's underwear. Critics have compared these graphic depictions of physical and mental torture to the passion of Christ and the martyrdom of saints. Botero has insisted that the paintings are not intended as anti-American but as a broad condemnation of cruelty in violation of the Geneva Convention. He has refused to profit from sales of the Abu Ghraib paintings and has donated them to museums—many, including the illustrated example, are gifts to the University of California's Berkeley Art Museum—on the condition that they forever remain on display.

1 ft.

32-18 FERNANDO BOTERO, *Abu Ghraib 46,* 2005. Oil on canvas, 4′ $9\frac{1}{2}$″ × 5′ $9\frac{5}{8}$″. Berkeley Art Museum, Berkeley (gift of the artist).

Botero's *Abu Ghraib* series is a condemnation of the humiliation and torture of Iraqi prisoners by American military personnel. Critics have compared the paintings to scenes of martyrdom.

Willie Bester. The use of their craft by Botero, Golub, Rosler, and many other artists to express outrage at violence, warfare, and social and political injustices of all kinds, although a defining characteristic of much contemporary art worldwide, is not, however, a new phenomenon in the history of art. Among the notable examples

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1 ft.

32-19 Willie Bester, *Homage to Steve Biko,* 1992. Mixed media, 3′ 7 5/6″ × 3′ 7 5/6″. Collection of the artist.

Homage to Steve Biko is a tribute to a leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, which protested apartheid in South Africa. References to the injustice of Biko's death fill this complex painting.

are Beckmann's *Night* (fig. 29-33), Picasso's *Guernica* (fig. 29-16), Goya's *Third of May, 1808* (fig. 27-11), Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (fig. 27-14), and Turner's *Slave Ship* (fig. 27-22). In South Africa, many artists became vocal critics of apartheid (government-sponsored racial separation) and used painting as a potent means of protesting the oppression of blacks by the minority white government.

Willie Bester (b. 1956) is probably the most prominent South African artist to take up that cause. His 1992 *Homage to Steve Biko* (fig. 32-19) is a tribute to the gentle and heroic leader of the South African Black Consciousness Movement, whom the authorities killed while he was in detention. The exoneration of the two white doctors in charge of him sparked protests around the world. Bester packed his picture with references to death and injustice. Biko's portrait, at the center, is near another of the police minister, James Kruger, who had him transported 1100 kilometers (almost 700 miles) to Pretoria in the yellow Land Rover ambulance seen left of center and again beneath Biko's portrait. Bester portrayed Biko with his chained fists raised in the familiar worldwide protest gesture. This portrait memorializes both Biko and the many other antiapartheid activists, as indicated by the white graveyard crosses above a blue sea of skulls beside Biko's head. The crosses stand out against a red background, recalling the inferno of burned townships. The stop sign (lower left) seems to mean "stop Kruger," or perhaps "stop apartheid." The tagged foot, as if in a morgue, above the ambulance also refers to Biko's death. The red crosses on this vehicle's door and on Kruger's reflective dark glasses repeat, with sad irony, the graveyard crosses.

Blood-red and ambulance-yellow are in fact unifying colors dripped or painted on many parts of the canvas. Writing and numbers, found fragments, and stenciled and painted signs—favorite Cubist motifs (figs. 29-13 and 29-14; compare fig. 32-2)—also appear throughout the composition. Numbers refer to the dehumanized life of blacks under apartheid. Found objects (wire, sticks, cardboard, sheet metal, cans, and other discards)—from which the poor construct fragile, impermanent township dwellings—remind viewers of the degraded lives of most South African people of color. The oilcan guitar (bottom center), another recurrent Bester symbol, refers both to the social harmony and joy provided by music and to the control imposed by apartheid policies. The whole composition is rich in texture and dense in its collage combinations of objects, photographs, signs, symbols, and pigment. *Homage to Steve Biko* is a powerful critique of an oppressive sociopolitical system, and it exemplifies the extent to which art can be invoked in the political process.

Protests against apartheid have taken many forms, however—for example, opposition to corporate investment in South Africa, the approach taken by German artist Hans Haacke (b. 1936) in *MetroMobiltan* (fig. 32-19A).

32-19A Haacke, *MetroMobiltan,* 1985.

Trigo Piula. The Democratic Republic of Congo's Trigo Piula (b. ca. 1950) is a painter trained in Western artistic techniques and styles who creates works that fuse Western and Congolese images and objects in a pictorial blend providing social commentary on present-day Congolese culture. *Ta Tele* (fig. 32-20) depicts a group of Congolese citizens staring transfixed at colorful pictures of life beyond Africa displayed on 14 television screens. The TV images include references to travel to exotic places (such as Paris, symbolized by the Eiffel Tower, fig. 28-40), sports events, love, the earth seen from a satellite, and Western worldly goods. A traditional Kongo power figure (compare fig. 38-5) associated with warfare and divination stands at the composition's center as a visual mediator between the anonymous foreground viewers and the multiple TV images. In traditional Kongo contexts, this figure's feather headdress links it to supernatural and magical powers from the sky, such as lightning and storms. In Piula's rendition, the headdress perhaps refers to the power of airborne televised pictures. In the stomach area, where Kongo power figures often have glass in front of a medicine packet, Piula painted a television screen showing a second power figure, as if to double the figure's power. The artist shows most of the television viewers with a small white image of a foreign object—for example, a car, shoe, or bottle—on the backs of their heads.

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1 ft.

32-20 **Trigo Piula, *Ta Tele,* 1988. Oil on canvas, 3′ $3\frac{3}{8}$″ × 3′ $4\frac{3}{8}$″. National Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C.**

Ta Tele is a commentary on contemporary life showing Congolese citizens transfixed by television pictures of the world outside Africa. Even the traditional power figure at the center has a TV screen for a chest.

One meaning of this picture appears to be that television messages have deadened the minds of Congolese people to anything but modern Western thoughts or commodities. Two speaker cabinets set against the back wall beneath the TV screens have wires leading to the power figure, implying that even this ancient symbol of native power has been subjected to the greater power of modern television. Clearly, Piula suggests, the contemporary world's new television-induced consumerism is poisoning the minds and souls of Congolese people as if by magic or sorcery.

Zhang Xiaogang. Political and social commentary is also the principal interest of Chinese painter Zhang Xiaogang (b. 1958). Zhang is best known for his *Bloodline* portraits—for example, *Big Family No. 2* (fig. 32-21). Based on the black-and-white photographs of Chinese families popular during the Cultural Revolution of 1966 to 1976 under Mao Zedong (1893–1976), the *Bloodline* paintings are not really portraits. Instead, they depict generic, personality-less fathers, mothers, and children wearing the approved plain clothes of the Mao era in China. Ironically titled *Big Family,* these somber three-figure groups are also commentaries on the long-standing, though recently eased, government policy of restricting most married couples to having only a single child, a policy that led many families to seek abortions, often in order to raise a boy instead of a girl. The *Bloodline* series takes its name from the faint red lines connecting the figures—a device used earlier by Frida Kahlo (fig. 30-15). The red bloodlines are the only touches of color in Zhang's otherwise intentionally subdued palette, save for, in the illustrated example, the yellow that draws attention to the highly desirable male child.

REPRESENTATION AND ABSTRACTION

Despite the high visibility of contemporary artists whose work deals with the pressing social and political issues of the world, some critically acclaimed living or recently deceased artists have produced innovative modernist art during the postmodern era. Abstraction remains a valid and compelling approach to painting and sculpture in the 21st century, as does more traditional representational art, both figural and landscape.

Figures and Places

Recent decades have brought a revival of interest in figural art, in both painting and sculpture, a trend best exemplified in the earlier postwar period by Lucian Freud (fig. 31-32), who remained an active and influential painter until his death in July 2011.

1 ft.

Jenny Saville. Fellow Briton Jenny Saville (b. 1970) is the leading figure painter in the Freud mold of the younger generation of European and American artists. Born in Cambridge, England, and trained at the Glasgow School of Art in Scotland, Saville lives and paints in an old palace in Palermo, Italy. Her best-known works are over-life-size self-portraits in which she exaggerates the girth of her body and delights in depicting heavy folds of flesh with visible veins in minute detail and from a sharply foreshortened angle, which further distorts the body's proportions. Her nude self-portraits deserve comparison not only with those

32-21 **Zhang Xiaogang, *Bloodline: Big Family No. 2,* 1995. Oil on canvas, 5′ 11″ × 7′ $6\frac{5}{8}$″. Private collection.**

Ironically titled *Big Family* in reaction to the government's one-child policy, Zhang's generic, personality-less portraits intentionally recall black-and-white family photographs of the Mao era in China.

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32-22 **Jenny Saville, *Branded,* 1992. Oil on canvas, 7′ × 6′. Saatchi Gallery, London.**

Saville's unflattering foreshortened self-portrait "branded" with words such as "delicate" and "petite" underscores the dichotomy between the perfect bodies of fashion models and those of most people.

of Freud but also of Egon Schiele (fig. 29-10), despite the vivid contrast between Schiele's emaciated body and Saville's (false) obesity.

Saville's paintings are a commentary on the contemporary obsession with the lithe bodies of fashion models. In *Branded* (fig. 32-22), she highlights the dichotomy between the popular notion of a beautiful body and the imperfect bodies of most people by "branding" her body with words inscribed in her flesh—"delicate," "decorative," "petite." Art critic Michelle Meagher has described Saville's paintings as embodying a "feminist aesthetics of disgust."[4]

Kiki Smith. A distinctly unflattering approach to the representation of the human body is also the hallmark of the sculptures of New York–based Kiki Smith (b. 1954), the daughter of Minimalist sculptor Tony Smith (fig. 31-18). In her work, Smith has explored the question of who controls the human body, an interest that grew out of her training as an emergency medical service technician. Her studies of bodies afflicted by illnesses have affinities with other artists' works addressing the physical devastation brought on by AIDS (fig. 32-9), but Smith's goals are different. She wants to reveal the socially constructed nature of the body, and she encourages the viewer to consider how external forces shape people's perceptions of their bodies. In works such as *Untitled* (fig. 32-23), the artist dramatically departed from conventional representations of the body, both in art and in the media. She suspended two life-size wax figures, one male and one female, both nude, from metal stands. Smith marked each of the sculptures with long white drips—body fluids running from the woman's breasts and down the man's leg. She commented:

32-23 **Kiki Smith, *Untitled,* 1990. Beeswax and microcrystalline wax figures on metal stands, female figure installed height 6′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″, male figure installed height 6′ $4\frac{15}{16}$″. Whitney Museum of American Art, New York (purchased with funds from the Painting and Sculpture Committee).**

Asking "Who controls the body?" Kiki Smith sculpted two life-size wax figures of a nude man and woman with body fluids running from the woman's breasts and down the man's leg.

> Most of the functions of the body are hidden . . . from society. . . . [W]e separate our bodies from our lives. But, when people are dying, they are losing control of their bodies. That loss of function can seem humiliating and frightening. But, on the other hand, you can look at it as a kind of liberation of the body. It seems like a nice metaphor—a way to think about the social—that people lose control despite the many agendas of different ideologies in society, which are trying to control the body(ies) . . . medicine, religion, law, etc. Just thinking about control—who has control of the body? . . . Does the mind have control of the body? Does the social?[5]

Underscoring the diversity of contemporary art, not all recent figure painters have worked in a realistic mode. It is hard to imagine a more vivid contrast with the figures portrayed by Saville and Smith than the exuberantly animated, joyful cartoonlike figures in the paintings of Keith Haring (1958–1990; fig. 32-23A), who, like Jean-Michel Basquiat (fig. 32-2), began his career as a street artist in New York City.

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Jeff Koons. Haring's painted figures are firmly rooted in popular culture, as are the sculptures of Jeff Koons (b. 1955). Trained at the Maryland Institute College of Art in Baltimore, Koons, who divides his time between his hometown of York, Pennsylvania, and New York City, worked early in his career as a commodities broker. He first became prominent in the art world for a series of works in the early 1980s involving the exhibition of everyday commercial products such as vacuum cleaners. Clearly following in the footsteps of Marcel Duchamp (fig. 29-26), Koons made no attempt to manipulate or alter the machine-made objects.

32-23A Haring, *Tuttomondo,* 1989.

Koons is best known today for his figural sculptures. In *Pink Panther* (fig. 32-24), he playfully intertwined a pin-up nude with a famous cartoon character, and reinforced the trite and kitschy nature of this imagery by titling the exhibition of which the statue was a part *The Banality Show.* Koons intends his work to draw attention to everything that he believes is wrong with contemporary American society. His prominence in the art world, like Andy Warhol's before him (figs. 31-27 and 31-27A), is based on his acute understanding of the dynamics of consumer culture. Haring too enjoyed great commercial success owing to his sensitivity to popular taste and his shrewd marketing of his trademark motifs to the general public.

32-24 Jeff Koons, *Pink Panther,* 1988. Porcelain, 3′ 5″ high. Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago (Gerald S. Elliot Collection).

Koons creates sculptures highlighting everything he considers wrong with contemporary American consumer culture. In this work, he intertwined a centerfold nude and a cartoon character.

Marisol. Known simply by her first name, Marisol Escobar (1930–2016) grew up in a wealthy, widely traveled Venezuelan family. Born in Paris and educated there, in Los Angeles, and in New York City, Marisol first studied painting and drawing, but after discovering Pre-Columbian art in 1951, she pursued a career as a sculptor. Marisol also spent time in Italy, where she developed a deep admiration for Renaissance art.

In the 1960s, Marisol was one of the inner circle of New York Pop artists, and she appeared in two of Andy Warhol's films. Some of her works at that time portrayed prominent public figures, including the Hollywood actor John Wayne and the family of U.S. president John F. Kennedy. Her subjects were always people, however, not the commercial products of consumer culture that fascinated most leading Pop artists and still are prominent in the art of Jeff Koons and others.

Marisol retained her interest in figural sculpture long after Pop Art gave way to other movements. One of her most ambitious works (fig. 32-25) is a multimedia three-dimensional

32-25 Marisol, *Self-Portrait Looking at the Last Supper,* 1982–1984. Painted wood, stone, plaster, and aluminum, 10′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″ × 29′ 10″ × 5′ 1″. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Roberto C. Polo, 1986).

In a tribute to the Renaissance master, Marisol created a sculptural replica of Leonardo da Vinci 's *Last Supper* (fig. 22-4), transforming the fresco into an object. She is the seated viewer as well as the artist.

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version of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper* (FIG. 22-4), including the walls and windows of the dining room in order to replicate the Renaissance master's application of linear perspective. By reproducing the fresco in three dimensions, Marisol transformed it into an object. The figures in her version of Leonardo's composition are painted wood, with the exception of Christ, whose stone body is the physical and emotional anchor of the composition. In many of her sculptures, the female figures have Marisol's features, and in this tableau she added a seated armless portrait of herself looking at the *Last Supper.* Catholic and deeply religious—as a teenager she emulated martyr saints by inflicting physical harm on herself—Marisol may have wanted to show herself as a witness to Christ's last meal. But more likely her presence here is a tribute to the 16th-century painter. (She also made a sculptural replica of Leonardo's *Madonna and Child with Saint Anne* [FIG. 22-3].)

Marisol's *Self-Portrait Looking at the Last Supper* is a commentary on the artist not only as a creator but also as a viewer of the works of earlier artists, a link in an artistic chain extending back to antiquity. One pervasive element in the work of contemporary artists is a self-consciousness of the postmodern painter's or sculptor's position in the continuum of art history, as noted earlier in the discussions of Kehinde Wiley's *Napoleon* (FIG. 32-4) and Sandow Birk's *Manuel* (FIG. 32-16A). Two artists who exemplify that aspect of contemporary art are MARK TANSEY (b. 1949; FIG. 32-25A) and DAMIEN HIRST (b. 1965), who recently mounted a major exhibition in Venice, Italy, that filled two museums on the Grand Canal (see "Damien Hirst's *Wreck of the Unbelievable,*" below).

32-25A TANSEY, *A Short History of Modernist Painting,* 1982.

Anselm Kiefer. Traditional realistic landscape painting remains a popular mode of artistic expression in the early 21st century, but some of the most innovative landscapes of the past few decades have verged on abstraction. German artist ANSELM KIEFER (b. 1945) studied art in Düsseldorf with Joseph Beuys (FIG. 31-52A) in the early 1970s, and has lived and worked in Barjac, France, since 1992.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Damien Hirst's *Wreck of the Unbelievable*

Concurrently with the 2017 staging of the Venice Biennale, Damien Hirst mounted an extraordinary exhibition of hundreds of works, some of truly colossal size, all purported to have been discovered in 2008 in an ancient shipwreck off the southeastern coast of Africa. The cargo consisted of what Hirst maintained was the vast art collection of a Roman freedman who lived during the late first and early second century CE. The name of the ship is the *Unbelievable*—an unmistakable clue to the gullible viewer that Hirst's shipwreck is a hoax for a "post-truth" world. The British artist went to great lengths to enhance his unbelievable story by creating works with fake accretions supposedly acquired during almost 2,000 years of submersion in seawater. Hirst even sank many of the objects so that a video recording of their recovery (shown on the monitor at the right in FIG. 32-26) could be made and displayed with the "finds" in the Palazzo Grassi and Punta della Dogana museums in Venice owned by French billionaire collector François Pinault (b. 1936).

The audacious exhibition includes "ancient treasures" based on works by Caravaggio and other much later masters as well as a statue of Mickey Mouse. The collection of objects in the *Wreck of the Unbelievable* show is Hirst's quintessentially postmodern commentary on the entire history of art. A characteristically eclectic example is *Hydra and Kali* (FIG. 32-26), an over-life-size bronze statuary group pitting a multilimbed, sword-wielding nude female Hindu deity (rendered in the style of a Classical Greek statue) against the monstrous seven-headed hydra that Herakles had to defeat as one of his 12 labors (see "Herakles," page 126).

1 ft.

32-26 DAMIEN HIRST, *Hydra and Kali,* 2015. Bronze, 17′ 8 1/4″ × 20′ 7/8″ × 8′ 1/8″. Punta del Dogana, Venice.

One of the "ancient treasures" from Hirst's fictional wreck of the ship *Unbelievable* is this characteristically eclectic postmodern statuary group of a nude female Hindu deity battling a Greek mythological monster.

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1 ft.

32-27 Anselm Kiefer, *Nigredo,* 1984. Oil, acrylic, emulsion, shellac, and straw on photograph and woodcut, mounted on canvas, 10′ 10″ × 18′ 2½″. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia (gift of Friends of the Philadelphia Museum of Art).

Kiefer's paintings have thickly encrusted surfaces incorporating materials such as straw. Here, the German artist used perspective to pull the viewer into an incinerated landscape alluding to the Holocaust.

His canvases, such as *Nigredo* (fig. 32-27), are large in scale and feature highly textured surfaces of pigment mixed with nontraditional materials such as straw and lead. It is not merely the impressive physicality of Kiefer's paintings that accounts for the impact of his work, however. His images function on a mythological or metaphorical level as well as on a historically specific one. Many of Kiefer's works involve a reexamination of German history, particularly the painful Nazi era of 1933–1945, and evoke a feeling of despair. Kiefer believes that Germany's participation in World War II and the Holocaust left permanent scars on the souls of the German people and on the souls of all humanity.

Nigredo ("blackening") pulls the viewer into an expansive landscape depicted using Renaissance perspective principles. This landscape, however, is far from pastoral or carefully cultivated. Rather, it appears bleak and charred. Although it does not make specific reference to the Holocaust, this incinerated landscape indirectly alludes to the horrors of that tragic event. More generally, the blackness of the landscape may refer to the notion of alchemical change or transformation, a concept of great interest to Kiefer. Black is one of the four symbolic colors of the alchemist—a color referencing both death and the molten, chaotic state of substances broken down by fire. Because the alchemist focuses on the transformation of substances, the blackness is not absolute, but can also be perceived as part of a process of renewal and redemption. Kiefer thus imbued his work with a deep symbolic meaning that, when combined with the intriguing visual quality of his parched, congealed surfaces, results in paintings of enduring power.

Andreas Gursky. The work of German photographer Andreas Gursky (b. 1955) is also rooted in representation, although his photographs, like Kiefer's paintings, verge on abstraction. Gursky grew up in Düsseldorf, where his father was a commercial photographer. Andreas studied photography at Düsseldorf's Kunstakademie (Academy of Art) and since the mid-1990s has used computer and digital technology to produce gigantic color prints, such as *Chicago Board of Trade II* (fig. 32-28), in which he combines and

1 ft.

32-28 Andreas Gursky, *Chicago Board of Trade II,* 1999. C-print, 6′ 9½″ × 11′ 5⅝″. Matthew Marks Gallery, New York.

Gursky manipulates digital photographs to produce vast tableaus depicting places that are characteristic of the modern global economy. The size of his prints rivals that of 19th-century history paintings.

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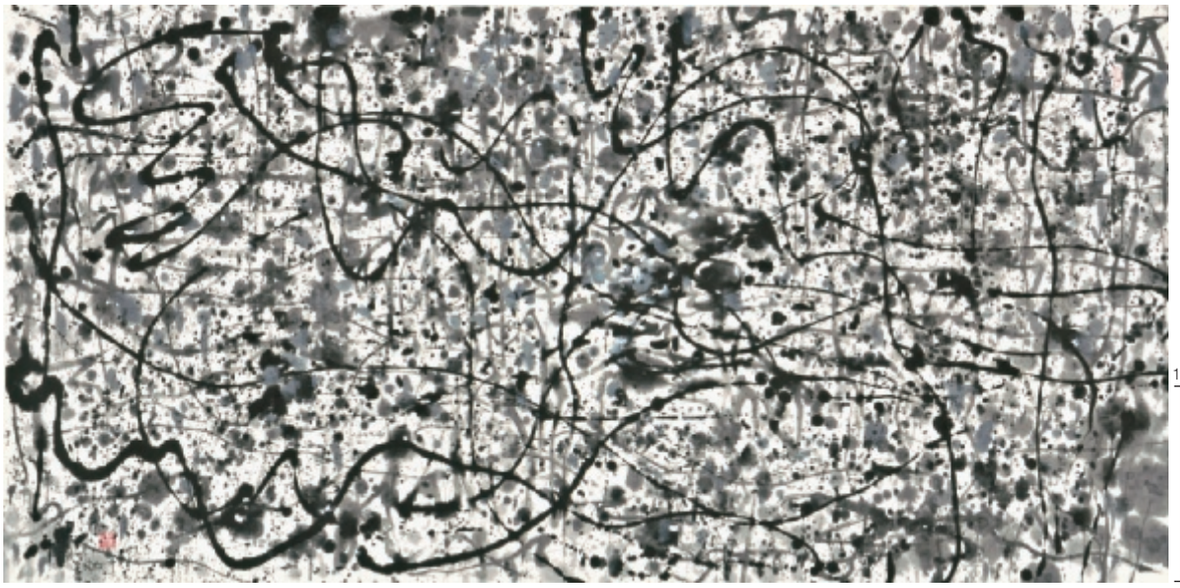

32-29 Wu Guanzhong, *Wild Vines with Flowers Like Pearls,* 1997. Ink on paper, 2′ 11½″ × 5′ 11″. Singapore Art Museum, Singapore (donation from Wu Guanzhong).

In a brilliant fusion of traditional Chinese subject matter and technique with modern Western Abstract Expressionism, Wu used ink on paper to depict the wild vines of the Yangtze River valley.

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manipulates photographs taken with a wide-angle lens, usually from a high vantage point. The size of his photographs, sometimes almost a dozen feet wide, intentionally rivals 19th-century history paintings. But as was true of Gustave Courbet (FIGS. 27-26 and 27-27) in his day, Gursky chooses his subjects from everyday life. He records the mundane world of the modern global economy—vast industrial plants, major department stores, hotel lobbies, and stock and commodity exchanges—and transforms the commonplace into striking, almost abstract compositions. (Compare the photographs of Edward Burtynsky, FIG. 32-14.)

Gursky's nearly 12-foot-wide 1999 print (FIG. 32-28), which documents the frenzied activity on the main commodities trading floor in Chicago, is a characteristic example of his work. He took a series of photographs from a gallery, creating a panoramic view of the traders in their brightly colored jackets. He then combined several digital images using commercial photo-editing software to produce a blurred tableau of bodies, desks, computer terminals, and strewn paper in which both mass and color are so evenly distributed as to negate the traditional Renaissance notion of perspective. In using the computer to modify the "objective truth" and spatial recession of "straight photography," Gursky blurs the distinction between painting and photography.

Abstract Painting and Sculpture

Today, many artists continue to produce abstract paintings and sculptures, building on the innovations of the Abstract Expressionists of the mid-20th century. Some, like Wu Guanzhong (FIG. 32-29) and Song Su-nam (FIG. 32-29A), have produced works with landscape as the central theme, but their works reject even the remnants of representation still present in the paintings of Anselm Kiefer (FIG. 32-27).

Wu Guanzhong. Chinese painter Wu Guanzhong (1919–2010) attended the National Art College in Hangzhou, graduating in 1942, and then studied painting in Paris at the École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts from 1946 to 1950, when he returned to China to take up teaching positions at several prestigious art academies. His early work, reflecting his exposure to the Western tradition, was primarily oil painting on canvas, but in the 1970s he began to embrace the traditional Chinese medium of ink and color on paper, later often restricting his palette only to black. His mature work—for example, his 1997 *Wild Vines with Flowers Like Pearls* (FIG. 32-29)—combines the favored medium and subject matter of the centuries-old *literati* tradition with an abstract style strongly influenced by Jackson Pollock (FIG. 31-6). (The 17th-century paintings of Shitao [FIG. 34-15] were important forerunners.) American Abstract Expressionist painting was politically impossible to pursue during the Cultural Revolution, when Wu was sentenced to labor on a rural farm because of his refusal to conform to official doctrine.

32-29A Song, *Summer Trees,* 1983.

The inspiration for *Wild Vines,* as for so many of Wu's paintings, was the mountainous landscape and forests of the Yangtze River region of China. The free composition and bold, thick brushstrokes brilliantly balance abstract, sweeping, crisscrossing lines with the suggestive shapes of vines and flowers. His work, like that of South Korean painter Song Su-nam (b. 1938; FIG. 32-29A), represents a highly successful fusion of traditional Asian and modern Western style and subject matter.

Julian Schnabel. In the United States, New Yorker Julian Schnabel (b. 1951), who wrote and directed a 1996 film about fellow artist Jean-Michel Basquiat (FIG. 32-2), has, like Anselm Kiefer (FIG. 32-27), experimented widely with media and materials in his forceful restatements of the premises of Abstract Expressionism. Schnabel's Neo-Expressionist works range from paint on velvet and tarpaulin to a mixture of pigment and fragmented china plates bonded to wood. He has a special interest in the physicality of objects, and by combining broken crockery and paint, as in *The Walk Home* (FIG. 32-30), he has found an extension of what paint can do. Superficially, Schnabel's paintings recall the work of the gestural abstractionists, especially the spontaneous drips of Jackson Pollock (FIG. 31-6) and the energetic brushstrokes of Willem de Kooning (FIG. 31-8), but their Abstract Expressionist works lack the thick, mosaic-like texture of Schnabel's paintings. The amalgamation of media brings together painting, mosaic, and low-relief sculpture, and considerably amplifies the expressive impact of his work.

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32-30 Julian Schnabel, *The Walk Home,* 1984–1985. Oil, plates, copper, bronze, fiberglass, and Bondo on six wood panels, 9′ 4″ × 19′ 4″. Broad Art Foundation, Santa Monica.

Schnabel's paintings recall the work of the midcentury American gestural abstractionists, but he employs an amalgamation of media, bringing together painting, mosaic, and low-relief sculpture.

Elizabeth Murray and Helen Oji. One of the few things that paintings as diverse as those examined so far have in common is that they share the standard rectilinear format that has characterized paintings on wood, canvas, or silk from antiquity to the present day. Two contemporary artists who have experimented with alternate shapes are Elizabeth Murray (1940–2007)—see "Rethinking the Shape of Painting," below)—and Helen Oji (b. 1950).

Born in Sacramento, California, and trained at California State University's Sacramento campus, where she earned both BA

MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Rethinking the Shape of Painting

Since antiquity, the rectangular format has been the norm worldwide for wood panels, frescoed walls, oil paintings, manuscript illustrations, and silk scrolls alike. Even during the past century, when artists have rethought almost every traditional tenet of the art of painting, the vertically or horizontally oriented rectilinear painting surface has with few exceptions—for example, Frank Stella's *Mas o Menos* (FIG. 31-13)—reigned supreme, even among artists who have abandoned easel painting in favor of applying pigment to unstretched canvas spread out on the floor (FIG. 31-7). Recently, however, some artists have experimented not merely with other geometric shapes but with highly irregular formats.

Chief among these artists is Elizabeth Murray. Born in Chicago, Murray graduated from that city's famed Art Institute and then earned an MFA at Mills College. She moved to New York City in 1967 and painted there until her death in 2007, the year after a major retrospective exhibition of her work was mounted at the Museum of Modern Art—a rare honor accorded to few women before her.

Can You Hear Me? (FIG. 32-31) is typical of Murray's innovative approach to abstract painting. It is an irregularly shaped composite of several small canvas-on-wood panels that bear comparison not only to Abstract Expressionist works but to the Biomorphic Surrealist paintings of Joan Miró (FIG. 29-42) and also to cartoon art. The central—although almost unnoticed at first—motif of *Can You Hear Me?* is a face with a wide-open mouth out of which emerges a shape resembling an elongated comic-strip balloon (compare FIG. 31-26) but without words—the reason the viewer cannot hear what the face is saying. Murray has acknowledged that Edvard Munch's *Scream* (FIG. 28-30) was the source of inspiration for her painting, but in *Can You Hear Me?* emotional frenzy is expressed by purely abstract means, most notably through the centrifugal force of the propeller-like shape of the painting itself.

32-31 Elizabeth Murray, *Can You Hear Me?* 1984. Oil on canvas on wood, 8′ 10″ × 13′ 3″ × 1′. Dallas Museum of Art, Dallas (Foundation for the Arts Collection).

Elizabeth Murray is the most prominent contemporary artist who has rejected the traditional rectilinear format for painting in favor of a multilayered composite of canvas-on-wood panels.

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32-32 Helen Oji, *Mount St. Helens,* 1980. Acrylic, Rhoplex, and glitter on paper, 5′ × 6′. Home Insurance Company, New York.

Shaped like a kimono in acknowledgment of the artist's Japanese heritage, Oji's *Mount St. Helens* is a highly textured abstract landscape celebrating the eruptive power of Washington State's active volcano.

and MA degrees in art, Oji has lived and worked in New York City since 1976. *Mount St. Helens* (fig. 32-32) is one of a series of acrylic and glitter paintings in the shape of a kimono (compare fig. 31-37) in acknowledgment of Oji's Japanese heritage. But the decoration of the "garment" bears little resemblance to traditional textile design. Oji's kimono is a highly textured abstract landscape that has much in common with the canvases of Kiefer (fig. 32-27) and Schnabel (fig. 32-30). It captures and celebrates the raw power of Washington State's Mount St. Helens, one of the world's few still-active volcanoes, which erupted in 1980, inspiring this painting.

Yayoi Kusama. One of the most successful—and certainly one of the most market-savvy—abstract artists active today is Yayoi Kusama (b. 1929) of Japan. Now in her late 80s, during her long career Kusama has worked in many artistic genres, including painting, sculpture, film, and performance art, and has written poems and novels. She is best known for her brightly colored compositions ("psychedelic" is a common adjective used to describe her paintings) that recall in some ways the Biomorphic Surrealist canvases of Joan Miró (fig. 29-42) reinterpreted in a mode that draws on Abstract Expressionism, Op Art, and Pop Art. Kusama's signature motif is the polka dot, and in the illustrated photograph (fig. 32-33), taken in 2012 at a retrospective exhibition of her abstract paintings at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York, she wears a dress of her own design, one item in a complete line of clothing, shoes, watches, jewelry, and leather goods distributed worldwide by Louis Vuitton. Kusama personifies the conjunction of art, popular culture, advertising, and marketing that increasingly characterizes the art world of the 21st century but has its roots in the launching of a line of clothing based on Bridget Riley's paintings (fig. 31-16) of the 1960s.

Kimio Tsuchiya. Unlike the paintings of Yayoi Kusama, which are firmly in the Western tradition in style, content, and technique, the works produced by some contemporary Japanese artists are rooted in traditions integral to and distinctive of native Japanese culture. For example, the Shinto beliefs in the generative forces in nature and in humankind's position as part of the totality of nature (see "Shinto," page 505) hold great appeal for Kimio Tsuchiya (b. 1955),

32-33 Yayoi Kusama seated in a wheelchair in front of a selection of her acrylic-on-canvas paintings at the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York City, July 9, 2012.

Multifaceted octogenarian Japanese artist Yayoi Kusama is best known for her psychedelically colored paintings that draw on Biomorphic Surrealism, Abstraction Expressionism, Op Art, and Pop Art.

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1 ft.

32-34 Kimio Tsuchiya, *Symptom,* 1987. Branches, 13′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″ × 14′ $9\frac{1}{8}$″ × 3′ $11\frac{1}{4}$″. Displayed at the exhibition *Jeune Sculpture '87,* Paris 1987.

Tsuchiya's sculptures consist of branches or driftwood, and despite their abstract nature, they assert the life forces found in natural materials. His approach to sculpture reflects ancient Shinto beliefs.

who studied sculpture in London and Tokyo. Tsuchiya is best known for his large-scale sculptures constructed of branches or driftwood (fig. 32-34). Despite their abstract nature, his works assert the life forces found in natural materials, thereby engaging viewers in a consideration of their own relationship to nature. Tsuchiya does not specifically invoke Shinto when speaking about his art, but it is clear that he has internalized Shinto principles. He identifies as his goal "to bring out and present the life of nature emanating from this energy of trees. . . . It is as though the wood is part of myself, as though the wood has the same kind of life force."[6]

El Anatsui. Probably the most unusual abstract artworks being created today are those of Ghana-born and -educated El Anatsui (b. 1944), who, unique among African artists, established his international reputation without moving his studio to Europe or America. Anatsui has spent most of his adult life in Nigeria and, even more remarkably, did not begin producing the art that has made him famous until his 60s. *Bleeding Takari II* (fig. 32-35) is a characteristic example of the artistic genre that Anatsui invented, a kind of artwork that is so different from all others that art historians have yet to agree on a label for it. A cross between sculpture and textile design, Anatsui's wall-based sculptures are labor-intensive constructions of crushed bottle caps, lids of aluminum cans, and other found metal, pierced and stitched together using copper wire. The colors (primarily red, gold, and black) that Anatsui uses have close parallels in Asante *kente* cloth (fig. 38-26), and his works can be rolled or folded. When displayed on museum walls or hanging from a ceiling—or even draped on a building's facade—the metal sheets undulate with any breeze. Anatsui's artworks-in-motion bring to mind Alexander Calder's pioneering mobiles (fig. 30-21). They are, however, thoroughly in tune with 21st-century concerns in being assembled (by a large team of assistants) almost entirely from African recycled materials—some of which are Western along with African products, underscoring again the international character of contemporary art.

1 ft.

32-35 El Anatsui, *Bleeding Takari II,* 2007. Aluminum bottle tops and cans, and copper wire, 12′ 11″ × 18′ 11″. Museum of Modern Art, New York (gift of Donald L. Bryant Jr. and Jerry Speyer, 2008).

Anatsui's unique "metal hangings" are a cross between abstract sculptures and textiles. They are assemblages of thousands of crushed and pierced bottle caps and aluminum cans stitched together with copper wire.

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ELECTRONIC AND DIGITAL MEDIA

In addition to taking the ancient arts of painting and sculpture in new directions, contemporary artists have continued to explore the expressive possibilities of the various new media developed in the postwar period, especially digital photography (FIG. 32-28), computer graphics, and video.

Bill Viola. The successors of pioneering video artist Nam June Paik (FIG. 31-57) include ADRIAN PIPER (b. 1948; FIG. 32-35A) and BILL VIOLA (b. 1951), who have explored the capabilities of digitized imagery, producing many and varied video projects. Viola often focuses on sensory perception. His pieces not only heighten viewer awareness of the senses but also suggest an exploration into the spiritual realm. After majoring in art and music at Syracuse University, Viola spent years seriously studying Buddhist, Christian, Sufi, and Zen mysticism. Because he fervently believes in art's transformative power and in a spiritual view of human nature, Viola designs works encouraging spectator introspection. His video projects make use of contrasts in scale, shifts in focus, mirrored reflections, extreme slow motion, staccato editing, and multiple or layered screens to achieve dramatic effects.

32-35A PIPER, *Cornered,* 1988.

The power of Viola's work is evident in *The Crossing* (FIG. 32-36), which consists of two color video channels projected on 16-foot-high screens. The artist either shows the two projections on the front and back of the same screen or on two separate screens in the same room. In these two companion videos, shown simultaneously on the two screens, a man surrounded in darkness appears, moving closer until he fills the screen. On one screen, drops of water fall from above onto the man's head, while on the other screen, a small fire breaks out at the man's feet. Over the next few minutes, the water and fire increase in intensity until the man disappears in a torrent of water on one screen (FIG. 32-36) and flames consume the man on the other screen (not illustrated). The deafening roar of a raging fire and a torrential downpour accompany these visual images, immersing viewers in a powerful audio as well as visual experience. Eventually, everything subsides and fades into darkness.

Tony Oursler. Whereas Viola, Piper, and other contemporary artists present video and digital imagery to their audiences on familiar flat screens, thus reproducing the format in which we most often come into contact with electronic images, New Yorker TONY OURSLER (b. 1957), who studied art at the California Institute of the Arts, manipulates his images, projecting them onto sculptural objects. This has the effect of taking the images out of the digital world and insinuating them into the "real" world. Accompanied by sound tapes, Oursler's works, such as *Mansheshe* (FIG. 32-37), not only engage but often challenge the viewer. In this example, Oursler projected talking heads onto egg-shaped forms suspended from poles. Because the projected images of people look directly at the viewer, the statements they make about religious beliefs, sexual identity, and interpersonal relationships cannot be easily dismissed.

32-36 BILL VIOLA, *The Crossing,* 1996. Video/sound display with two channels of color video projection onto screens 16′ high.

Viola's video projects use contrasts in scale, shifts in focus, mirrored reflections, extreme slow motion, and staccato editing to create dramatic sensory experiences rooted in tangible reality.

32-37 TONY OURSLER, *Mansheshe,* 1997. Ceramic, glass, video player, videocassette, CPJ-200 video projector, sound, 11″ × 7″ × 8″ each. Courtesy of the artist and Metro Pictures, New York.

Video artist Oursler projects his digital images onto sculptural objects, insinuating them into the "real" world. Here, he projected talking heads onto egg-shaped forms suspended from poles.

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INSTALLATION AND SITE-SPECIFIC ART

The new-media projects just discussed can be—and often have been—categorized as *installations* (assemblages that create an artistic environment in a room), but Piper's *Cornered,* Viola's *Crossing,* and Oursler's *Mansheshe* are portable works that have been exhibited in diverse venues in different countries. By contrast, the installations of other contemporary artists were created for specific venues and become meaningless apart from their intended settings.

Jenny Holzer. Gallipolis, Ohio, native Jenny Holzer (b. 1950) studied art at Ohio University and the Rhode Island School of Design. In 1990, she became the first woman to represent the United States at the prestigious Venice Biennale art exhibition. Holzer has won renown for several series of artworks using electronic signs, most involving light-emitting diode (LED) technology, and has created light-projection shows worldwide. In 1989, she assembled a major installation at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York that included elements from her previous series and consisted of a large continuous LED display spiraling around the interior ramp (fig. 32-38) of Frank Lloyd Wright's landmark building (fig. 31-41). Holzer believes in the communicative power of language, and her installation focused specifically on text. She invented sayings with an authoritative tone for her LED displays—for example, "Protect me from what I want," "Abuse of power comes as no surprise," and "Romantic love was invented to manipulate women." The statements, which people could read from a distance in the unique environment of the Guggenheim Museum, were intentionally vague and, in some cases, contradictory.

Matthew Barney. A major trend in the art world today is the relaxation of the traditional boundaries between artistic media—and not just those between painting, photography, sculpture, and textile art. Many contemporary artists are combining new and traditional media to create vast and complex multimedia installations. One of these artists is Matthew Barney (b. 1967), who studied art at Yale University. The 2003 installation (fig. 32-39) of his epic *Cremaster* cycle (1994–2002) inside Wright's Guggenheim Museum typifies the expansive scale of many contemporary works. A multimedia extravaganza involving drawings, photographs, sculptures, videos, films, and performances (presented in videos), the *Cremaster* cycle is a lengthy narrative set in a self-enclosed universe that Barney created. The title of the work refers to the cremaster muscle, which controls testicular contractions in response to external stimuli. Barney uses the development of this muscle in the embryonic process of sexual differentiation as the conceptual springboard for the entire *Cremaster* project, in which he explores the notion of creation in expansive and complicated ways.

The cycle's narrative, revealed in the five 35-millimeter feature-length films and the artworks, makes reference to, among other things, a musical revue in Boise, Idaho (where San Francisco–born Barney grew up), the life cycle of bees, the execution of convicted murderer Gary Gilmore, the construction of the Chrysler Building (fig. 30-22), Celtic mythology, Masonic rituals, a motorcycle race, and a lyric opera set in late-19th-century Budapest. In the installation, Barney tied the artworks together conceptually with a five-channel video piece projected on screens hanging in the museum's

32-38 Jenny Holzer, *Untitled* (selections from *Truisms, Inflammatory Essays, The Living Series, The Survival Series, Under a Rock, Laments,* and *Child Text*), 1989. Extended helical tricolor LED electronic display signboard, 16′ × 162′ × 6′. Installation at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, December 1989–February 1990 (partial gift of the artist, 1989).

Holzer's 1989 installation consisted of electronic signs created using LED technology. The continuous display of texts wound around the Guggenheim Museum's spiral interior ramp.

32-39 Matthew Barney, *Cremaster* cycle, installation at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 2003.

Barney's vast multimedia installations of drawings, photographs, sculptures, and videos typify the relaxation at the opening of the 21st century of the traditional boundaries among artistic media.

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32-40 Xu Bing, *A Book from the Sky,* 1987. Installation of woodblock-printed books at the Elvehjem (now Chazen) Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1991.

Xu trained as a printmaker in Beijing. *A Book from the Sky,* with its invented Chinese woodblock characters, may be a stinging critique of the meaninglessness of contemporary political language.

rotunda. Immersion in Barney's constructed world is disorienting and overwhelming and has a force that competes with the immense scale and often frenzied pace of contemporary life.

Xu Bing. Installation art, like contemporary art in general, is an international phenomenon. Probably the most famous Asian creator of installations is Xu Bing (b. 1955), a Chongqing native who, like Wu Guanzhong (fig. 32-29), was forced to work in the countryside with peasants during the Cultural Revolution. Xu later studied printmaking in Beijing at the Central Academy of Fine Arts, where he is now professor and vice president. In 1990, however, Xu moved to the United States at the invitation of the University of Wisconsin, where two years earlier he had exhibited his most famous work, *A Book from the Sky* (fig. 32-40). First exhibited in China before being installed at Wisconsin's Elvehjem (now Chazen) Museum of Art, the work presents an enormous number of *woodblock*-printed texts in *characters* evocative of Chinese writing but invented by the artist. Producing them required both an intimate knowledge of genuine Chinese characters and extensive training in woodblock carving. *A Book from the Sky,* however, is no hymn to tradition. Critics have interpreted it both as a stinging critique of the meaninglessness of contemporary political language and as a commentary on the illegibility of the past. Xu himself has characterized the work as intentionally ambiguous:

> People have so many perspectives on *Book from the Sky* because the work is empty. The work does not present any clear message. . . . I used every possible method to force people to believe in the legitimacy of this work, while at the same time extracting all content completely. . . . The artwork itself is a contradiction because it makes a parody of culture while also placing culture in a temple to be taken very seriously. *Book from the Sky* invites your desire to understand it and pushes you away at the same time. It treats everyone as equal—educated or uneducated, Chinese or non-Chinese—because no one can "read" it.[7]

Like many postmodern artists and architects, who reject pure formalism and emphasize content and historical references (see "After Modernism: Postmodern Architecture," page 957), Xu created *A Book from the Sky* to be read on many levels.

David Hammons. Installation art frequently encourages viewer interaction. This is certainly the case with *Public Enemy* (fig. 32-41) by David Hammons (b. 1943), which makes a powerful statement about racism in America. Hammons created *Public Enemy* for an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1991. (In recent decades, museums throughout the world have increasingly allocated more of their limited exhibition space to installation art.) Born in Springfield, Illinois, Hammons, an African American, moved to Los Angeles in 1962, where he studied art at the Chouinard and Otis Art Institutes before settling in Harlem in 1974. In his installations, Hammons combines sharp social commentary with beguiling sensory elements.

In *Public Enemy,* he enticed viewers to interact with the installation by scattering fragrant autumn leaves on the floor and positioning helium-filled balloons throughout the gallery. The leaves crunched underfoot, and the dangling strings of the balloons gently brushed spectators walking around the installation. Once drawn into the environment, viewers encountered the centerpiece of *Public Enemy*—large black-and-white photographs of a public monument in front of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City depicting President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) triumphantly seated on a horse, flanked by an African American man and a Native American man, both men appearing in the role of servant. Around the edge of the installation, circling the photographs of the monument, were piles of sandbags with both real and toy guns propped on top, aimed at the statue. By selecting evocative found objects and presenting them in a dynamic manner, encouraging viewer interaction, Hammons attracted an audience and then revealed the racism embedded in received cultural heritage, and prompted reexamination of American values and cultural emblems.

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32-41 David Hammons, *Public Enemy,* installation at Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1991. Photographs, balloons, sandbags, guns, and other mixed media.

Hammons intended this multimedia installation, with Theodore Roosevelt flanked by an African American and a Native American as servants, to reveal the racism embedded in America's cultural heritage.

Tara Donovan. Bridging the boundary between freestanding sculpture and installation art is the work of Brooklynite Tara Donovan (b. 1969), one of the leading contemporary sculptors producing abstract work. The first recipient (in 2005) of the Alexander Calder Foundation's Calder Prize for sculpture, Donovan studied at the School of Visual Arts in New York City, the Corcoran College of Art and Design in Washington, D.C., and Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond. She has earned an international reputation for her installations, such as *Untitled* (fig. 32-42), composed of thousands of small everyday objects—for example, toothpicks, straws, pins, paper plates, plastic cups, and electrical wire. Her large-scale abstract sculptures often suggest rolling landscapes, clouds, fungus, and other natural forms, although she seeks in her work not to mimic those forms but to capture nature's dynamic growth. Some of Donovan's installations are unstable and can change shape during the course of an exhibition, injecting a temporal element into sculpture, which, with the exception of works such as Calder's mobiles (fig. 30-21) and El Anatsui's metal hangings (fig. 32-35), is a stationary art form.

32-42 Tara Donovan, *Untitled,* 2003. Styrofoam cups and hot glue, variable dimensions. Installation at the Ace Gallery, Los Angeles, 2005.

Donovan's sculptures consist of everyday components, such as straws, plastic cups, toothpicks, and wire. The abstract shapes suggest rolling landscapes, clouds, fungus, and other natural forms.

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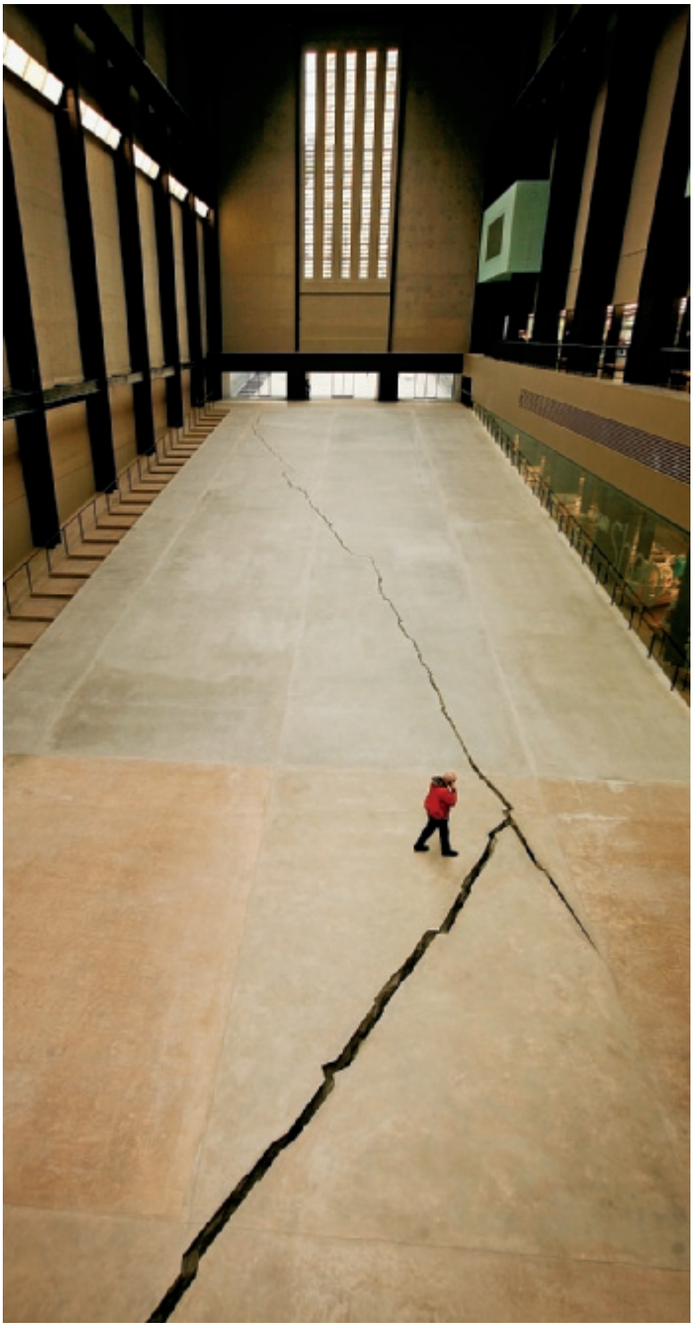
Doris Salcedo. Many contemporary installations, such as Hammons's *Public Enemy* (FIG. 32-41), are artworks that feature political and social commentary and could justifiably have been treated in an earlier section of this chapter. This is certainly true also of *Shibboleth* (FIG. 32-43) by DORIS SALCEDO (b. 1958). Salcedo is a Colombian sculptor who was trained at the University of Bogotá before earning a master's degree in fine arts at New York University. Her work is deeply influenced by her personal experience of the civil conflict in her homeland, where she continues to reside and work. Some members of Salcedo's family are among those who have "disappeared" during the recent decades of political and social strife in Colombia.

In *Shibboleth,* Salcedo sought to express the trauma of alienation by installing a nearly 175-yard-long crack in the former turbine hall of London's Tate Modern art museum. She has described *Shibboleth,* which begins at one end of the hall as a thin crack and widens into a large chasm at the other end, as a "wound" in the former power station's floor that symbolizes the fractured nature of contemporary society, the divide between rich and poor and between racial majorities and minorities. *Shibboleth* is a biblical term describing a custom or linguistic test that is used to identify genuine members of a social group—and to exclude all others. Embedded in the turbine hall's crack is wire mesh, the standard fencing material used to define borders.



32-43 **DORIS SALCEDO, *Shibboleth,* 2007. Turbine Hall, Tate Modern, London.**

The nearly 175-yard-long wire-embedded crack in the turbine hall of the former power station that is now London's modern art museum symbolizes the fractured nature of contemporary society.

Environmental Art. When Robert Smithson created *Spiral Jetty* (FIG. 31-52) in Utah's Great Salt Lake in 1970, he was a trailblazer in the new genre of Environmental Art, or earthworks. In recent decades, earthworks and other site-specific artworks that bridge the gap between architecture and sculpture have become an established mode of artistic expression. As is true of all other media in the postmodern era, these artworks take a dazzling variety of forms—and some of them have engendered heated controversies.

Christo and Jeanne-Claude. The most prominent heir today to Smithson's earthworks movement is Canadian ANDY GOLDSWORTHY (b. 1956; FIG. 32-43A), but the most famous Environmental artists of the past few decades are CHRISTO (b. 1935) and JEANNE-CLAUDE (1935–2009). In their works, the couple sought to intensify the viewer's awareness of the space and features of rural and urban sites. However, rather than physically alter the land

32-43A GOLDSWORTHY, *Cracked Rock Spiral,* 1985.

32-44 **CHRISTO AND JEANNE-CLAUDE, *Surrounded Islands, Biscayne Bay, Greater Miami, Florida, 1980–83,* 1980–1983.**

Christo and Jeanne-Claude created this Environmental artwork by surrounding 11 small islands with 6.5 million square feet of pink fabric. Characteristically, the work existed for only two weeks.

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itself, as Smithson often did, Christo and Jeanne-Claude prompted this awareness by temporarily modifying the landscape with cloth.

Christo studied art in his native Bulgaria and in Austria. After moving from Vienna to Paris, he began to encase objects in clumsy wrappings, thereby appropriating bits of the real world into the mysterious world of the unopened package whose contents can be dimly seen in silhouette under the wrap. Starting in 1961, a year before their marriage, Christo and Jeanne-Claude began to collaborate on large-scale projects normally dealing with the environment itself. For example, in 1969 they wrapped more than a million square feet of Australian coastline and in 1972 hung a vast curtain across a valley at Rifle Gap, Colorado. Their projects require years of preparation and research, and scores of meetings with local authorities and interested groups of citizens. These temporary artworks were usually on view for only a few weeks.

Surrounded Islands 1980–83 (FIG. 32-44), created in Biscayne Bay in Miami, Florida, for two weeks in May 1983, typifies Christo and Jeanne-Claude's work. For this project, they surrounded 11

ART AND SOCIETY

Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial

Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial (FIG. 32-45) is, like Minimalist sculptures (FIGS. 31-18 and 31-19), an unadorned geometric form. Yet the monument, despite its serene simplicity, actively engages viewers in a psychological dialogue, rather than standing mute. This dialogue gives visitors the opportunity to explore their feelings about the Vietnam War and perhaps arrive at some sense of closure.

The history of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial provides dramatic testimony to this monument's power. In 1981, a jury of architects, sculptors, and landscape architects selected Lin's design from among 1,400 entries in a blind competition for a memorial to be placed in Constitution Gardens in Washington, D.C. Conceivably, the jurors not only found her design compelling but also thought that its simplicity would be the least likely to provoke controversy. But when the jury made its selection public, heated debate ensued. Even the wall's color came under attack. One veteran charged that black is "the universal color of shame, sorrow and degradation in all races, all societies worldwide."* But the sharpest protests concerned the form and siting of the monument. Because of the stark contrast between the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the massive white memorials (the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial) bracketing Lin's sunken wall, some people interpreted her Minimalist design as minimizing the Vietnam War and, by extension, the efforts of those who fought in the conflict. Lin herself, however, described the wall as follows:

> The Vietnam Veterans Memorial is not an object inserted into the earth but a work formed from the act of cutting open the earth and polishing the earth's surface—dematerializing the stone to pure surface, creating an interface between the world of the light and the quieter world beyond the names.†

Because of the vocal opposition, a compromise was necessary to ensure the memorial's completion. The Commission of Fine Arts, the federal group overseeing the project, commissioned an additional memorial from artist Frederick Hart (1943–1999) in 1983. This larger-than-life-size realistic bronze sculpture of three soldiers, armed and uniformed, now stands approximately 120 feet from Lin's wall. Several years later, a group of nurses, organized as the Vietnam Women's Memorial Project, received approval for a sculpture honoring women's service in the Vietnam War. The 7-foot-tall bronze statue by Glenna Goodacre (b. 1939) depicts three female figures, one cradling a wounded soldier in her arms. Unveiled in 1993, the work occupies a site about 300 feet south of the Lin memorial.

Whether celebrated or condemned, Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial generates dramatic responses. Commonly, visitors react very emotionally, even those who knew none of the soldiers named on the monument. The polished granite surface prompts individual soul-searching—viewers see themselves reflected among the names. Many visitors leave mementos at the foot of the wall in memory of loved ones whom they lost in the Vietnam War or make rubbings from the incised names. It can be argued that much of this memorial's power derives from its Minimalist simplicity. It does not dictate a particular response and therefore successfully encourages personal exploration.

*Elizabeth Hess, "A Tale of Two Memorials," *Art in America* 71, no. 4 (April 1983): 122.
†Excerpt from an unpublished 1995 lecture, quoted in Kristine Stiles and Peter Selz, *Theories and Documents of Contemporary Art: A Sourcebook of Artists' Writings* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 525.

32-45 MAYA LIN, Vietnam Veterans Memorial (looking north), Washington, D.C., 1981–1983.

Like Minimalist sculpture, Lin's memorial to veterans of the Vietnam War is a simple geometric form. Its inscribed polished walls actively engage viewers in a psychological dialogue about the war.

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small artificial islands in the bay (created from an early-20th-century dredging project) with 6.5 million square feet of specially fabricated pink polypropylene floating fabric. This Environmental artwork required three years of preparation to obtain the required permits, assemble the labor force, and obtain the $3.2 million needed to complete the project. The artists raised the money by selling preparatory drawings, collages, and models of works they created in the 1950s and 1960s. Huge crowds watched as crews removed accumulated trash from the 11 islands (to assure maximum contrast between their dark colors, the pink of the cloth, and the blue of the bay) and then unfurled the fabric "cocoons" to form magical floating "skirts" around each tiny bit of land. Despite the brevity of its existence, *Surrounded Islands 1980–83* lives on in the host of photographs, films, and books documenting the project.

Maya Lin. Often classified as either a work of Minimalist sculpture or an architectural monument, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (FIG. 32-45) in Washington, D.C., is perhaps best considered under the heading of site-specific art. The now-acclaimed war memorial was designed in 1981 by MAYA YING LIN (b. 1959) when she was a 21-year-old student at the Yale School of Architecture. Austere and simple, the Vietnam memorial takes the form of a V-shaped wall constructed of polished black granite panels. The two 246-foot-long wings of the wall begin at ground level at each end and gradually ascend to a height of 10 feet at the center of the V. Lin set the memorial into the landscape, enhancing visitors' awareness of descent as they walk along the wall toward the center. The names of the Vietnam War's 57,939 American casualties (and those missing in action) inscribed on the two wings (in the order of their deaths) contribute to the memorial's dramatic effect.

When Lin designed this pristinely simple monument, she gave a great deal of thought to the purpose of war memorials. She was determined to create a memorial that would

> be honest about the reality of war and be for the people who gave their lives. . . . [I] didn't want a static object that people would just look at, but something they could relate to as on a journey, or passage, that would bring each to his own conclusions. . . . I wanted to work with the land and not dominate it. I had an impulse to cut open the earth . . . an initial violence that in time would heal. The grass would grow back, but the cut would remain.[8]

In light of the tragedy of the war, this unpretentious memorial's allusion to a wound (compare FIG. 32-43) and a "long-lasting scar" contributes to its visual and psychological impact (see "Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans Memorial," page 1031).

Rachel Whiteread. Another controversial memorial commissioned for a specific historical setting is the Viennese Holocaust Memorial (FIG. 32-46) by British sculptor RACHEL WHITEREAD (b. 1963). In 1996, the city of Vienna chose Whiteread as the winner of the competition to design a commemorative monument to the 65,000 Austrian Jews who perished at the hands of the Nazis during World War II. The decision to focus attention on a past that most Austrians wished to forget unleashed a controversy that delayed construction of the monument until 2000. Also controversial was the Minimalist severity of Whiteread's massive block of concrete planted in a Baroque square at the heart of the Austrian capital—as was, at least initially, the understated form of Lin's Vietnam monument (FIG. 32-45) juxtaposed with the Washington and Lincoln Monuments in Washington, D.C.

Whiteread modulated the surface of the Holocaust memorial only slightly by depicting in low relief the shapes of two doors and hundreds of identical books on shelves, with the edges of the covers and the pages rather than the spines facing outward. The book motif was a reference both to Jews as the "People of the Book" and to the book burnings that accompanied Jewish persecutions throughout the centuries and under the Nazis. Around the base, Whiteread inscribed the names of Nazi concentration camps in German, Hebrew, and English. The setting for the memorial is Judenplatz (Jewish Square), the site of a synagogue destroyed in 1421. The brutality of the tomblike monument—it cannot be entered, and its shape suggests a prison block—is a visual as well as psychological shock in that beautiful Viennese square. Whiteread's purpose, however, was not to please but to create a memorial that met the jury's charge to "combine dignity with reserve and spark an aesthetic dialogue with the past in a place that is replete with history."

Whiteread had gained fame in 1992 for her monument commemorating the demolition of a working-class neighborhood in East London. *House* took the form of a concrete cast of the space inside the last standing Victorian house on the site. She had also made sculptures of "negative spaces"—for example, the space beneath a chair or mattress or sink. In Vienna, she represented the space behind the shelves of a library. In drawing viewers' attention to the voids between and inside objects and buildings, Whiteread pursued in a different way the same goal as Pop Art innovator Jasper Johns (FIG. 31-24), who painted things "seen but not looked at."

32-46 RACHEL WHITEREAD, Holocaust Memorial (looking northwest), Judenplatz, Vienna, Austria, 2000.

Whiteread's monument to the 65,000 Austrian Jews who perished in the Holocaust is a tomblike concrete block with doors that cannot be opened and library books seen from behind.

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A SECOND OPINION

Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc*

When Richard Serra installed *Tilted Arc* (FIG. 32-47) in the plaza in front of the Javits Federal Building in New York City in 1981, much of the public immediately responded with hostile criticism. Prompting the chorus of complaints was the uncompromising presence of a Minimalist sculpture bisecting the plaza. Many argued that *Tilted Arc* was ugly, attracted graffiti, interfered with the view across the plaza, and prevented use of the plaza for performances or concerts. Because of the sustained barrage of protests and petitions demanding the removal of *Tilted Arc,* the General Services Administration, which had commissioned the sculpture, held a series of public hearings. Afterward, the agency decided to remove Serra's sculpture despite its prior approval of the artist's model. Understandably, this infuriated Serra, who had a legally binding contract acknowledging the site-specific nature of *Tilted Arc*. "To remove the work is to destroy the work," the artist stated.*

This episode raised intriguing issues and differing opinions about the nature of public art, including the public reception of experimental art, the artist's responsibilities and rights when executing public commissions, censorship in the arts, and the purpose of public art. If an artwork is on display in a public space outside the relatively private confines of a museum or gallery, do different guidelines apply? As one participant in the *Tilted Arc* saga asked, "Should an artist have the right to impose his values and taste on a public that now rejects his taste and values?"† Historically, one of the express functions of the artistic avant-garde was to challenge convention by rejecting tradition and disrupting the complacency of the viewer. Will placing experimental art in a public place always cause controversy? From Serra's statements, it is clear that he intended the sculpture to challenge the public.

Another issue that *Tilted Arc* presented involved the rights of the artist, who in this case accused the GSA of censorship. Serra filed a lawsuit against the federal government for infringement of his First Amendment rights and insisted that "the artist's work must be uncensored, respected, and tolerated, although deemed abhorrent, or perceived as challenging, or experienced as threatening."‡ Did removal of the work constitute censorship? A U.S. district court held that it did not.

Ultimately, who should decide what artworks are appropriate for the public arena? One artist argued, "We cannot have public art by plebiscite [popular vote]."§ But to avoid recurrences of the *Tilted Arc* controversy, the GSA changed its procedures and now solicits input from a wide range of civic and neighborhood groups before commissioning public artworks. Despite the removal of *Tilted Arc* (now languishing in storage), the sculpture maintains a powerful presence in all discussions of the aesthetics, politics, and dynamics of public art.

*Grace Glueck, "What Part Should the Public Play in Choosing Public Art?" *New York Times,* February 3, 1985, 27.
†Calvin Tomkins, "The Art World: Tilted Arc," *New Yorker,* May 20, 1985, 98.
‡Ibid., 98–99.
§Ibid., 98.

32-47 RICHARD SERRA, *Tilted Arc,* as installed before its removal from Jacob K. Javits Federal Plaza (looking southwest), New York City, 1981.

Serra intended his Minimalist *Tilted Arc* to alter the character of an existing public space. He succeeded, but unleashed a storm of protest that caused the government to remove the work.

Richard Serra. Also unleashing a heated public debate, but for different reasons and with a decidedly different outcome, was *Tilted Arc* (FIG. 32-47) by San Franciscan RICHARD SERRA (b. 1939), who worked in steel mills in California before studying art at Yale University. He now lives in New York, where he received a commission in 1979 from the General Services Administration (GSA), the federal agency responsible for overseeing the selection and installation of artworks for government buildings, to install a 120-foot-long, 12-foot-high curved wall of Cor-Ten steel in the plaza in front of the Jacob K. Javits Federal Building in lower Manhattan. He completed the project in 1981. Serra wished *Tilted Arc* to "dislocate or alter the decorative function of the plaza and actively bring people into the sculpture's context."[9] In pursuit of that goal, Serra situated the sculpture so that it bisected and consequently significantly altered the space of the open plaza and interrupted the traffic flow across the square. By creating such an intrusive presence in this large public space, Serra forced viewers to reconsider the plaza's physical space as a sculptural form—but only temporarily, because the public succeeded in having the sculpture removed (see "Richard Serra's *Tilted Arc,*" above).

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32-48 **Anish Kapoor, *Cloud Gate,* 2004. Stainless steel, 33′ × 66′ × 42′. Millennium Park, Chicago.**

Kapoor's enormous polished stainless steel sculpture has delighted visitors to Chicago's Millennium Park, who enjoy seeing distorted views of themselves and the city's skyline in *Cloud Gate*'s curving mirrored surface.

Anish Kapoor. The public reacted very differently to the installation in 2004 in Chicago's Millennium Park of *Cloud Gate* (fig. 32-48), a 33-foot-tall and 66-foot-long polished stainless steel abstract sculpture by the recently knighted Mumbai-born British sculptor Anish Kapoor (b. 1954). Affectionately known to Chicagoans as the Bean, Kapoor's gigantic, gently curving sculpture is large enough that people can walk under its swelling arched form, hence its title *Cloud Gate.* Rather than disrupting activity in the park, as Serra's *Tilted Arc* (fig. 32-47) did in Manhattan, Kapoor's *Cloud Gate* encourages viewers to interact with it. Indeed, most people delight in seeing their reflection (with the backdrop of the panorama of Chicago's skyline) in the mirrorlike surface. On many days, *Cloud Gate* also reflects clouds of similar bean shape. However, the reflections of people, buildings, and clouds are distorted by the Bean's curved surface, as Kapoor intended them to be, adding another dimension to the pleasure of looking at the work.

Do-Ho Suh. Some of the most interesting site-specific artworks being created today are by Korean Do-Ho Suh (b. 1962), who studied at Seoul National University, the Rhode Island School of Design, and Yale University. Suh maintains a studio in Seoul, but his installations are designed for display on several continents. His pieces are to a large extent autobiographical in that they are often based on the modest houses and apartments in which he has lived. An outstanding example is *Bridging Home* (fig. 32-49), which Suh wedged between two buildings on Duke Street in Liverpool, England, for the 2010 International Festival of Contemporary Arts. The title—*Bridging Home*—is a reference to Suh's dividing his personal and professional life between Seoul and New York City. The insertion of an empty Korean home into a Liverpool street effectively communicates Suh's sense of rootlessness and displacement as a nomadic citizen of the world.

ARCHITECTURE

The work of architects today is as varied as that of contemporary painters, sculptors, photographers, and new-media and installation artists, but the common denominator in the diversity of

32-49 **Do-Ho Suh, *Bridging Home,* 2010. Korean house installation in Duke Street, Liverpool, England.**

Bridging Home is an empty Korean house wedged between two buildings in Liverpool. It effectively communicates Suh's sense of displacement as a nomad dividing his life between Seoul and New York.

contemporary architectural design is the breaking down of national boundaries, with leading practitioners working in several countries and even on several continents, often simultaneously. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, one of the by-products of the globalization of the world's economy has been that in the rapidly developing emerging markets of Asia, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, and elsewhere, virtually every architect with an international reputation can list on his or her résumé a recent building in a bustling new urban center. In this brief survey of contemporary architecture, the projects of eight internationally acclaimed architects are considered under three major headings: Postmodernism, Deconstructivism, and High-Tech and Green architecture.

Postmodernism

The decades following the conclusion of World War II witnessed the rejection of the unadorned modernist aesthetic in architecture, exemplified by the Seagram Building (fig. 31-46) in New York City, even by that building's codesigner, in favor of a more complex architectural vocabulary incorporating references to historical styles (see "After Modernism: Postmodern Architecture," page 957,

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32-50 I. M. Pei, Grand Louvre Pyramide (looking southwest), Musée du Louvre, Paris, France, 1988.

Egyptian stone architecture inspired Pei's postmodern entryway to the Louvre, but his glass-and-steel pyramid is a transparent tent serving as a skylight for the underground extension of the old museum.

and "Philip Johnson on Postmodern Architecture," page 992). Architectural postmodernism remains a major stylistic trend today. Two internationally renowned architects who have produced significant postmodern buildings are I. M. Pei and James Stirling.

I. M. Pei. The latest chapter in the long architectural history of the Louvre—the former French royal residence (FIGS. 20-6, 23-23, and 25-25), now one of the world's greatest art museums—is a monumental glass-and-steel pyramid erected in the palace's main courtyard in 1988. Designed by the Chinese American architect I. M. (IEOH MING) PEI (b. 1917), the Grand Louvre Pyramide (FIG. 32-50) is the dramatic glass-and-steel entryway to the museum's priceless collections. Although initially controversial because conservative critics considered it a jarring, dissonant intrusion in a hallowed public space left untouched for centuries, Pei's pyramid, like Rogers and Piano's Pompidou Center (FIG. 31-51) a decade before, quickly captured the French public's imagination and admiration.

In fact, Pei erected four glass pyramids in the Louvre courtyard: the grand central pyramid plus the three small echoes of it bordering the large fountain-filled pool surrounding the dominating glass entryway. Like other postmodern architects, Pei turned to the past for inspiration and chose as his central motif the prototypical emblem of ancient Egypt (FIG. 3-8)—an appropriate choice given the Louvre's rich collection of Egyptian art. But Pei transformed his ancient solid stone models (see "Building the Pyramids, of Gizeh" page 64) into a transparent "tent," simultaneously permitting an almost uninterrupted view of the wings of the royal palace courtyard and serving as a skylight for the new underground network of ticket booths, offices, shops, restaurants, and conference rooms he also designed.

James Stirling. In England, the leading postmodern architect was JAMES STIRLING (1926–1992). Like other architects who achieved critical acclaim, Stirling received commissions for buildings throughout Europe and North America. His masterpiece may be the Neue Staatsgalerie (FIG. 32-51) in Stuttgart, a brilliant solution to a challenging commission calling for an addition to a Renaissance Revival museum on a difficult hillside site wedged between

32-51 JAMES STIRLING, Neue Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, Germany, 1977–1983. *Top:* facade (looking north); *bottom:* courtyard (looking northwest).

Stirling's postmodern design for Stuttgart's new museum complex incorporates Egyptian and Greco-Roman architectural references as well as contemporary High-Tech design elements.

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32-52 Günter Behnisch, Hysolar Institute (looking south), University of Stuttgart, Stuttgart, Germany, 1987.

The roof, walls, and windows of the Deconstructivist Hysolar Institute seem to explode, avoiding any suggestion of stable masses and frustrating viewers' expectations of how a building should look.

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existing terraced buildings and an eight-lane, traffic-clogged thoroughfare. Stirling's sprawling design—which is impossible to encompass in a single photograph other than an aerial view and cannot be fully appreciated except from the ground—intentionally recalls Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Altes Museum (FIG. 27-43) in Berlin in having a central rotunda. But at Stuttgart, the rotunda (FIG. 32-51, *bottom*) is an open courtyard that forms the centerpiece of an asymmetrical plan that breaks sharply from the rules of classical architectural design.

Like most art museums today—which are income-producing cultural supermarkets with restaurants, shops, theaters, and reception areas for gala events, in addition to exhibition halls with related curatorial offices and workshops—the Staatsgalerie is a multifaceted, multifunctional building. It also incorporates multiple historical references, which are unexpectedly revealed to visitors as they move from one part of the architectural complex to another. The sandstone ramps and pylonlike walls of the facade facing the roadway (FIG. 32-51, *top*) owe their inspiration to ancient Egyptian temples (FIGS. 3-20, 3-24, 3-24A, and 3-38), but Stirling also included an undulating glass wall based on the shape of a grand piano, a red-and-blue steel glass-roofed taxi stand, and, in the courtyard (FIG. 32-51, *bottom*), Greco-Roman columns and architraves scattered like abandoned ruins. The historical eclecticism of Stirling's Staatsgalerie is quintessentially postmodern.

Deconstructivism

Perhaps the most radical development in architectural design during the closing decades of the 20th century was *Deconstructivism.* Deconstructivist architects attempt to disrupt the conventional categories of architecture and to rupture the viewer's expectations based on them. Destabilization plays a major role in Deconstructivist architecture. Disorder, dissonance, imbalance, asymmetry, irregularity, and confusion replace their opposites—order, harmony, balance, symmetry, regularity, and clarity. The seemingly haphazardly presented volumes, masses, planes, borders, lighting, locations, directions, and spatial relations, as well as the disguised structural facts of Deconstructivist design, challenge the viewer's assumptions about architectural form as it relates to function. According to Deconstructivist principles, the very absence of the stability of traditional categories of architecture in a structure announces a "deconstructed" building.

Günter Behnisch. An early example of this audacious architectural mode is the Hysolar Institute (FIG. 32-52) at the University of Stuttgart, Germany, by Günter Behnisch (1922–2010). Behnisch, who gained international attention as the architect of the Olympic Park in Munich for the 1972 Olympic Games, designed the institute as part of a joint German–Saudi Arabian research project on the technology of solar energy. In the Hysolar Institute, Behnisch intended to deny the possibility of spatial enclosure altogether, and his apparently chaotic arrangement of the structural units defies easy analysis. The shapes of the roof, walls, and windows seem to explode, avoiding any suggestion of clear, stable masses. Behnisch aggressively played with the traditional concepts of architectural design, frustrating the viewer's expectations of how a building should look. The disordered architectural elements appear precarious, seemingly prevented from collapsing only by a curved red steel cable running through the building and anchored to the ground on each end.

Frank Gehry. The architect most closely identified with Deconstructivist architecture is Canadian-born American Frank Gehry (b. 1929). Trained in sculpture, and at different times a collaborator with Donald Judd (FIG. 31-19) and Claes Oldenburg (FIG. 31-29), Gehry works up his designs by constructing models and then cutting them up and arranging the parts until he has a satisfying composition. Among Gehry's most notable projects is the Guggenheim Museum (FIGS. 32-53 and 32-54) in Bilbao, Spain, one of several art museum projects of the past few decades—including the Grand Louvre Pyramide (FIG. 32-50), the Neue Staatsgalerie (FIG. 32-51), and the Denver Art Museum (FIG. 32-52A) by Daniel Libeskind (b. 1946)—that are as notable for their innovative architectural designs as for the important art collections they house.

32-52A Libeskind, Denver Art Museum, 2006.

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ARTISTS ON ART

Frank Gehry on Architectural Design and Materials

Frank Gehry has been designing buildings since the 1950s, but only in the 1970s did he begin to break away from the rectilinearity of modernist architecture and develop the dramatic sculptural style seen in buildings such as the Guggenheim Museum (FIGS. 32-53 and 32-54) in Bilbao. In 1999, the Deconstructivist architect reflected on his career and his many projects in a book simply titled *Gehry Talks*.

> My early work was rectilinear because you take baby steps. I guess the work has become a kind of sculpture as architecture. . . . I'm a strict modernist in the sense of believing in purity, that you shouldn't decorate. And yet buildings need decoration, because they need scaling elements. They need to be human scale, in my opinion. They can't just be faceless things. That's how some modernism failed.*
>
> They teach materials and methods in architecture school, as a separate course. I'm a craftsman. . . . It seems to me that when you're doing architecture, you're building something out of something. There are social issues, there's context, and then there's how do you make the enclosure and what do you make it with? . . . I explored metal: how it dealt with the light . . . It does beautiful things with light. . . . Flat was a fetish, and everybody was doing that. I found out that I could use metal if I didn't worry about it being flat; I could do it cheaper. It was intuitive. I just went with it. I liked it. Then when I saw it on the building, I loved it. . . . Bilbao . . . [is] titanium. . . . [I] prefer titanium because it's stronger; it's an element, a pure element, and it doesn't oxidize. It stays the same forever. They give a hundred-year guarantee!†

*Milton Friedman, ed., *Gehry Talks: Architecture + Process,* rev. ed. (New York: Universe, 2002), 47–48.
†Ibid., 44, 47.

32-53 Frank Gehry, Guggenheim Bilbao Museo (looking southwest), Bilbao, Spain, 1997.

Gehry's limestone-and-titanium Bilbao museum is an immensely dramatic building. Its disorder and seeming randomness of design exemplify Deconstructivist architectural principles.

32-54 Frank Gehry, atrium of the Guggenheim Bilbao Museo (view looking up), Bilbao, Spain, 1997.

The glass-walled atrium of the Guggenheim Bilbao Museum soars skyward 165 feet. The asymmetrical and imbalanced screens and vaults flow into one another, creating a sense of disequilibrium.

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Gehry's Bilbao museum appears to be a collapsed or collapsing aggregate of units. Visitors approaching the building see a mass of irregular asymmetrical and imbalanced forms whose profiles change dramatically with every shift of the viewer's position. The limestone- and titanium-clad exterior (FIG. 32-53) lends a space-age character to the structure, and highlights further the unique cluster effect of the many forms (see "Frank Gehry on Architectural Design and Materials," page 1037). A group of organic forms that Gehry refers to as a "metallic flower" tops the museum. In the center of the building, an enormous glass-walled atrium (FIG. 32-54) soars 165 feet above the ground, serving as the focal point for the three levels of galleries radiating from it. The seemingly weightless screens, vaults, and volumes of the interior float and flow into one another, guided only by light and dark cues. The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao is a profoundly compelling structure. Its disorder, its deceptive randomness of design, and the disequilibrium it prompts in viewers exemplify Deconstructivist principles.

Zaha Hadid. One of the most innovative 21st-century architects is recently deceased Iraqi Deconstructivist ZAHA HADID (1950–2016), the first woman to win the Pritzker Architecture Prize (in 2004), the architectural equivalent of the Nobel Prize in Literature.

32-55 **ZAHA HADID, proposal for Signature Towers, Dubai, United Arab Emirates, designed 2006; not yet constructed.**

Originally dubbed the Dancing Towers, Hadid's proposal for a triad of skyscrapers in Dubai features two towers that seem to move. They bend to merge halfway up, enabling passage between them.

The first recipient was Philip Johnson in 1979. Other previous winners include Norman Foster (FIGS. 32-56 and 32-58), Frank Gehry, I. M. Pei, Renzo Piano, James Stirling, Jørn Utzon, and Robert Venturi. Born in Baghdad, Hadid studied mathematics in Beirut, Lebanon, and architecture in London, and designed buildings in England, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Spain, the United States, and elsewhere. Deeply influenced by the Suprematist theories and paintings of Kazimir Malevich (FIG. 29-30), who championed the use of pure colors and abstract geometric shapes to express "the supremacy of pure feeling in creative art," Hadid employed unadorned surfaces (the antithesis of typical postmodernist design) in dynamic arrangements that have an emotional effect on the viewer.

One of her most ambitious projects is a triad of skyscrapers in Dubai, the capital of the oil-rich United Arab Emirates, where many interesting buildings by major architects are being erected today. Originally dubbed the Dancing Towers and now called the Signature Towers (FIG. 32-55), the three skyscrapers—which will house offices, a hotel, a restaurant with a panoramic view, and luxurious private apartments—deviate sharply from traditional skyscraper design because Hadid's proposal gives the impression that two of the towers "dance." The undulating motion is, of course, illusory. But the towers do bend in order to merge about halfway up to enable people to move from tower to tower without descending to the ground and exiting. The more traditional tower, which also bends, connects to the central tower, but at ground level.

High-Tech and Green Architecture

From its beginnings in the late 19th century (see "The First Skyscrapers," page 883), skyscraper design has always required the collaboration of engineers to provide heating, plumbing, lighting, elevators, and all the other necessities of modern life for the hundreds or thousands of people who work or live in these urban towers. Today, engineering concerns are most readily apparent in the work of technologically savvy architects and especially in the design of buildings that conserve natural resources.

Norman Foster. Pritzker award–winning architect NORMAN FOSTER (b. 1935) began his study of architectural design at the University of Manchester, England. After graduating, he won a fellowship to attend the master's degree program at the Yale School of Architecture, where he met Richard Rogers (FIG. 31-51). The two decided to open a joint architectural firm when they returned to London in 1962, but they established separate practices several years later. Their designs still have much in common, however, because they share a similar outlook. Foster and Rogers are the leading proponents of what critics call *High-Tech architecture,* the roots of which can be traced to Joseph Paxton's mid-19th-century Crystal Palace (FIG. 27-48) in London. High-Tech architects design buildings that incorporate the latest innovations in engineering and technology and expose the structures' component parts. High-Tech architecture, like Deconstructivist architecture, is distinct from other postmodern architectural movements in dispensing with all historical references.

Foster's design for the headquarters of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank Corporation (HSBC), which even a quarter century ago cost $1 billion to build, exemplifies the High-Tech approach to architecture. The banking tower is as different from Philip Johnson's postmodern AT&T Building (FIG. 31-49) as it is from the modernist glass-and-steel Seagram Building (FIG. 31-46) and Sears Tower

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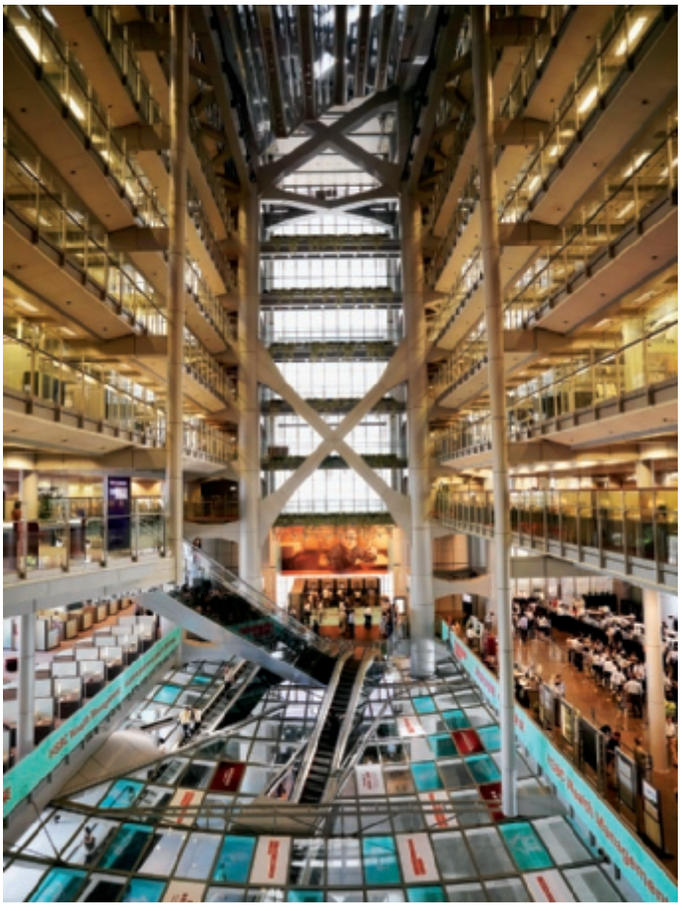

32-56 Norman Foster, Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank (*left:* looking northeast; *right:* atrium), Hong Kong, China, 1979–1986.

Foster's High-Tech tower has an exposed steel skeleton featuring floors with uninterrupted working spaces. At the base is a 10-story atrium illuminated by computerized mirrors that reflect sunlight.

(fig. 31-47). The 47-story Hong Kong skyscraper (fig. 32-56, *left*) has an exposed steel skeleton with the elevators and other service elements located in giant piers at the short ends of the building, a design that provides uninterrupted communal working spaces on each cantilevered floor. Foster divided the tower into five horizontal units of six to nine floors each that he calls "villages," suspended from steel girders resembling bridges. Escalators connect the floors in each village—the floors are related by function—but the elevators stop at only one floor in each community of floors. At the base of the building is a plaza opening onto the neighboring streets. Visitors ascend on escalators from the plaza to a spectacular 10-story, 170-foot-tall atrium bordered by balconies with additional workspaces (fig. 32-56, *right*). What Foster calls "sun scoops"—computerized mirrors on the south side of the building—track the movement of the sun across the Hong Kong sky and reflect the sunlight into the atrium and plaza, flooding the dramatic spaces with light at all hours of the day. Not surprisingly, the roof of this High-Tech skyscraper serves as a landing pad for corporate helicopters.

Renzo Piano. The harnessing of solar energy as a power source is one of the key features of what critics commonly refer to as *Green architecture*—ecologically friendly buildings that use sustainable "clean energy" to conserve natural resources and maintain environmental equilibrium. Green architecture is the most important trend in architectural design in the early 21st century. A pioneer in this field is Renzo Piano, the codesigner with Richard Rogers of the Pompidou Center (fig. 31-51) in Paris. Piano won an international competition to design the Tjibaou Cultural Centre (fig. 32-57) in Noumea, New Caledonia. Named in honor of the assassinated political leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou (1936–1989), the center consists of 10 beehive-shaped bamboo "huts" nestled in pine trees on a narrow island peninsula in the Pacific Ocean. Rooted in the village architecture of the Kanak people of New Caledonia (map 37-1), each unit of Piano's complex has an adjustable skylight as a roof to provide natural—sustainable—climate control. The curved profile of the Tjibaou pavilions also helps the structures withstand the pressure of the hurricane-force winds common in the South Pacific.

32-57 Renzo Piano, Tjibaou Cultural Centre (looking southeast), Noumea, New Caledonia, 1998.

A pioneering example of Green architecture, Piano's complex of 10 bamboo units, based on traditional New Caledonian village huts, has adjustable skylights in the roofs for natural climate control.

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Norman Foster, the Gherkin, and Green Architectural Design

One of the major recent additions to the skyline of London is Norman Foster's corporate tower officially called 30 St Mary Axe (FIG. 32-58), formerly named after the global reinsurance company Swiss Re, which commissioned the skyscraper as its U.K. headquarters. However, the building is popularly known as the Gherkin because of its distinctive swelling shape resembling a cucumber. The 590-foot-tall, 40-story tower, the sixth-tallest building in London at the time of its construction, stands in the midst of mostly low-rise buildings in the Canary Wharf district and replaced a 1903 structure damaged in a 1992 bombing by the Irish Republican Army. The Gherkin has consequently figured prominently in debates about the intrusion of gigantic skyscrapers in old historical neighborhoods.

Far more attention, however, has been devoted to its award-winning high-tech design and innovative "green" solution to the problem of constructing massive buildings housing thousands of workers in the heart of a densely populated city, where the conservation of resources such as fossil fuel and electricity is a high priority. For example, the tower's ventilated double skin greatly reduces the need to heat the building in the winter and cool it in the summer. The cavity of the two-layer exterior of the Gherkin traps air and provides natural insulation, and panels installed in the same space capture the sun's rays to produce heat or deflect it to reduce the need for air-conditioning. The glass panes that make up most of the building's exterior also provide abundant natural light to the offices within, reducing the need for electrical lighting. Energy consumption is further reduced by light controls throughout the building, which respond to motion and automatically turn off when a space is unoccupied. The building has consequently become the "poster child" for Green architecture in England and, more generally, in the world at large. The Gherkin is pointing the way toward the fully sustainable urban environments of the future.

32-58 **Norman Foster, 30 St Mary Axe ("the Gherkin," looking southwest), London, England, erected 2001–2003, opened 2004.**

Foster's cucumber-shaped skyscraper, originally built as the headquarters of Swiss Re, is a High-Tech marvel that incorporates the latest innovations in Green design to conserve natural resources.

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Gherkin, London. Buildings that conserve energy and provide sustainable living and working environments are especially desirable in densely populated areas, where the demands on the earth's natural resources are greatest. A recent triumph of Green architectural design is the corporate tower in London popularly known as the Gherkin (see "Norman Foster, the Gherkin, and Green Architectural Design," above).

What Next? No one knows what the next years and decades will bring, but given the expansive scope of contemporary art and architecture, it is certain that no single approach or style will dominate.

New technologies will undoubtedly continue to redefine what constitutes a "work of art." The universally expanding presence of computers, digital technology, and the Internet may well erode what few conceptual and geographical boundaries remain, and make art and information about art available to virtually everyone, thereby creating a truly global artistic community. As this chapter has revealed, substantial progress has already been made in that direction.

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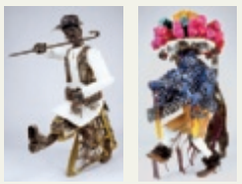
THE BIG PICTURE

Contemporary Art Worldwide

Personal and Group Identity

- The innumerable artworks created since 1980 worldwide are extraordinarily diverse in style, format, content, and technique, but can be classified under a few major themes, including personal and group identity.
- Many artists of African descent, including Basquiat, Marshall, Ringgold, Wiley, and Weems, have produced important works addressing issues of concern to black Americans. Quick-to-See Smith has focused on her Native American heritage.
- Gender and sexuality are central themes in the work of Kruger, Mapplethorpe, Wojnarowicz, and Sikander.
- National identity looms large in the art created by Douglas Camp and Ofili (Nigeria), Neshat (Iran), and Whiting (Maori New Zealand).

Quick-to-See Smith, *Trade,* 1992



Douglas Camp, *Big Alagba and Sekibo,* 1995

Political and Social Commentary

- Other contemporary artists have treated political and economic issues that affect society at large. Wodiczko's gigantic slide projections publicize the plight of the homeless. Burtynsky's "manufactured landscapes" highlight industrial pollution.
- The violence of contemporary life has been addressed by Golub (urban gangs and death squads), Rosler (the effects of war on the home front), and Botero (torture at Abu Ghraib).
- Bester has protested apartheid in South Africa, and Zhang Xiaogang has produced biting commentaries on the Cultural Revolution in China.

Botero, *Abu Ghraib 46,* 2005

Representation, Abstraction, and Electronic Media

- Contemporary art, both in America and worldwide, encompasses a phenomenal variety of styles ranging from abstraction to brutal realism.
- Among today's best-known figural painters and sculptors are Kiki Smith, Koons, and Venezuelan Marisol in the United States, and expatriate Englishwoman Saville in Italy.
- Leading abstract painters and sculptors include Schnabel, Murray, Oji, and Donovan in the United States, Kusama and Tsuchiya in Japan, Wu Guanzhong in China, and Anatsui in Nigeria.
- Many contemporary artists have harnessed new technologies for their art: Gursky, digital photography; Holzer, LED displays; Piper, Viola, and Oursler, video; and Barney, multimedia installations.

Murray, *Can You Hear Me?* 1984

Installation Art, Site-Specific Art, and Architecture

- The site-specific works of Lin, Whiteread, Serra, Kapoor, Salcedo, and Suh bridge the gap between architecture and sculpture, as do the Environmental artworks of Christo and Jean-Claude and of Goldsworthy.
- Postmodern architecture is as diverse as contemporary painting and sculpture. Pei and Stirling incorporate historical references in their buildings. Among the major champions of Deconstructivism are Behnisch, Gehry, Libeskind, and Hadid. Leading Hi-Tech and Green architects include Foster and Piano.

Gehry, Guggenheim Bilbao, 1997

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▲**33-1a** Jahangir sits on an hourglass throne, symbolically seated above time. The radiant halo of sun and moon behind his head indicates that the Mughal emperor is the center of the universe and its light source.

▲**33-1b** The Hindu artist not only signed this painting but inserted a self-portrait. Bichitr bows before Jahangir and holds a painting of two horses and an elephant, costly gifts to the painter from the emperor.

1 in.

33-1 **Bichitr, *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Shaykh to Kings*, ca. 1615–1618. Opaque watercolor on paper, 10″ × 7 1/8″. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.**

▶**33-1c** As the sands of time run out, two putti (clothed, unlike Bichitr's European prototypes) inscribe Jahangir's hourglass throne with a wish for the Mughal emperor to live a thousand years.

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SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1200 TO 1980

33

FRAMING THE ERA

Painting at the Mughal Imperial Court

From the 16th to the 19th century, the most powerful rulers in South Asia were the Mughal emperors. *Mughal,* originally a Western term, means "descended from the Mongols," although the Mughals considered themselves descendants of Timur (r. 1370–1405), the Muslim conqueror whose capital was at Samarkand in Uzbekistan. The Mughal dynasty presided over a cosmopolitan court with refined tastes. British ambassadors, European merchants, and Jesuit priests were frequent visitors, and the Mughal emperors acquired many European luxury goods. They were also great admirers of Persian art and maintained an imperial workshop of painters who, in sharp contrast to pre-Mughal artists in India, often signed their works.

The influence of European as well as Persian styles on Mughal painting is evident in an allegorical portrait (FIG. 33-1) of Jahangir (r. 1605–1627), the great-grandson of the founder of the Mughal Empire. The Hindu painter BICHITR represented the emperor seated on an hourglass throne. As the sands of time run out, two *putti* (clothed, unlike their European models more closely copied at the top of the painting) inscribe the throne with the wish that Jahangir would live a thousand years. Bichitr portrayed his patron as an emperor above time and placed behind Jahangir's head a radiant halo combining a golden sun and a white crescent moon, indicating that Jahangir is the center of the universe and its light source. One of the inscriptions in the upper and lower borders gives the emperor's title as "Light of the Faith."

At the left are four figures. The lowest, both spatially and in the social hierarchy, is Bichitr, who wears a red turban and holds a painting representing two horses and an elephant, costly gifts to him from Jahangir. In the painting-within-the-painting, Bichitr bows deeply before the emperor. In the larger painting, the artist signed his name across the top of the footstool Jahangir uses to step up to his hourglass throne. Thus the ruler steps on Bichitr's name, further indicating the painter's inferior status.

Above Bichitr is a portrait in full European style (compare FIGS. 23-12, 23-12A, and 23-21) of King James I of England (r. 1603–1625), copied from a painting by John de Critz (ca. 1552–1642)—a gift the English ambassador to the Mughal court had presented to Jahangir. Above the king is a Turkish *sultan* (Muslim ruler), a convincing portrayal but probably not a specific likeness. The highest member of the foursome is an elderly Muslim Sufi *shaykh* (mystic saint). Jahangir's father, Akbar, had gone to the mystic to pray for an heir. The current emperor, the answer to Akbar's prayers, presents the holy man with a sumptuous book as a gift. An inscription explains that "although to all appearances kings stand before him, Jahangir looks inwardly toward the *Dervishes* [Islamic *ascetic* holy men]" for guidance. Bichitr's allegorical painting portrays his emperor in both words and pictures as favoring spiritual over worldly power.

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INDIA

Arab armies first appeared in South Asia (MAP 33-1)—at Sindh in present-day Pakistan—in 712, more than 800 years before the founding of the Mughal Empire. With the Arabs came Islam, the new religion that had already spread with astonishing speed from the Arabian peninsula to Syria, Iraq, Iran, Egypt, North Africa, and even southern Spain (see "The Rise and Spread of Islam," page 293). At first, the Muslims (see "Muhammad and Islam," page 295) established trading settlements in South Asia, but did not press deeper into the subcontinent. But in 1192, at the Battle of Tarain in what is today Afghanistan, Muhammad of Ghor (d. 1206) defeated the armies of a confederation of independent states. The Ghorids and other Islamic rulers gradually transformed South Asian society, religion, art, and architecture.

Sultanate of Delhi

In 1206, Qutb al-Din (Pillar of the World) Aybak (d. 1210), Muhammad of Ghor's general, established the Sultanate of Delhi (1206–1526). The sultan passed power to his former slave and son-in-law, Iltutmish (r. 1211–1236), who extended Ghorid rule across northern India.

Qutb Minar. To mark the triumph of Islam, Qutb al-Din Aybak built a great *congregational mosque* (see "The Mosque," page 299) at Delhi, in part with pillars and other building materials taken from 27 local Hindu and other temples. He named Delhi's first mosque the Quwwat al-Islam (Might of Islam) Mosque. During the course of the next century, as the Islamic population of Delhi grew, the sultans enlarged the mosque to more than triple its original size.

MAP 33-1 **South and Southeast Asia, 1200 to 1980.**

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1200 TO 1980

1206–1526

- Arabs establish the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi (1206–1526) and introduce Islamic art and architecture to northern India
- In the south, Hindu kings rule the Vijayanagar Empire (1336–1565) and construct buildings mixing elements of both Hindu and Islamic architecture
- Three Buddhist kingdoms—the Sukhothai, Ayutthaya, and Lanna—come to power in Thailand between 1238 and 1351

1526–1877

- Miniature painting flourishes in the Muslim Mughal Empire (1526–1857) and in Hindu Rajasthan
- Mughal builders construct the Taj Mahal
- The southern Nayak dynasty (1529–1736) builds towering Hindu temple precinct gateways decorated with painted stucco sculptures
- Southeast Asian builders erect imposing Buddhist temples at Ayutthaya and Vientiane

1877–1980

- Queen Victoria I of England becomes Empress of India in 1877. European-inspired art and architecture accompany colonial rule
- India and Pakistan achieve independence in 1947. Post–World War II art in South and Southeast Asia is a mix of traditional and Western modernist styles

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THE PATRON'S VOICE

The Qutb Minar and the Triumph of Islam

The 238-foot tapering sandstone Qutb Minar (FIG. 33-2, *left*) at Delhi is the tallest extant mosque tower in the world and the largest stone tower of any kind in India. It is too tall, in fact, to serve the principal function of a minaret—to provide a platform from which to call the Islamic faithful to prayer. Rather, like the Malwiya Minaret at Samarra (FIG. 10-9), it is a soaring monument to the victory of Islam, engraved with inscriptions in Arabic and Persian that, together with those of the mosque proper, express the Delhi sultans' pride in conquering the former Hindu city and bringing Islam to India. The minaret's inscriptions refer to the tower variously as a "pillar of fame" and a "pillar of victory" and celebrate the conqueror Muhammad of Ghor—who defeated the Hindu king, Prithviraj Chauhan, in 1192—and Muhammad's successors in Delhi.

The following selection of inscriptions on the mosque and the minaret, respectively, underscores the triumphal character of these two religious monuments.

> This fortress was conquered and this Masjid Jami [*congregational,* or *Friday,* mosque] was built during the months of the year 587 [1192] by the great and mighty commander-in-chief Qutb al-Din Aybak, the pivot of the kingdom and the faith, commander of commanders . . . Materials from 27 idol temples . . . have been used in this Masjid. May Almighty God send mercy on him, who prays for the rest of the builder.*

> The very revered sultan [Iltutmish], the great emperor, the master of mankind, the first of the kings of Arabia and Ajam [Afghanistan], the shadow of God on earth, the sun of the world and the faith, the refuge of Islam and Muslims, the crown of the kings and sultans, the extender of the scope of equity in the world, the glory of the mighty kingdom, the splendor of the supreme nation, helped with the heavenly grace, giver of victory over the enemies, the shining star of the heaven of khilafat, the diffuser of justice and kindness, the conqueror of the kingdom of the world, the divulger of the high word of God . . . ; may God make his reign and rule eternal and give supremacy to his government.†

33-2 Qutb Minar (*left,* looking northeast), begun early 13th century, and Alai Darvaza (*right*), 1311, Delhi, India.

Qutb al-Din Aybak established the Sultanate of Delhi in 1206 and built the city's first mosque to mark the triumph of Islam in northern India. The 238-foot-high Qutb Minar is the world's tallest minaret.

*Rustamji Nasarvanji Munshi, *The History of the Kutb Minar* (Mumbai: Fort Printing Press, 1911), 20–21.
†Munshi, 45.

Iltutmish erected the mosque's gigantic *minaret,* the Qutb Minar (see "The Qutb Minar and the Triumph of Islam," above, and FIG. 33-2, *left*). Added in 1311, the Alai Darvaza, the entrance pavilion (FIG. 33-2, *right*), is a mix of architectural traditions, combining Islamic pointed arches, decorative grills over the windows, and a hemispherical dome, with a crowning *finial* recalling the motifs at the top of many Hindu temple towers (see "Hindu Temples," page 460).

Vijayanagar Empire

While Muslim sultans from Central Asia ruled much of northern India from Delhi, Hindu kings controlled most of central and southern India. The most powerful Hindu dynasty of the era was the Vijayanagar. Established in 1336 by Harihara, a local king, the Vijayanagar Empire (1336–1565) takes its name from Vijayanagara (City of Victory) on the Tungabhadra River. Under the patronage of the royal family, Vijayanagara, located at the junction of several trade routes through Asia, became one of the most magnificent cities in the East.

Although today the capital lies in ruins, at its peak, ambassadors and travelers from as far away as Italy and Portugal marveled at Vijayanagara's riches. Under its greatest king, Krishnadevaraya (r. 1509–1529), who was also a renowned poet, the Vijayanagar kingdom was a magnet for the learned and cultured from all corners of India.

Lotus Mahal. Vijayanagara's sacred center, built up over two centuries, boasts imposing temples to the Hindu gods in the style of southern India, with tall pyramidal *vimanas* (towers) over the *garbha griha,* the inner sanctuary (see "Hindu Temples," page 460). The buildings of the so-called Royal Enclave are more eclectic in

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33-3 Lotus Mahal (looking southwest), Vijayanagara, India, 15th or early 16th century.

The Vijayanagar Empire was the most powerful Hindu kingdom in southern India during the 14th to 16th centuries. The Lotus Mahal's design mixes Hindu and Islamic architectural elements.

character. One example in this prosperous royal city is the two-story monument of uncertain function known as the Lotus Mahal (FIG. 33-3). The stepped towers crowning the vaulted second-story rooms resemble the pyramidal roofs of southern Indian temple vimanas (FIG. 15-24). But the windows of the upper level as well as the arches of the ground-floor piers have the distinctive multilobed contours of Islamic architecture (FIGS. 10-12 and 10-13), seen also in some Hindu and Jain temples in the more immediate area. The Lotus Mahal, like the entrance pavilion of Delhi's first mosque (FIG. 33-2, *right*), exemplifies the stylistic crosscurrents typical of much of South Asian art and architecture of the second millennium.

Mughal Empire

The 16th century was a time of upheaval in South Asia. In 1565, only a generation after the death of Krishnadevaraya, a confederacy of sultanates in the Deccan plateau of central India brought an end to the Vijayanagar Empire of the south. Even earlier, in 1526, a Muslim prince from Uzbekistan named Babur (1483–1530), who traced his lineage back to Timur on his father's side and Genghis Khan on his mother's, had defeated the last of the Ghorid sultans of northern India at the Battle of Panipat. Declaring himself the ruler of India, Babur ("Tiger" in Arabic) established the Mughal Empire (1526–1857) at Delhi. By the time of his death in 1530, Babur's empire encompassed vast territories in South Asia.

33-4 BASAWAN and CHATAR MUNI, *Akbar and the Elephant Hawai,* folio 22 from the *Akbarnama* (*History of Akbar*) by Abul Fazl, ca. 1590. Opaque watercolor on paper, 1′ $1\frac{7}{8}$″ × $8\frac{3}{4}$″. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

For this miniature portraying the young emperor Akbar bringing an elephant under control, Basawan chose the moment of maximum danger. The episode is an allegory of Akbar's ability to rule.

Humayun. The emperor who succeeded Babur was Humayun (r. 1530–1556), but in 1543 the sultan of Gujarat temporarily wrested control of the Mughal Empire. Humayun sought sanctuary in Iran at the court of the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524–1576; FIG. 33-5) and remained in exile until 1555. During his years at the Safavid court, the Mughal emperor acquired a taste for Persian illustrated books. On his return to power, Humayun brought with him to Delhi two Safavid master painters. Pupils of the renowned Bihzad (FIG. 10-33), they in turn trained a generation of Mughal artists.

Akbar the Great. Humayun died after tripping on a staircase while his arms were full of books he was carrying from his library. The first great flowering of Mughal art and architecture occurred during the long reign of his son, Akbar (r. 1556–1605), called the Great, who ascended the throne at age 14. Like his father, Akbar greatly admired the narrative paintings (FIG. 10-33) produced at the Safavid court, and he resolved to establish his capital as a great art center. To achieve that goal, the young ruler enlarged the number of painters in Humayun's imperial workshop to about a hundred, employing many Hindu and Jain artists, and kept them busy working on a series of ambitious projects in which they transformed Persian painting both thematically and stylistically. One of their projects was to illustrate the text of the *Hamzanama*—the story of Hamza, Muhammad's uncle—in some 1,400 large paintings

1 in.

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MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Indian Miniature Painting

Although India had a tradition of mural painting going back to ancient times (see "The Painted Caves of Ajanta," page 455, and FIG. 15-16), the most popular form of painting under the Mughal emperors (FIGS. 33-1, 33-4, 33-5, and 33-5A) and Rajput kings (FIGS. 33-8 and 33-8A) was miniature painting. Art historians usually call these paintings *miniatures* because of their small size (about the size of a page in a typical art book) compared with paintings on walls, wood panels, or canvas, but the original terminology derives from the red lead (miniatum) used as a pigment. The artists who painted the Indian miniatures designed them to be held in the hands, either as illustrations in books or as loose-leaf pages in albums. Owners did not place Indian miniatures in frames and only very rarely hung them on walls.

Indian artists used opaque watercolors and paper (occasionally cotton cloth) to produce their miniatures. The manufacturing and painting of miniatures was a complicated process and required years of training as an apprentice in a workshop, each young artist usually becoming a specialist in one painting genre—for example, portrait heads, costumes, buildings, or decorative borders. The painters' assistants created pigments by grinding natural materials—minerals such as malachite for green and lapis lazuli for blue; earth ochers for red and yellow; and metallic foil for gold, silver, and copper. They fashioned brushes from bird quills and kitten or baby squirrel hairs. For minute details, the painters used brushes with a single hair.

The artist began the painting process by making a full-size sketch of the composition. The next step was to transfer the sketch onto paper by *pouncing,* or tracing, using thin, transparent gazelle skin placed on top of the drawing and pricking the contours of the design with a pin. Then, with the skin laid on a fresh sheet of fine paper, the painter forced powdered black pigment through the tiny holes, reproducing the outlines of the composition.

Painting proper started with the darkening of the outlines with black or reddish-brown ink. Painters of miniatures sat on the ground, resting their painting boards on one raised knee. Each pigment color was in a separate half seashell. The paintings usually required several layers of color, with gold always applied last. The final step was to burnish the painted surface. The artists accomplished this by placing the miniature, painted side down, on a hard, smooth surface and stroking the paper with polished agate or crystal.

33-5 SAHIFA BANU, *Shah Tahmasp,* early 17th century. Opaque watercolor on paper, figure panel 6″ × 3 5/8″. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

This miniature by one of the few known Mughal women artists depicts the Persian emperor Shah Tahmasp. Two of his court painters went to India to train Mughal imperial book illustrators.

on cloth. The assignment took the Mughal workshop 15 years to complete.

The illustrated books and engravings that traders, diplomats, and Christian missionaries brought from Europe to India also fascinated Akbar. In 1580, Portuguese Jesuits brought one particularly important source, the eight-volume *Royal Polyglot Bible,* as a gift to Akbar. This massive set of books, printed in Antwerp, contained engravings by several Flemish artists. Akbar immediately set his painters to copying the illustrations.

Akbarnama. Akbar also commissioned Abul Fazl (1551–1602), a member of his court and close friend, to chronicle his life in a great biography, the *Akbarnama* (*History of Akbar*), which the emperor asked his painters to illustrate. One of the full-page illustrations, or so-called *miniatures* (see "Indian Miniature Painting," above), in the emperor's personal copy of the *Akbarnama* was a collaborative effort between the painter BASAWAN, who designed and drew the composition, and CHATAR MUNI, who colored it. The painting (FIG. 33-4) depicts the episode of Akbar and Hawai, a wild elephant the 19-year-old ruler had mounted and pitted against another ferocious elephant. When the second animal fled in defeat, Hawai, still carrying Akbar, chased it to a pontoon bridge. The enormous weight of the elephants capsized the boats, but Akbar managed to bring Hawai under control and dismount safely. The young ruler viewed the episode as an allegory of his ability to govern—that is, to take charge of an unruly state.

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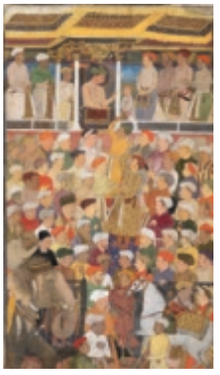
For his pictorial record of that frightening day, Basawan chose the moment of maximum chaos and danger—when the elephants crossed the pontoon bridge, sending boatmen flying into the water. The composition is a bold one, with a very high horizon and two strong diagonal lines formed by the bridge and the shore. Together these devices tend to flatten out the vista, yet at the same time, Basawan created a sense of depth by diminishing the size of the figures in the background. He was also a master of vivid gestures and anecdotal detail. Note especially the bare-chested figure in the foreground clinging to the end of a boat; the figure near the lower right corner with outstretched arms, sliding into the water as the bridge sinks; and the oarsman just beyond the bridge who strains to steady his vessel while his three passengers stand up or lean overboard in reaction to the surrounding commotion.

Sahifa Banu. Another Mughal miniaturist whose name is known is SAHIFA BANU (active early 17th century), a princess in the court of Jahangir (FIGS. 33-1 and 33-5A) and the most renowned female artist of the Mughal Empire. In one of her miniatures (FIG. 33-5), she paid tribute to Shah Tahmasp of Iran, the great patron of Safavid painting, two of whose masters left his employ to train the early Mughal miniaturists at the court of Humayun in Delhi. In Banu's painting, the Safavid ruler sits on a magnificent Persian carpet at the edge of a stream underneath the windblown branches of a tree. As in other Mughal paintings (FIGS. 33-1, 33-4, and 33-5A)—in sharp contrast to the almost obsessive interest in linear perspective in contemporaneous European painting—the Indian artist combined different viewpoints in the same frame, depicting the shah and the tree seen from eye level, and the carpet, ground, and stream seen from above. This composition enabled the princess to reproduce the intricate design of the woven carpet (compare FIG. 10-31) with pristine clarity and without the distortion that would have resulted from foreshortening the textile patterns. In fact, the miniature itself, with its decorative border (painted by a different artist), has a textilelike quality and resembles Tahmasp's carpet in both format and proportions. The frame around Banu's portrait of Tahmasp also features elegant calligraphy (compare FIG. 33-1), the work of still another member of the imperial workshop, perhaps a woman. Although female Mughal painters were rare, many court women were accomplished calligraphers.



33-5A ABDUL HASAN and MANOHAR, *Darbar of Jahangir,* ca. 1620.

Taj Mahal. Monumental tombs were not part of either the Hindu or the Buddhist traditions but had a long history in Islamic architecture. The Delhi sultans had erected tombs in India, but none could compare in grandeur to the fabled Taj Mahal (FIG. 33-6) at Agra. Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1658), Jahangir's son, built the immense *mausoleum* as a memorial to his favorite wife, whose official title was Mumtaz Mahal (1593–1631), or Chosen of the Palace. Taj Mahal means Crown Palace, and the mausoleum eventually became the ruler's tomb as well. It figures prominently in official histories of Shah Jahan's reign (see "Abd al-Hamid Lahori on the Taj Mahal," page 1049).

The dome-on-cube shape of the central block has antecedents in earlier Islamic mausolea (FIGS. 10-10 and 10-25) and other Islamic buildings, such as the Alai Darvaza (FIG. 33-2, *right*) at Delhi, but modifications and refinements in the design of the Agra tomb converted the earlier massive structures into an almost weightless vision of glistening white marble. The Agra mausoleum seems to float magically above the broad water channels and tree-lined reflecting pools punctuating the fountain-filled garden leading to it. Reinforcing the illusion of the marble tomb being suspended above water is the absence of any visible means of ascent to the upper platform. A stairway does exist, but the architect intentionally hid it from the view of anyone who approaches the memorial.

The Taj Mahal follows the traditional *char-bagh* ("four-plot") plan of Iranian garden pavilions, which symbolized the Koranic Garden of Paradise. Today, however, the mausoleum appears to stand at the northern end of the garden on the edge of the Yamuna River, rather than in the center of the formal garden, as it should in a char-bagh plan. Originally, the gardens extended to the other side of the river, and the Taj Mahal did, in fact, occupy a central position. The tomb itself is octagonal in plan and has typically Iranian arcuated *iwans* (FIG. 10-28) on each side. The interplay of shadowy voids with light-reflecting marble walls that seem paper-thin creates an impression of translucency, further enhanced by the *pietra dura* inlay (FIG. 33-7) of precious and semiprecious stones in the masonry walls. The pointed arches of the iwans lead the eye in a sweeping upward movement toward the climactic dome, shaped like a crown (*taj*). Four carefully related minarets and two flanking triple-domed structures—one a mosque, the other probably a *madrasa* (religious school), not visible in FIG. 33-6—enhance and stabilize the soaring form of the mausoleum. The designer—probably USTAD AHMAD LAHORI (d. 1649), Shah Jahan's chief court architect—achieved this delicate balance between verticality and horizontality by strictly applying an all-encompassing system of proportions. The Taj Mahal (excluding the minarets) is as wide as it is tall, and the height of its dome is equal to the height of the facade.

Hindu Rajput Kingdoms

The Mughal emperors ruled vast territories, but much of northwestern India (present-day Rajasthan) remained under the control of Hindu Rajput (Sons of Kings) rulers. These small kingdoms, some claiming to have originated well before 1500, had stubbornly resisted Mughal expansion, but even the strongest of them—Mewar—eventually submitted to the Mughal emperors. When Jahangir defeated the Mewari forces in 1615, the Mewari *maharana* ("great king"), like the other Rajput rulers, was allowed a degree of independence but had to pay tribute to the Mughal treasury until the demise of the Mughal Empire in 1857.

Rajput painting resembles Mughal (and Persian) painting in format and material, but it differs sharply in other respects. Most Rajput artists, for example, worked in anonymity, never inserting self-portraits into their paintings as the Mughal painter Bichitr did in his miniature of Jahangir sitting on an hourglass throne (FIG. 33-1).

Krishna and Radha. One of the favorite subjects for Rajput paintings was the amorous adventures of Krishna, the "Blue God," the most popular of the *avatars,* or incarnations, of the Hindu god Vishnu, who descends to earth to aid mortals (see "Hinduism and Hindu Iconography," page 456). Krishna was a herdsman who spent an idyllic existence tending his cows, playing the flute, and sporting with beautiful herdswomen. His favorite lover was Radha. The 12th-century poet Jayadeva related the story of Krishna and Radha in the *Gita Govinda* (*Song of the Cowherd*). Their love was

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WRITTEN SOURCES

Abd al-Hamid Lahori on the Taj Mahal

Abd al-Hamid Lahori (d. 1654), Shah Jahan's court historian, witnessed the construction of the Taj Mahal (FIG. 33-6) and wrote an extensive account of the building campaign in his *Padshahnama* (*Chronicle of the Emperor*). The historian's account includes such details as the cost of construction, the dimensions of all features, and the number of stonemasons and other artisans employed, as well as comments on the symbolism of the mausoleum and its gardens.

The walls bear long inscriptions quoting passages from the Koran, and it appears that the architect conceived the mausoleum as the throne of God perched above the gardens of Paradise. The tomb's minarets hold up the canopy of that throne. In Islam, the most revered place of burial is beneath the throne of God.

Some excerpts from Lahori's account follow.

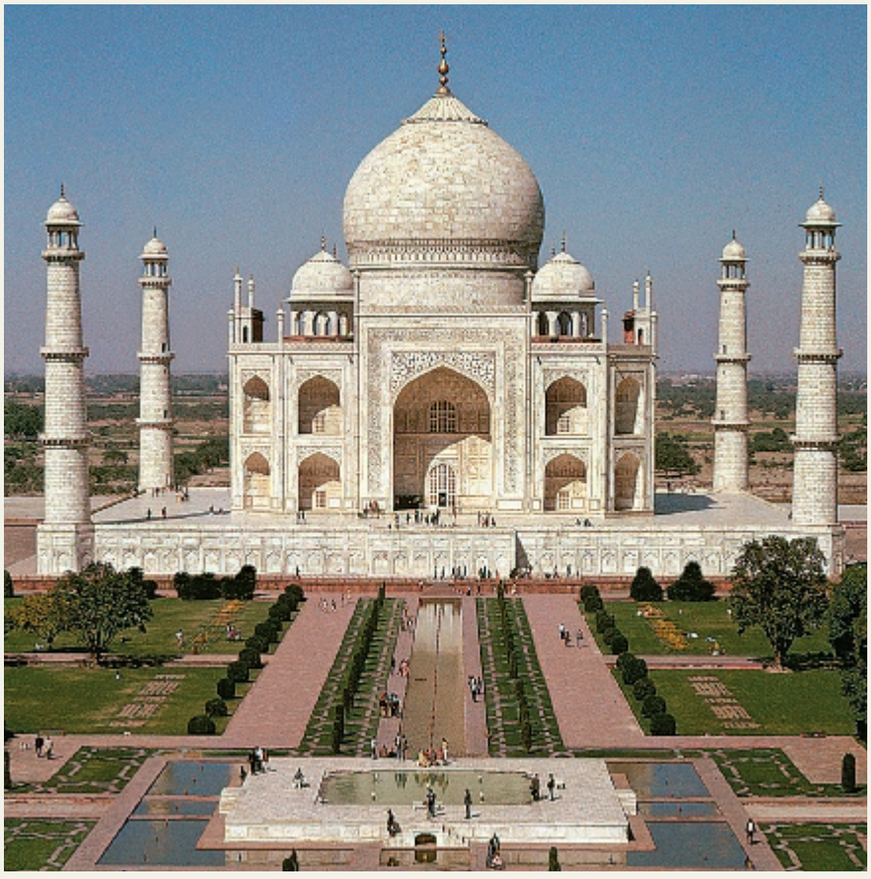
> In the middle of [the] platform plinth—which ranks [in magnificence] with the heavenly Throne of God—there was constructed another solid and level platform . . . In the center of the second platform [is the] heaven-lofty and Paradise-like mausoleum. . . . In the center of the tomb lies the divinely graced grave of [Mumtaz Mahal] who occupies the reclining couch of the highest heaven and the chief seat in the loftiest mansions [of Paradise]. . . . At the corners of the white marble platform . . . stand four minarets . . . appearing like ladders reaching toward the Heavens. . . . All over the interior and exterior of [this Paradise-like] mausoleum, wonder-working and magic-making artisans have inlaid carnelian and other kinds of colored and precious stones [FIG. 33-7]. . . . Below the red stone terrace is the Paradise-like garden . . . abounding in aromatic herbs and different kinds of trees. Within the four walkways laid out in the middle of the garden . . . there runs a water-channel . . . in which fountains jet up spouts of water.*

Especially interesting is Lahori's description of Shah Jahan's personal involvement in his building projects:

> [T]he superintendents of construction of royal buildings, in company with the wonder-working architects, lay before the critical royal eye plans of proposed edifices. The royal mind . . . pays full attention to the planning and construction of these lofty and substantial buildings . . . For the majority of buildings, he himself draws the plans. And on the plans prepared by the skillful architects . . . he makes appropriate alterations and emendations.†

*Lahori I, 322–328. Translated by W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Illumined Tomb. An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Mughal and European Documentary Sources* (Cambridge, Mass.: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1989), 66–67, 74.

†Lahori I, 148. Begley and Desai, 9–10.



33-6 USTAD AHMAD LAHORI(?), Taj Mahal and gardens (looking north), Agra, India, 1632–1647.

The mausoleum for Shah Jahan's favorite wife seems to float magically over reflecting pools in a vast garden. The tomb may have been conceived as the throne of God perched above the gardens of Paradise.

33-7 Detail of the pietra dura stonework of the area above the central iwan of the facade of the Taj Mahal (FIG. 33-6), Agra, India, 1632–1647.

Set into the light-reflecting marble walls of the Taj Mahal are inlaid precious and semiprecious stones. This pietra dura stonework enhances the impression that the huge structure is weightless.

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33-8 ***Krishna and Radha in a Pavilion,*** **ca. 1760. Opaque watercolor on paper, $11\frac{1}{8}'' \times 7\frac{3}{4}''$. National Museum, New Delhi.**

The love of Krishna, the "Blue God," for Radha is the subject of this colorful, lyrical, and sensual Pahari watercolor miniature. Their love was a model of the devotion paid to the Hindu god Vishnu.

a model of the devotion, or *bhakti,* paid to Vishnu. Jayadeva's poem was the source for hundreds of later paintings, including *Krishna and Radha in a Pavilion* (FIG. 33-8) and *Krishna and the Gopis* (FIG. 33-8A).

33-8A *Krishna and the Gopis,* ca. 1550.

Krishna and Radha in a Pavilion was the work of an artist in the Punjab Hills, probably in the employ of Raja Govardhan Chand of Guler (r. 1741–1773). The artists producing paintings for the rulers of the Punjab Hill states—referred to collectively as the Pahari School—had a distinctive style. Although Pahari painting owes much to Mughal drawing style, its coloration, lyricism, and sensuality are distinguishing features. In the Krishna and Radha miniature, the lovers sit naked on a bed beneath a jeweled pavilion in a lush garden of ripe mangoes and flowering shrubs. Krishna gently touches Radha's breast while looking directly into her face. Radha shyly averts her gaze. It is night, the time of lovemaking, and the dark monsoon sky momentarily lights up with a lightning flash indicating the moment's electric passion. Lightning is one of the standard symbols used in Rajput and Pahari miniatures to represent sexual excitement.

Nayak Dynasty

The Nayakas, governors under the Vijayanagar kings, declared their independence in 1529, and after their former overlords' defeat in 1565 at the hands of the Deccan sultanates, they continued Hindu rule in the far south of India for two centuries (1529–1736).

Great Temple, Madurai. Construction of some of the largest temple complexes in India occurred under Nayak patronage. The most striking features of these huge complexes are their gateway towers called *gopuras* (FIG. 33-9), decorated from top to bottom with painted sculptures. After erecting the gopuras, the builders constructed walls to connect them and then built more gopuras, always expanding outward from the center. Each set of gopuras was taller than those of the previous wall circuit. The outermost towers reached colossal size, dwarfing the temples at the heart of the complexes. The tallest gopuras of the Great Temple at Madurai, dedicated to Shiva (under his local name, Sundareshvara, the Handsome One) and his consort Minakshi (the Fish-eyed One), stand about 150 feet tall. Rising in a series of tiers of diminishing size, they culminate in a cylindrical roof with finials.

The ornamentation of the Madurai gopuras is extremely rich, consisting of row after row of brightly painted stucco sculptures representing the vast pantheon of Hindu deities and a host of attendant figures. Reconsecration of the temple occurs at 12-year intervals, at which time the gopura sculptures receive a new coat of paint, which accounts for the vibrancy of their colors today. The Madurai Nayak temple complex also contains large and numerous *mandapas,* as well as great water tanks that worshipers use for ritual bathing. These temples were, and continue to be, almost independent cities,

33-9 **Outermost gopuras of the Great Temple (looking southeast), Madurai, India, completed 17th century.**

The Great Temple at Madurai lies within a huge complex enclosed by a series of walls connecting colossal gateway towers, or gopuras. Each ring of gopuras is taller than those of the previous wall circuit.

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Victoria Terminus as Cathedral of Modernization

Construction of the immense railway station (FIG. 33-10) in Mumbai named in honor of Victoria, Queen of England and Empress of India, began in 1878 and took a decade to complete. The architect selected to build this modern transportation hub, not surprisingly, was British—FREDERICK W. STEVENS (1847–1900). The challenge Stevens faced was how to design a vast terminal serving thousands of travelers daily that exemplified European modernity but incorporated references to local architectural traditions.

Stevens's solution was to work within the currently fashionable European *Gothic Revival* style (see "Gothic Revival," page 836), but to construct the building of the same South Asian sandstone used for temples and statues throughout India's long history and to incorporate domes, multilobed arches, and motifs recalling minarets. These features constitute the distinctively British colonial interpretation of Islamic architecture called *Indo-Saracen*. Despite the references to local traditions, Victoria Terminus is a European transplant to the subcontinent. The Indo-Saracen style is, in fact, the architectural counterpart of colonial rule.

Conceived as a cathedral to modernization, the train station, originally called Victoria Terminus, fittingly has an allegorical statue of Progress crowning its central and tallest dome. Statues personifying commerce, agriculture, and science also decorate the railway station. Ironically, Progress here stands atop a structure that in stylistic terms looks backward, not forward. Inside, passengers gaze up at *Neo-Gothic* vaulted ceilings and stained-glass windows, and the exterior of the station resembles an English Gothic church with a gabled facade and short flanking towers (compare FIGS. 13-40 and 13-43A). For other aspects of Victoria Terminus, especially its tiers of screened windows, Stevens took as his primary models the elegant buildings of 14th- and 15th-century Venice (FIGS. 14-23 and 21-38).

33-10 FREDERICK W. STEVENS, Victoria Terminus (now Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus; looking northeast), Mumbai (Bombay), India, 1878–1887.

Victoria Terminus is a monument to colonial rule celebrating modern technology. Designed by a British architect, it is a European transplant to India, but incorporates traditional South Asian motifs.

with thousands of pilgrims, merchants, and priests flocking from near and far to the many yearly festivals hosted by the temples.

The British in India

English merchants first arrived in India toward the end of the 16th century, attracted by the land's spices, gems, and other riches. On December 31, 1599, Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) granted a charter to the East India Company, which sought to compete with the Portuguese and Dutch in the lucrative trade with South Asia. The company established a "factory" (trading post) at the port of Surat, approximately 150 miles from Mumbai (Bombay) in western India in 1613. After securing trade privileges with the Mughal emperor Jahangir (FIGS. 33-1 and 33-5A), the British expanded their factories to Chennai (Madras), Kolkata (Calcutta), and Mumbai by 1661. These outposts gradually spread throughout India, especially after the British defeat of the ruler of Bengal in 1757. By the opening of the 19th century, the East India Company effectively ruled large portions of the subcontinent, and in 1835, the British declared English India's official language. A great rebellion in 1857 persuaded the British Parliament that the East India Company could no longer be the agent of British rule. The next year, Parliament abolished the company and replaced its governor-general with a viceroy of the crown. Two decades later, in 1877, Queen Victoria (r. 1837–1901) assumed the title Empress of India with sovereignty over all the former Indian states.

Victoria Terminus. The British brought the Industrial Revolution and railways to India. One of the most enduring monuments of British rule, still used by millions of travelers, is Victoria Terminus (see "Victoria Terminus as Cathedral of Modernization," above) in Mumbai, named at the time of its construction for the first British empress of India (but now called Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus).

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Jaswant Singh. With British rulers and modern railways also came British or, more generally, European ideas, but Western culture and religion never supplanted India's own rich traditions. Many Indians, however, readily took on the trappings of European society. When Maharaja Jaswant Singh, the ruler of Jodhpur (r. 1873–1895) in Rajasthan, sat for his portrait (FIG. 33-11) around 1880, he chose to sit in an ordinary chair, rather than on a throne, with his arm resting on a simple table with a bouquet and a book on it. In other words, he posed as if he were an ordinary British gentleman in his sitting room. Nevertheless, the painter, an anonymous local artist who had embraced Western style, left no question about Jaswant Singh's regal presence and pride. The maharaja wears a turban made of rich fabric and fastened with a large jeweled brooch, a marker of kingship and more generally of power. The ruler's strong arms and chest, along with his sword and leather riding boots, indicate his abilities as a warrior and hunter. The curled beard signified fierceness to Indians of that time. The unflinching gaze records the ruler's confidence. Perhaps what best exemplifies the combination of Jaswant Singh's two worlds are the two necklaces he wears. One necklace is a bib of huge emeralds and diamonds, the heritage of the wealth and splendor of his family's rule. The other, a wide gold band with a cameo, is the Order of the Star of India, a high honor bestowed on him by his British overlords.

1 in.

33-11 ***Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Marwar,*** **ca. 1880. Opaque watercolor on paper, 1′ $3\frac{1}{2}$″ × $11\frac{5}{8}$″. Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn (gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert L. Poster).**

Maharaja Jaswant Singh, the ruler of Jodhpur, had himself portrayed as a British gentleman in his sitting room, but the artist employed the same materials that Indian miniature painters had used for centuries.

The painter of this portrait worked on the same scale and employed the same materials—opaque watercolor on paper—that Indian miniature painters had used for centuries, but the artist copied the ruler's likeness from a photograph. This accounts in large part for the realism of the portrait. Indian artists sometimes even painted directly on top of photographs. Photography arrived in India at an early date. In 1840, just one year after its invention in Paris, the *daguerreotype* (FIG. 27-49) was introduced in Kolkata. Indian artists readily adopted the new medium, not just to produce portraits but also to record landscapes and monuments.

In 19th-century India, however, admiration of Western art and culture was by no means universal. At the end of the century, ABANINDRANATH TAGORE (1871–1951; FIG. 33-11A) founded a nationalistic art movement, and the opening decades of the 20th century brought ever-louder calls for Indian self-government. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948) and others, India achieved independence in 1947—not, however, as a unified state but as two separate nations: the predominantly Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan.

33-11A TAGORE, *Bharat Mata,* 1905.

20th Century

Modern art in India is as multifaceted a phenomenon as modern art is elsewhere in the world. Many traditional artists work at the village level, making images of deities for local use out of inexpensive materials, such as clay, plaster, and papier-mâché. Some urban artists use these same materials to produce elaborate religious scenes, such as depictions of the goddess Durga killing the buffalo demon—a venerable Hindu theme (FIG. 15-22A) and the central motif of the annual 10-day Durga Festival in Kolkata. Participants in the festival often ornament the scenes with thousands of colored electric lights. The most popular art form for religious imagery, however, is the brightly colored print, sold for only a few rupees each.

Many contemporary artists, by contrast, create works for the international market. Although many of them received their training in South or Southeast Asia or Japan, others attended schools in Europe or the United States, and some—for example, Pakistani Shahzia Sikander (FIG. 32-10) and Mumbai-born Anish Kapoor (FIG. 32-48)—now work outside their home countries. They face one of the fundamental quandaries of many contemporary Asian artists: how to identify themselves and situate their work between local and international, traditional and modern, and non-Western and Western cultures.

Meera Mukherjee. One Indian artist who successfully bridged these two poles of modern Asian art was MEERA MUKHERJEE (1923–1998). Mukherjee studied with European masters in Germany, but when she returned to India, she rejected much of what she had learned in favor of the techniques long employed by traditional sculptors of the Bastar tribe in central India. Mukherjee went to live with Bastar bronze-casters, who had perfected a variation on the classic *lost-wax process* (see "Hollow-Casting Life-Size Bronze Statues," page 129). Beginning with a rough core of clay, the Bastar

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sculptors build up what will be the final shape of the statue by placing long threads of beeswax over the core. Then they apply a coat of clay paste to the beeswax and tie up the mold with metal wire. After heating the mold over a charcoal fire, which melts the wax away, they pour liquid bronze into the space once occupied by the wax threads. Large sculptures require many separate molds. The Bastar artists complete their statues by welding together the separately cast sections, usually leaving the seams visible.

Many scholars regard *Ashoka at Kalinga* (FIG. 33-12) as Mukherjee's greatest work. Twice life-size and assembled from 26 cast-bronze sections, the towering statue combines the intricate surface textures of traditional Bastar work with the expressively swelling abstract forms of some 20th-century European sculpture (FIG. 29-48). Mukherjee chose as her subject the third-century BCE Maurya emperor Ashoka standing on the battlefield at Kalinga. There, Ashoka witnessed more than 100,000 deaths and, shocked by the horrors of the war he had unleashed, rejected violence and adopted Buddhism as the official religion of his empire (see "Ashoka's Sponsorship of Buddhism," page 448). Mukherjee conceived her statue as a pacifist protest against the political violence unleashed by the 1971 conflict between India and Pakistan over the creation of the new independent nation of Bangladesh, formerly part of Pakistan. By reaching into India's remote history to make a contemporary political statement and by employing the bronze-casting methods of tribal sculptors while molding her forms in a modern idiom, she united her native land's past and present in a single work of great emotive power.

33-12 MEERA MUKHERJEE, *Ashoka at Kalinga,* 1972. Bronze, 11′ 6¾″ high. Maurya Sheraton Hotel, New Delhi.

Mukherjee combined the Bastar tribe's traditional bronze-casting techniques with the swelling forms of 20th-century European sculpture in this statue of King Ashoka—a pacifist's protest against violence.

SOUTHEAST ASIA

India was not alone in experiencing major shifts in political power and religious preferences during the last 800 years. The Khmer of Angkor (FIGS. 15-36 and 15-38), after reaching the height of their power at the beginning of the 13th century, lost one of their outposts in northern Thailand to their Thai vassals at midcentury. The newly founded Thai kingdoms quickly replaced Angkor as the region's major power, while Theravada Buddhism (see "The Buddha, Buddhism, and Buddhist Iconography," page 447) became the religion of the entire mainland except Vietnam. The Vietnamese, restricted to the northern region of present-day Vietnam, gained independence in the 10th century after a thousand years of Chinese political and cultural domination. They pushed to the south, ultimately destroying the indigenous Cham culture, which had dominated that area for more than a millennium. A similar Burmese drive southward in Myanmar matched the Thai and Vietnamese expansions. All these movements resulted in demographic changes during the second millennium that led to the cultural, political, and artistic transformation of mainland Southeast Asia. A religious shift also occurred in Indonesia. With Islam growing in importance, all of Indonesia except the island of Bali became predominantly Muslim by the 16th century.

Thailand

Three prominent Buddhist kingdoms came to power in Thailand during the 13th and early 14th centuries—the Sukhothai (r. 1238–1583), Ayutthaya (r. 1351–1767), and Lanna (1292–1775). The earliest, Sukhothai, dominated the region until the rise of the Ayutthaya kingdom in the mid-14th century. Scholars generally regard the 14th and 15th centuries as the golden age of Thai art and architecture.

Ayutthaya. The most imposing buildings in Southeast Asia during the period examined in this chapter are Buddhist temples, which display significant variations from region to region. A characteristic example of Buddhist architecture in Thailand is the exceptionally

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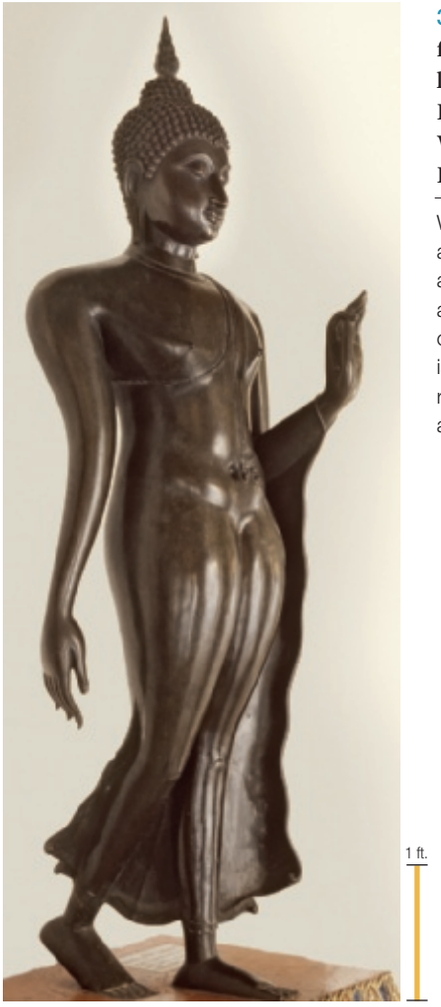
33-13 Wat Chai Wattanaram (looking east), Ayutthaya, Thailand, 1630.

Wat Chai Wattanaram exemplifies Thai Buddhist temple architecture derived from Khmer prototypes (FIG. 15-36) with its towering central prang and shorter prangs at the four corners and around the perimeter.

well preserved Wat Chai Wattanaram (FIG. 33-13), constructed by King Prasat Thong (r. 1629–1656), the founder of the fourth dynasty of the Ayutthaya kingdom. Built in 1630 to celebrate his coronation, Wat Chai Wattanaram has a towering central *prang,* the typical Thai form of *stupa* that is based on the Khmer architecture of neighboring Cambodia—for example, Angkor Wat (FIG. 15-36). At Ayutthaya, there are smaller prangs at the four corners of the central prang and intermediate-size prang towers in the sanctuary's perimeter wall. The central stupa, which is almost 120 feet tall, symbolizes Mount Meru and is said to contain relics of the Buddha. The four bordering prangs symbolize the four continents of the world.

Walking Buddha. The crowning artistic achievement of the Thai kingdoms was the development of a type of walking-Buddha statue displaying a distinctive approach to body form. The bronze Sukhothai Buddha illustrated here (FIG. 33-14), one of many still in the Theravada Buddhist temple of Wat Benchamabophit in Bangkok, has broad shoulders and a narrow waist and wears a clinging monk's robe. He strides forward, his right heel off the ground and his left arm raised with the hand held in the do-not-fear *mudra* (gesture) that encourages worshipers to come forward in reverence (see "Buddhist Iconography," page 447). A flame leaps from the top of the Buddha's head, and a sharp nose projects from his oval face. The right arm hangs loosely, seemingly without muscles or joints, and resembles an elephant's trunk. The Sukhothai artists intended the body type to suggest a supernatural being—broad shoulders traditionally connote power—and to express the Buddha's beauty and perfection through his supple body and polished skin. Although images in stone exist, the Sukhothai artists preferred bronze, a material well suited to their conception of the Buddha's body as elastic and glowing. The Sukhothai walking-Buddha statuary type is unique in Buddhist art, but it may reflect the ancient



33-14 Walking Buddha, from Sukhothai, Thailand, mid-15th century. Bronze, 7′ 2½″ high. Wat Benchamabophit, Bangkok.

Walking-Buddha statues are unique to Thailand and display a distinctive approach to human anatomy. The Buddha's body is soft and elastic, and the right arm hangs loosely, like an elephant's trunk.

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Buddhist iconographic tradition of representing the Buddha only by his footprints (see "Buddhist Iconography," page 447).

Emerald Buddha. A second distinctive Buddha image from northern Thailand is the *Emerald Buddha* (FIG. 33-15), housed today in the Emerald Temple on the royal palace grounds in Bangkok. The sculpture is small, only 30 inches tall, and conforms to the ancient type of the Buddha seated in meditation in a yogic posture with his legs crossed and his hands in his lap, palms upward (FIG. 15-12). The statue is first documented in 1434 in the Lanna kingdom. It is said that the image was discovered encased in plaster, but when the statue was struck by a lightning bolt, its green stone core was revealed. The statue became the *palladium* (protective image) of the Lanna kingdom, but it eventually came into the possession of the founder of the present Thai royal dynasty in Bangkok.

The *Emerald Buddha* is not, in fact, made of emerald but either of green jade or jasper. Nonetheless, having been fashioned from a gemstone gives the statue a special aura, and today the *Emerald Buddha* serves as the Thai palladium, guaranteeing the prosperity of the modern kingdom as it did previously for the Lanna kingdom. The Thai king or crown prince dresses the *Emerald Buddha* in a different costume for each of the three seasons—hot, rainy, and cold—of the Thai year, each costume associated with a different stage of the Buddha's life. The costumes are made of costly gold and precious and semiprecious stones. Pictured here is the *Emerald Buddha* in summer dress featuring a pointed headdress, a breastplate, armbands, and other elements of royal attire corresponding to the historical Buddha's early life as a prince.

33-15 *Emerald Buddha,* **Emerald Temple, Bangkok, Thailand, 15th century. Jade or jasper, 2′ 6″ high.**

The *Emerald Buddha* is the palladium of the modern Thai kingdom, but is a 15th-century Lanna statue. The statue is dressed in three different seasonal costumes associated with stages of the Buddha's life.

Myanmar and Laos

Myanmar, like Thailand, is overwhelmingly a Theravada Buddhist country today. According to legend, two Burmese brothers who were traveling merchants were the first to provide the historical Buddha with a meal after his enlightenment at Bodh Gaya. In gratitude, Shakyamuni presented them with a gift of strands of his hair, which the brothers placed inside a stupa they constructed upon their return home.

Schwedagon Pagoda. Those hairs are today housed in the most famous of the many Buddhist monuments in Myanmar, the Schwedagon Pagoda (FIG. 33-16) at Rangoon. The centerpiece of an enormous complex of Buddhist buildings, the "pagoda" is one of the largest stupas in the world. (*Pagoda* derives from the Portuguese version of a word for "stupa." The Burmese use the term *zedi,* derived from the Sanskrit *chaitya*; FIG. 15-11.) Rebuilt several times, the highly revered Rangoon zedi is famous for the gold, silver, and jewels encrusting its surface. The Schwedagon Pagoda stands 344 feet high. Covering its upper part are 13,153 plates of gold, each about a foot square. Near the top is a seven-tiered umbrella crowned with a gold ball inlaid with 4,351 diamonds, one of which weighs 76 carats. This great wealth was a gift to the Buddha from the laypeople of Myanmar to earn merit on their path to enlightenment.

33-16 **Schwedagon Pagoda (looking northeast), Rangoon (Yangon), Myanmar (Burma), 14th century or earlier (rebuilt several times).**

The 344-foot-tall Schwedagon Pagoda houses some of the Buddha's hairs. Silver, jewels, and 13,153 gold plates sheathe its exterior. The gold ball at the top is inlaid with 4,351 diamonds.

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33-17 Pha That Luang (looking northwest), Vientiane, Laos, 1566, as rebuilt in 1931–1935.

The distinctive curved quadrangular form of this Buddhist temple's central that (stupa), which resembles an elongated lotus bud, underscores the diversity of regional Southeast Asian architectural traditions.

Pha That Luang. The Schwedagon Pagoda is but one example of the many regional variations of Buddhist temple architecture in Southeast Asia, all of which differ sharply from comparable South Asian shrines. Another unique type is exemplified by Pha That Luang (FIG. 33-17) in Laos. Originally constructed by Lao king Setthathirat (r. 1546–1571) shortly after he established his capital at Vientiane, Pha That Luang in its present form is a reconstruction carried out in the early 1930s by the École française d'Etrême-Orient (French School of the Far East). The *that* (stupa) is the most important Buddhist shrine in Laos and, like the Schwedagon Pagoda, is covered with gold leaf and said to contain some of the Buddha's hairs. As in the Wat Chai Wattanaram (FIG. 33-13) at Ayutthaya, four smaller satellite stupas originally surrounded the central stupa, but the Vientiane shrine takes a very different form, culminating in a tall, narrow, curved, pinnacle-capped quadrangular form resembling an elongated lotus bud.

Vietnam

The history of Vietnam is particularly complex, as it reveals both an Indian-related art and culture, the Cham, broadly similar to those of the rest of Southeast Asia, and the Vietnamese, strongly influenced by China. Vietnam's ceramics are of special interest in this context. The oldest examples date to the Han period (206 BCE–220 CE), when the Chinese began to govern the northern area of Vietnam. China directly controlled Vietnam for a thousand years, and early Vietnamese ceramics closely reflected Chinese wares. But during the Ly (1009–1225) and Tran (1225–1400) dynasties, when Vietnam had regained its independence, Vietnamese potters developed an array of ceramic shapes, designs, and glazes that brought their wares to the highest levels of quality and creativity.

Underglaze Ceramics. In the 14th century, the Vietnamese began exporting *underglaze* wares modeled on the blue-and-white ceramics first produced in China (see "Chinese Porcelain," page 1063). During the 15th and 16th centuries, the ceramic industry in Vietnam had become the supplier of pottery of varied shapes to an international market extending throughout Southeast Asia and to the Middle East. A 16th-century Vietnamese dish (FIG. 33-18) with two mynah birds on a flowering branch reveals both the potter's debt to China and how the spontaneity, power, and playfulness of Vietnamese painting contrast with the formality of Chinese wares (FIG. 34-5). The artist suggested the foliage with curving and looped lines executed in almost one continuous movement of the brush over the surface. This technique—very different from the more deliberate Chinese habit of lifting the brush after painting a single motif in order to separate the shapes more sharply—facilitated rapid production. Combined with the painter's control, it allowed a fresh and unique design, making Vietnamese pottery attractive to a wide export market.

33-18 Dish with two mynah birds on flowering branch, from Vietnam, 16th century. Stoneware painted with underglaze-cobalt, 1′ 2½″ in diameter. Pacific Asia Museum, Pasadena.

Vietnamese ceramists exported underglaze pottery throughout Southeast Asia and beyond. The free brushwork used to depict mynah birds on this dish contrasts with the formal style of Chinese porcelain painting.

Contemporary Art. In the Buddhist countries of Southeast Asia, some artists continue to produce traditional images of the Buddha, primarily in bronze, for worship in homes, businesses, and temples. But, as in South Asia, many contemporary artists work in an international modernist idiom.

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THE BIG PICTURE

South and Southeast Asia, 1200 to 1980

Sultanate of Delhi and Vijayanagar Empire

- After defeating a confederation of South Asian states, Qutb al-Din Aybak (r. 1206–1210) established the Sultanate of Delhi (1206–1526), bringing Muslim rule to northern India and transforming South Asian society, religion, art, and architecture.
- To mark the triumph of Islam, the sultans built Delhi's first mosque—the Might of Islam Mosque—and its 238-foot Qutb Minar, the tallest minaret in the world.
- The Vijayanagar Empire (1336–1565) was the most powerful Hindu kingdom in southern India when Muslim sultans ruled the north.
- Vijayanagar buildings—for example, the Lotus Mahal—display a distinctive mix of Islamic multilobed arches and crowning elements resembling Hindu temple vimanas.

Qutb Minar, Delhi, begun early 13th century

Mughal Empire

- Babur (r. 1526–1530) defeated the Delhi sultans in 1526 and established the Mughal Empire (1526–1857).
- The first great flowering of Mughal art and architecture occurred under Akbar the Great (r. 1556–1605). The imperial painting workshop continued to produce magnificent illustrated books under his son Jahangir (r. 1605–1627) and his successors. The names of many Mughal miniature painters are known.
- Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1658) built the Taj Mahal as a memorial to his favorite wife. The mausoleum may symbolize the throne of God above the gardens of Paradise.

Taj Mahal, Agra, 1632–1647

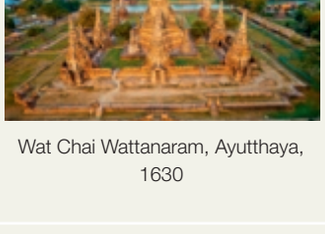
Other South Asian Kingdoms

- While the Mughal emperors ruled from their capital at Delhi, Hindu Rajput kings controlled much of northwestern India. The coloration and sensuality of Rajput painting distinguish it from the contemporaneous Mughal style.
- Between 1529 and 1736, the Hindu Nayak dynasty controlled southern India and erected temple complexes with immense gateway towers (gopuras) decorated with painted stucco sculptures.

Krishna and the Gopis, ca. 1550

Southeast Asia

- In Thailand, Theravada Buddhism was the dominant religion. The Sukhothai walking-Buddha statuary type displays a unique approach to body form, as seen, for example, in the Buddha's trunklike right arm.
- Throughout Southeast Asia, Buddhist architects erected imposing temple complexes—for example, Wat Chai Wattanaram (Ayutthaya, Thailand), Pha That Luang (Vientiane, Laos), and the Schwedagon Pagoda (Rangoon, Myanmar), each representing a different regional style.



Wat Chai Wattanaram, Ayutthaya, 1630

British Colonial Period to 1980

- Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) authorized the establishment of the East India Company, which eventually effectively ruled large portions of the subcontinent. In 1877, Queen Victoria I (r. 1837–1901) assumed the title Empress of India. British colonial rule lasted from 1600 to 1947, and Victoria Terminus is its architectural symbol—a European transplant to India capped by an allegorical statue of Progress.
- Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), India and Pakistan achieved independence from England in 1947. Post–World War II South and Southeast Asian art ranges from the traditional to the modern and embraces both native and Western styles.

Victoria Terminus, Mumbai, 1878–1887

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▲**34-1a** The Hall of Supreme Harmony is the climax of the imperial palace complex's long north–south axis. It is the largest wood building in China and has 72 gigantic columns carved from Sichuan trees.

▲**34-1b** Inside the Hall of Supreme Harmony is the emperor's opulently appointed throne room. Here, the Ming Son of Heaven, elevated on a stepped platform, received important visitors.

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34-1 **Aerial view (looking north) of the Forbidden City, Beijing, China, Ming dynasty, 15th century and later.**

▶**34-1c** The southern entrance to the Forbidden City was the Noon Gate. Only the emperor could walk through the central portal. Those of decreasing rank used the lateral passageways.

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CHINA AND KOREA, 1279 TO 1980

34

FRAMING THE ERA

The Son of Heaven and the Forbidden City

In 1368, Zhu Yuanzhang led a popular uprising that drove the last Mongol emperor from Beijing. After expelling the foreigners from China, he founded the native Chinese Ming dynasty (r. 1368–1644) and assumed the official name of the Hongwu (Abundantly Martial) emperor (r. 1368–1398). Zhu built his capital at Nanjing (Southern Capital), but the third Ming ruler, the Yongle (Perpetual Happiness) emperor (r. 1403–1424), moved the imperial seat back to Beijing (Northern Capital). Although Beijing had been home to the Yuan dynasty, Ming architects designed much of the city as well as the imperial palace at its core, which, with the Great Wall, is the enduring emblem of China.

The Ming builders laid out Beijing as three nested walled cities. The outer perimeter wall was 15 miles long and enclosed the walled Imperial City, with a perimeter of 6 miles, and, within the city, the vast imperial palace compound (FIG. 34-1) surrounded by a 50-yard-wide moat. The strict symmetry of the palace's plan symbolized the order that the Ming emperor, the Son of Heaven, brought to the world. Appropriately, his throne room was situated at the center of that world. Known since 1576 as the Forbidden City because of the highly restricted access to the inner compound, the palace provided the perfect setting for the elaborate ritual of the Ming court. For example, the entrance gateway to the complex, the Noon Gate, has five portals. Only the emperor could walk through the central doorway. The two entrances to its left and right were reserved for the imperial family and high officials. Others had to use the outermost passageways. Entrance to the Forbidden City proper was through the nearly 40-yard-tall triple-passageway Meridian Gate, through which only the Son of Heaven and his retinue and foreign ambassadors who had been granted an official audience could pass.

Within the Forbidden City, more gates and a sequence of courtyards, gardens, temples, and other buildings lead eventually to a series of marble staircases and the Hall of Supreme Harmony, which is the climax of a long north-south axis. The fill of the immense platform supporting the Hall of Supreme Harmony consists of the soil and rocks the Ming engineers collected from the excavation of the great moat around the imperial complex. The hall is the largest wood building in China. For its 72 columns, the Ming builders had to transport gigantic tree trunks down the Yangtze River from Sichuan Province. Inside the hall sat the emperor on his dragon throne on a high stepped platform.

Beyond the Hall of Supreme Harmony is the even more restricted Inner Court and the Palace of Heavenly Purity—the private living quarters of the emperor and his extended family of wives, concubines, and children. At the northern end of the central axis of the Forbidden City is the Gate of Divine Prowess, through which the palace servants gained access to the complex.

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CHINA

Mongol Invasion. In 1210, the Mongols invaded northern China from Central Asia (MAP 34-1), opening a new chapter in the history and art of that ancient land. Under the dynamic leadership of Genghis Khan (1162–1227), the Mongol armies pushed into China with extraordinary speed. By 1215, the Mongols had destroyed the Jin dynasty's capital at Beijing and taken control of northern China. Two decades later, they attacked the Song dynasty in southern China. It was not until 1279, however, that the last Song emperor fell at the hands of Genghis Khan's grandson, Kublai Khan (1215–1294). Kublai proclaimed himself emperor (r. 1279–1294) of the new Yuan dynasty.

Yuan Dynasty

During the relatively brief tenure of the Yuan (r. 1279–1368), trade between Europe and Asia increased dramatically. It was no coincidence that Marco Polo (1254–1324), the most famous early European visitor to China, arrived during the reign of Kublai Khan. Part fact and part fable, Marco Polo's chronicle of his travels to and within China was the only eyewitness description of East Asia available in Europe for several centuries. The Venetian's account makes clear that he profoundly admired Yuan China. He marveled not only at Kublai Khan's luxurious lifestyle and sumptuous palaces but also at the volume of commercial traffic on the Yangtze River; the splendors of Hangzhou; the use of paper currency, porcelain, and coal; the efficiency of the Chinese postal system; and the hygiene of the Chinese people. In the early second millennium, China was richer and technologically more advanced than late medieval Europe.

Zhao Mengfu. The Mongols were distrustful of the Chinese and very selective in admitting former Southern Song subjects into their administration. In addition, many Chinese loyal to the former emperors refused to collaborate with their new foreign overlords, whom they considered barbarian usurpers. Indeed, most of the great art created during the Yuan dynasty was the work of

MAP 34-1 China during the Ming dynasty.

CHINA AND KOREA, 1279 TO 1980

1279–1368	1368–1644	1644–1911	1912–1980
Yuan Dynasty	**Ming Dynasty**	**Qing Dynasty**	**Modern China**
▪ Mongol invaders establish the Yuan dynasty ▪ Huang Gongwang, Ni Zan, Wang Meng, and Wu Zhen achieve fame as the Four Great Masters of Yuan landscape painting ▪ The Jingdezhen kilns produce porcelain pottery with cobalt-blue underglaze decoration	▪ The third Ming emperor begins construction of the Forbidden City in Beijing ▪ The Orchard Factory creates luxurious carved lacquer-covered wood furniture ▪ Landscape architects design uncultivated scenic gardens at Suzhou ▪ In Korea, the Joseon dynasty (r. 1392–1910) erects the Namdaemun gate in Seoul	▪ The Manchus overthrow the native Ming emperors and rule China as the Qing dynasty ▪ Shitao experiments with bold new approaches to traditional literati landscape painting ▪ Jesuit missionaries introduce Western painting styles	▪ Marxist themes dominate the state-sponsored art of the People's Republic of China ▪ With the unwinding of Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution, Chinese artists begin to rise to prominence in the international art world

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34-1A Zhao Mengfu, *Sheep and Goat,* ca. 1300.

men and women who refused to play any role in the Mongol court. One artist who did accept an official post under Kublai Khan was Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322), a descendant of the first Song emperor. A learned man, skilled in both calligraphy and poetry, he won renown as a painter of horses and of landscapes, but he also painted other subjects (for example, fig. 34-1A).

Guan Daosheng. Zhao's wife, Guan Daosheng (1262–1319), was also a successful painter, calligrapher, and poet. Female artists were at least as rare in China at this time as they were in the West, and not only because of women's similarly restricted roles in society. In China, because calligraphy was so closely allied with painting, and so few women could read or write, the barriers to becoming an artist were even greater. As a general rule, only an educated woman from a well-to-do family could succeed as an artist. Many empresses cultivated calligraphy, and some achieved enviable reputations—for example, Wu Zetian in the Tang dynasty and Yang, wife of the Southern Song emperor Ningzong (see "Southern Song Period," page 492). Guan Daosheng won widespread fame in her day and enjoyed the admiration even of the emperor himself.

Guan painted a variety of subjects, but she became famous for her paintings of bamboo. The plant was a popular subject because it

MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Calligraphy and Inscriptions on Chinese Paintings

Many Chinese paintings (figs. 16-13, 16-19, 16-24, 16-27, 34-1A, 34-3, 34-4A, 34-12, 34-13, and 34-14) bear inscriptions (texts written on the same surface as the picture) or *colophons* (texts written on attached pieces of paper or silk). Throughout history, the Chinese have held *calligraphy* (Greek, "beautiful writing") in high esteem—higher, in fact, than painting. Inscriptions appear almost everywhere in China—on buildings and in gardens, on furniture and sculpture. Chinese calligraphy and painting have always been closely connected. Even the primary implements and materials for writing and painting are the same: a round tapered brush, soot-based ink, and paper or silk. Calligraphy depends for its effects on the controlled vitality of individual brushstrokes and on the dynamic relationships of strokes within a *character* (an elaborate Chinese sign that by itself can represent several words) and even among the characters themselves. Training in calligraphy was a fundamental part of the education and self-cultivation of Chinese scholars and officials, and inscriptions are especially common on *literati* paintings. Many stylistic variations exist in Chinese calligraphy. At the most formal extreme, each character consists of distinct straight and angular strokes and is separate from the next character. At the other extreme, the characters flow together as cursive abbreviations with many rounded forms.

A long tradition in China links pictures and poetry. Famous poems frequently provided subjects for paintings, and poets composed poems inspired by paintings. Either practice might prompt inscriptions on art, some addressing painted subjects, some praising the painting's quality or the character of the painter or another individual. The Ming painter Shen Zhou added a long poem in beautiful Chinese characters to his painting of Mount Lu (fig. 34-12). The poem praises a beloved teacher. Sometimes inscriptions explain the circumstances of the work. The Yuan painter Guan Daosheng's *Bamboo Groves in Mist and Rain* has two inscriptions (not included in the detail reproduced in fig. 34-2). One is a dedication to another noblewoman. The other states that Guan painted the handscroll "in a boat on the green waves of the lake." Later admirers and owners of paintings frequently inscribed their own appreciative words. The inscriptions are often quite prominent and sometimes compete for the viewer's attention with the painted motifs (figs. 34-1A and 34-3).

Painters, inscribers, and even owners usually also added *seal* impressions in red ink (figs. 34-2, 34-3, 34-4, 34-4A, 34-12, 34-13, 34-14, 34-15, and 34-16) to identify themselves. With all these textual additions, some paintings that have passed through many collections may seem cluttered to Western viewers. However, the historical importance given to these inscriptions and to the works' ownership history has been and remains a critical aspect of painting appreciation in China.

34-2 Guan Daosheng, *Bamboo Groves in Mist and Rain* (detail), Yuan dynasty, 1308. Section of a handscroll, ink on paper, full scroll $9\frac{1}{8}'' \times 3'\ 8\frac{7}{8}''$. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Guan Daosheng was a calligrapher, poet, and painter. She achieved the misty atmosphere in this landscape by using a narrow range of ink tones and by blurring the bamboo thickets in the distance.

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was a symbol of the ideal Chinese gentleman, who bends in adversity but does not break, and because depicting bamboo branches and leaves approximated the cherished art of calligraphy (see "Calligraphy and Inscriptions on Chinese Paintings," page 1061). *Bamboo Groves in Mist and Rain* (FIG. 34-2), a *handscroll* (see "Chinese Painting Materials and Formats," page 489), is one of Guan's best paintings. The hallmark of her landscapes is the misty atmosphere she achieved by restricting the ink tones to a narrow range and by blurring the bamboo thickets in the distance, suggesting not only the receding terrain but fog as well.

Wu Zhen. The Yuan painter WU ZHEN (1280–1354), in stark contrast to Zhao Mengfu and Guan Daosheng, shunned the Mongol court and lived as a hermit, far from the luxurious milieu of the Yuan emperors. The *literati,* who first came to prominence during the Song dynasty, were men and women from prominent families who painted primarily for a small audience of their social peers. Highly educated and steeped in traditional Chinese culture, they cultivated calligraphy, poetry, painting, and other arts as a sign of social status and refined taste. Literati art is usually personal in nature and often shows nostalgia for the past.

Wu Zhen's treatment of the bamboo theme, *Stalks of Bamboo by a Rock* (FIG. 34-3), differs sharply from Guan's. The artist clearly differentiated the individual bamboo plants and reveled in the abstract patterns formed by the stalks and leaves. The bamboo stalks in his *hanging scroll* are perfect complements to the calligraphic beauty of the black characters and red seals so prominently featured on the scroll. Both the bamboo and the inscriptions gave Wu the opportunity to display his proficiency with the brush.

Huang Gongwang. Later artists and critics revered Wu Zhen as one of the Four Great Masters of Yuan painting. The eldest was HUANG GONGWANG (1269–1354), a former civil servant and a teacher of Daoist philosophy. His *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains* (FIG. 34-4) is one of the great works of Yuan literati painting. According to the artist's explanatory colophon at the end of the long handscroll, Huang sketched the full composition in one burst of inspiration, but then added to and modified his painting whenever he felt moved to do so over a period of years. In the detail shown in FIG. 34-4, the painter built up the textured mountains with richly layered brushstrokes, at times interweaving dry brushstrokes and at other times placing dry strokes over wet ones and darker strokes

34-3 WU ZHEN, *Stalks of Bamboo by a Rock,* Yuan dynasty, 1347. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 2′ 11½″ × 1′ 4⅝″. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Wu Shen was one of the leading Yuan literati (scholar-artists). The bamboo plants in his hanging scroll are perfect complements to the prominently featured black Chinese calligraphic characters.

34-4 HUANG GONGWANG, *Dwelling in the Fuchun Mountains,* Yuan dynasty, 1347–1350. Section of a handscroll, ink on paper, full scroll 1′ 7/8″ × 20′ 9″. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

In this handscroll, Huang, one of the Four Great Yuan Masters, built up the textured mountains with richly layered wet and dry brushstrokes and ink-wash accents, capturing the landscape's spirit.

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over lighter ones, often with ink-wash accents. The rhythmic play of brush and ink captures the spirit of the landscape. In fact, the purpose of landscape painting in China was rarely to record the features of a specific setting. Instead, Chinese artists sought to represent the essential beauty of the natural world through the artful depiction of mountains, trees, and streams.

Huang summarized his approach to painting nature in a treatise titled *Secrets of Landscape Painting,* in which he also noted the kinship of ink painting and the art of calligraphy.

> In painting each furrow and rock, one should give free rein to the ink allowing it to run unrestrained. . . . [T]oo much detail description will make it look like craftsmanship. . . . For the most part, just as in calligraphy, practicing diligently will make mastery perfect.[1]

Ni Zan. Completing the quartet of renowned Yuan masters were two younger artists born in the early 14th century—Ni Zan (1301–1374) and Wang Meng (ca. 1308–1385). Both were still active during the early years of the Ming dynasty, when Ni painted his most famous work, *Rongxi Studio* (fig. 34-4A), a literati landscape of unsurpassed quality.

34-4A Ni Zan, *Rongxi Studio,* 1372.

Jingdezhen Porcelain. By the Yuan period, Chinese potters had extended their mastery to fully developed porcelains, a technically demanding medium (see "Chinese Porcelain," below). Two tall temple vases, known as the *David Vases* (fig. 34-5) after the collector who acquired them, are the best surviving examples from the Jingdezhen kilns, which during the Ming dynasty became the official source of porcelains for the court. The pair can be dated exactly by the inscription citing the emperor's regnal year, equivalent to 1351 in the Western calendar. The inscription also says that the vases, together with an incense burner, formed an altar set donated to a Daoist temple by a man named Zhang Wenjin as a prayer for peace, protection, and prosperity for his sons and daughters.

MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Chinese Porcelain

No other Chinese art form has achieved such worldwide admiration, inspired such imitation, or penetrated so deeply into everyday life as *porcelain* (figs. 34-5 and 34-17). Long imported by China's Asian neighbors as luxury goods and treasures, Chinese porcelains later captured great attention in the West, where potters did not succeed in mastering the production process until the early 18th century.

In China, porcelain-like *stoneware* (see "Chinese Earthenwares and Stonewares," page 473) emerged during the Tang dynasty (618–907), and mature forms developed in the Song (960–1279). Like stoneware, true porcelain objects are fired in a kiln at an extremely high temperature (well over 2,000° F) until the clay fully fuses into a dense, hard substance resembling stone or glass. Unlike stoneware, however, ceramists create porcelain from a fine white clay called kaolin mixed with ground petuntse (a type of feldspar). True porcelain is translucent, and rings when struck. Its rich, shiny surface resembles jade, a luxurious natural material that the Chinese treasured from very early times (see "Chinese Jade," page 476).

Chinese ceramists often decorate porcelains with colored designs or pictures, working with finely ground minerals suspended in water and a binding agent (such as glue). The minerals change color dramatically in the kiln. The painters apply some mineral colors to the clay surface before the main firing and then apply a clear *glaze* over them. This *underglaze* decoration fully bonds to the piece in the kiln, but because the raw materials must withstand intense heat, Yuan dynasty potters could fire only a few colors. The most stable and widely used coloring agents for porcelains are cobalt compounds, which emerge from the kiln as an intense blue (fig. 34-5). Rarely, ceramists use copper compounds to produce stunning reds by carefully manipulating the kiln's temperature and oxygen content.

To obtain a wider palette, an artist must paint on top of the glaze after firing the work (fig. 34-17). These *overglaze* colors, or *enamels,* then fuse to the glazed surface in an additional firing at a much lower temperature. Enamels are brighter than other ceramic glazes, ranging from deep browns to brilliant reds and greens, but they do not have the durability of underglaze decoration.

34-5 *David Vases,* Yuan dynasty, 1351. Pair of white porcelain vases with cobalt-blue underglaze, each 2′ 1″ tall. British Museum, London (Sir Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art).

The *David Vases* are early examples of porcelain with cobalt-blue underglaze decoration. Dragons and phoenixes are the major painted motifs. They may be symbols of male and female energy, respectively.

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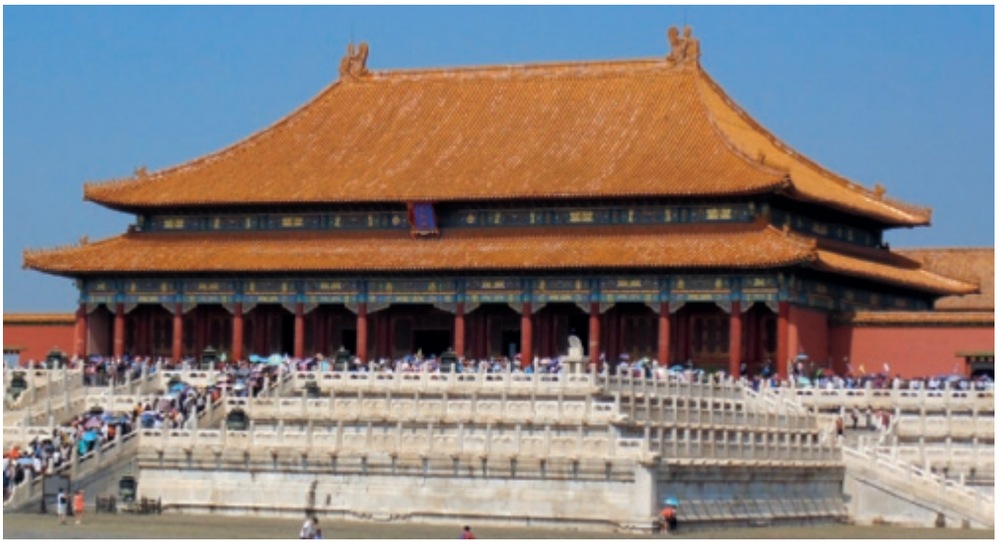

34-6 Hall of Supreme Harmony (looking north), Forbidden City, Beijing, China, Ming dynasty, 15th century and later.

The Hall of Supreme Harmony is the largest wood building in China. For its gigantic columns, the Ming builders had to transport huge tree trunks down the Yangtze River from Sichuan Province.

The *David Vases* are among the earliest dated examples of fine porcelain with cobalt-blue underglaze decoration. The painted decoration consists of bands of floral motifs between broader zones containing auspicious symbols, including phoenixes in the lower part of the neck and dragons (compare FIG. 16-6) on the main body of the vessel, both among clouds. In imperial contexts, the dragon and phoenix symbolize the emperor and empress, respectively, and often appear on objects made for the ruling household. But in this private context in a Daoist temple, the dragon and phoenix symbolize longevity and invoke prosperity blessings. The dragon also may represent *yang,* the Chinese principle of active masculine energy, while the phoenix may represent *yin,* the principle of passive feminine energy.

Ming Dynasty

The Ming emperors who succeeded the Yuan as rulers of China were, like many other powerful dynasts throughout history, great builders. The grandest Ming architectural project was the Forbidden City (FIG. 34-1), discussed briefly in the introduction to this chapter (see "The Son of Heaven and the Forbidden City," page 1059). The new imperial palace complex in Beijing was strictly organized along a north–south axis as a series of courtyards and traditional wood buildings featuring curved rooflines (see "Chinese Wood Construction," page 480)—a scheme used also for Chinese Buddhist temples and for the late-14th-century Great Mosque at Xi'an (FIG. 34-5A). At the heart of the Forbidden City, which impresses thousands of visitors daily with its immense scale, is the gigantic Hall of Supreme Harmony (FIG. 34-6; note the size of the tourists compared to the building), where the Son of Heaven received official visitors in the opulently furnished room (FIG. 34-7) that housed his throne atop a flight of stairs. The hall's columns, walls, and ceiling are richly decorated with gold lacquer and imperial dragon motifs. In front of the hall are bronze statues of a turtle and a crane, symbols of longevity.

34-5A Great Mosque, Xi'an, begun 1392.

Suzhou Gardens. In the Forbidden City, everything, even the gardens, is tightly organized, reflecting the order that the Son of Heaven brings to the world (with his throne symbolically at the center of that world). At the opposite pole of architectural design are the Ming gardens of Suzhou (FIGS. 34-8 and 34-9). Indeed, there can hardly be a greater contrast than that between the formality and rigid axiality of the Forbidden City and the seemingly unplanned Suzhou pleasure gardens (see "Planning an Unplanned Garden," page 1065).

34-7 Throne room, Hall of Supreme Harmony, Forbidden City, Beijing, China, Ming dynasty, 15th century and later.

The Ming emperors held official audiences in the opulently appointed throne room in the Hall of Supreme Harmony. Beyond was the Inner Court, where the emperor and his extended family resided.

Orchard Factory. The Ming court's lavish appetite for luxury goods to use and display in the imperial palace gave new impetus to brilliant technical achievement in the decorative arts. As did the Yuan emperors, the Ming rulers turned to the Jingdezhen kilns for fine porcelains. For objects in lacquer-covered wood (see "Lacquered Wood," page 1066), their patronage went to a large workshop in Beijing known today as the Orchard Factory. A table with drawers (FIG. 34-10), made between 1426 and 1435, is one of the workshop's masterpieces. The artist carved floral motifs, along with the dragon and phoenix imperial emblems, into the thick cinnabar-colored lacquer, which had to be built up in numerous layers.

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Planning an Unplanned Garden

The Ming gardens at Suzhou are among the most precious examples of landscape architecture anywhere in the world. Several have been meticulously restored, and in each one, the designers grappled with the problem of how to design a garden that appears not to have been designed—that is, a planned garden that seems unplanned, like nature itself. Laying out a Ming garden was not a matter of cultivating plants in rows or of laying out terraces, flower beds, and avenues in geometric fashion, as was the case in many other cultures (compare, for example, the 17th-century French gardens at Versailles, FIG. 25-26). Instead, Ming gardens, such as the huge (almost 54,000-square-foot) Wangshi Yuan (Garden of the Master of the Fishing Nets; FIG. **34-8**), are often scenic arrangements of natural and artificial elements intended to reproduce the irregularities of uncultivated nature. Verandas and pavilions rise on pillars above the water, and stone bridges, paths, and causeways encourage wandering through constantly shifting vistas of trees, flowers, rocks, and their reflections in the ponds. The typical design is a sequence of carefully contrived visual surprises, the polar opposite of the predictable formality of Ming palace architecture (FIG. 34-1).

A favorite garden element, fantastic rockwork, is a prominent feature of Liu Yuan (Lingering Garden; FIG. 34-9) in Suzhou. Workmen dredged the stones from nearby Lake Tai, and then sculptors shaped them to create an even more natural look. The one at the center of FIG. **34-9**, called the Guanyun (Cloud Crowned) Peak, is about 20 feet tall and weighs approximately 5 tons. The Ming gardens of Suzhou were the pleasure retreats of high officials and the landed gentry, sanctuaries where the wealthy could commune with nature in all its representative forms and as an ever-changing and boundless presence. Chinese poets never cease to sing of the restorative effect of gardens on mind and spirit.

34-8 Wangshi Yuan (Garden of the Master of the Fishing Nets), Suzhou, China, Ming dynasty, 16th century and later.

Ming gardens are arrangements of natural and artificial elements intended to reproduce the irregularities of nature. This approach to design is the opposite of the formality and axiality of the Ming palace (FIG. 34-1).

34-9 Guanyun (Cloud Crowned) Peak, rock formation in the Liu Yuan (Lingering Garden), Suzhou, China, Ming dynasty, 16th century and later.

A favorite element of Ming gardens was fantastic rockwork. For the Lingering Garden, workmen dredged the stones from a nearby lake, and sculptors shaped them to produce an even more natural look.

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MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Lacquered Wood

From ancient times, the Chinese used *lacquer* to cover wood, whether small objects, furniture, or huge columns, such as those in the throne room (FIG. 34-7) of the Forbidden City. Artisans produced lacquer from the sap of the Asiatic sumac tree, native to central and southern China. When it dries, lacquer cures to great hardness and prevents the wood from decaying. Often colored with mineral pigments, lacquered objects have a lustrous surface that transforms the appearance of natural wood. The earliest examples of lacquered wood to survive in quantity date to the Eastern Zhou period (770–256 BCE).

The first step in producing a lacquered object is to heat and purify the sap. Then the lacquer worker mixes the minerals—carbon black and cinnabar red are the most common—into the sap. To apply the lacquer, the artisan uses a hair brush similar to a calligrapher's or painter's brush, building up the coating one layer at a time. Each coat must dry and be sanded before another layer can be applied. If the artisan builds up a sufficient number of layers, the lacquer can be carved as if it were the wood itself. The lacquer workers in the Orchard Factory in Beijing were master carvers and counted the Ming emperors as major clients for luxurious lacquered furniture. Examples such as the table illustrated here (FIG. 34-10) boast elaborate carving in many layers of lacquer and took a great deal of time as well as skill to produce.

Other techniques for decorating lacquer include inlaying metals and lustrous materials, such as mother-of-pearl, and sprinkling gold powder into the still-wet lacquer. Korean and Japanese (FIG. 35-11) artists also employed these techniques to produce masterful lacquered objects.

34-10 Table with drawers, Ming dynasty, ca. 1426–1435. Carved red lacquer on a wood core, 3′ 11″ long. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

The Orchard Factory was the leading Ming workshop for lacquered wood furniture. The lacquer on this table was thick enough to be carved with floral motifs and the imperial dragon and phoenix.

Shang Xi. At the Ming court, the major subject of the painters in the emperors' employ was portraiture of the imperial family, but the court artists were also tasked with depicting historical figures as exemplars of virtue, wisdom, or heroism, a subject with a long history in China—for example, Yan Liben's *Thirteen Emperors* (FIG. 16-19), which dates to the Tang dynasty. An exceptionally large example of Ming history painting is a hanging scroll painted by SHANG XI (active ca. 1425–1440) around 1430. *Guan Yu Captures General Pang De* (FIG. 34-11) represents an episode

34-11 SHANG XI, *Guan Yu Captures General Pang De,* Ming dynasty, ca. 1430. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 6′ 5″ × 7′ 7″. Palace Museum, Beijing.

The Ming court's painters created works for display in the Forbidden City and specialized in portraiture and history painting. This huge hanging scroll celebrates a famed general of the third century.

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1 ft.

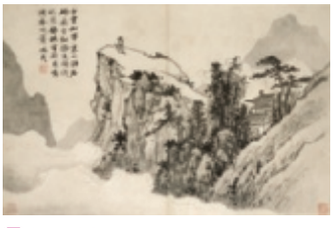
34-12 Shen Zhou, *Lofty Mount Lu,* Ming dynasty, 1467. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 6′ 4 1/4″ × 3′ 2 5/8″. National Palace Museum, Taipei.

Inscriptions and seals are essential elements in this hanging scroll, in which Shen used the lofty peaks of Mount Lu to express visually the grandeur of a beloved teacher's virtue and character.

from China's tumultuous third century, whose wars inspired one of the first great Chinese novels, *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms.* Guan Yu was a famed general of the Wei dynasty (220–280) and a fictional hero in the novel. Shang's painting depicts the historical Guan, renowned for his loyalty to his emperor and for his military valor, being presented with the captured enemy general Pang De. In the painting, Shang used color to focus attention on Guan and his attendants, who stand out sharply from the ink landscape. He also contrasted the victors' armor and bright garments with the vulnerability of the captive, who has been stripped almost naked, further heightening his humiliation.

Shen Zhou. Just as the formality of Ming official architecture contrasts with the informality of the gardens of Suzhou, the work of Shang Xi and other professional court painters, designed to promote the official Ming ideology, differs sharply in both form and content from the venerable tradition of literati painting, which also flourished during the Ming dynasty. As under the Yuan emperors, Ming literati practiced their art largely independently of court patronage. One of the leading figures was Shen Zhou (1427–1509), a master of the Wu School of painting, so called because of the ancient name (Wu) of the city of Suzhou. Shen came from a well-to-do family of scholars and painters, and declined an offer to serve in the Ming bureaucracy in order to concentrate on poetry and painting.

Lofty Mount Lu (fig. 34-12), perhaps Shen's finest hanging scroll, was a birthday gift to one of his teachers. It bears a long poem that the artist composed in the teacher's honor (see "Calligraphy and Inscriptions on Chinese Paintings," page 1061). Shen had never seen Mount Lu, but he stated that he chose the subject because he wished the lofty mountain peaks to express the grandeur of his teacher's virtue and character. The literati master suggested the immense scale of Mount Lu by placing a tiny figure at the bottom center of the painting, sketched in lightly and partly obscured by a rocky outcropping. The composition owes a great deal to Fan Kuan (fig. 16-23) and other early masters. But, characteristic of literati painting in general, the scroll is in the end a very personal conversation—in pictures and words—between the artist and the teacher it honors. In a later painting (fig. 34-12A), Shen depicted himself as a poet on a mountaintop and included a poem he wrote, in this case reflecting on the beauty of music and landscape.



34-12A Shen Zhou, *Poet on a Mountaintop,* ca. 1490–1500.

Dong Qichang. One of the most intriguing and influential literati of the late Ming dynasty was Dong Qichang (1555–1636), a wealthy landowner and high official who was a poet, calligrapher, and painter. He also amassed a vast collection of Chinese art and achieved great fame as an art critic.

In Dong's view, most Chinese landscape painters could be classified as belonging to either the Northern School of precise, academic painting or the Southern School of more subjective, freer painting. "Northern" and "Southern" were not geographic but stylistic labels. Dong chose these names for the two schools because he determined that their characteristic styles had parallels in the northern and southern schools of Chan Buddhism (see "Chan Buddhism," page 495). Northern Chan Buddhists were "gradualists" and believed that enlightenment could be achieved only after long training. The Southern Chan Buddhists believed that enlightenment could come suddenly. Dong's Northern School therefore comprised professional, highly trained court painters. The leading painters of the Southern School were the literati, whose freer and more expressive style Dong judged to be far superior.

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1 ft.

34-13 Dong Qichang, *Dwelling in the Qingbian Mountains*, Ming dynasty, 1617. Hanging scroll, ink on paper, 7′ 3½″ × 2′ 2½″. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (Leonard C. Hanna Jr. bequest).

Dong Qichang, "the first modernist painter," conceived his landscapes as shaded masses of rocks alternating with blank bands, flattening the composition and creating expressive, abstract patterns.

Dong's own work—for example, *Dwelling in the Qingbian Mountains* (FIG. 34-13), painted in 1617—belongs, not surprisingly, to the Southern School he admired so much. The scroll's subject and style, as well as the incorporation of a long inscription at the top, immediately reveal the artist's debt to earlier literati painters. But Dong was also an innovator, especially in his treatment of the towering mountains, where shaded masses of rocks alternate with blank bands, flattening the composition and creating highly expressive and abstract patterns. Some critics have called Dong Qichang the first *modernist* painter, because his work foreshadows developments in 19th-century European landscape painting (FIG. 28-24).

Wen Shu. Landscape painting was the most prestigious artistic subject in Ming China, but artists also painted other subjects—for example, flowers. Wen Shu (1595–1634), the daughter of an aristocratic Suzhou family and the wife of Zhao Jun (d. 1640), descended from Zhao Mengfu and the Song imperial house, was one of the finest flower painters of the Ming era. Her *Carnations and Garden Rock* (FIG. 34-14) is also an example of Chinese arc-shaped fan painting, a format imported from Japan. In this genre, the artist paints on flat paper, but then folds the completed painting and mounts it on sticks to form a fan. The best fan paintings were probably never used as fans. Collectors purchased them to store in albums. As in her other flower paintings, Wen focused on a few essential elements—in this instance, a central rock formation and three sprays of flowers—and presented them against a plain background. Using delicate brushstrokes and a restricted palette, she brilliantly communicated the fragility of the red flowers, contrasting them with the solidity of the brown rock. The spare composition creates a quiet mood of contemplation.

Qing Dynasty

The Ming bureaucracy's internal decay enabled another group of invaders, the Manchus of Manchuria, to overrun China in the 17th century and establish the Qing dynasty (r. 1644–1911). The Manchus quickly restored effective imperial rule in the north, but southern China remained rebellious until the second Qing ruler, the Kangxi (Lasting Prosperity) emperor (r. 1662–1722), succeeded in pacifying all of China. The Manchurian rulers adapted themselves to Chinese life and cultivated knowledge of China's arts, including literati painting, which under the Yuan emperors was primarily the preferred style of artists who shunned the court.

Shitao. One Qing artist who took traditional landscape painting in a new direction was Shitao (1642–1707), a descendant of the Ming imperial family who became a Chan Buddhist monk at age 20, which protected him from prosecution as a Ming loyalist. (Most of his family had been murdered, and he was orphaned as an infant.) Shitao's theoretical writings, most notably his *Sayings*

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34-14 Wen Shu, *Carnations and Garden Rock,* Ming dynasty, 1627. Fan, ink and colors on gold paper, 6 3/8″ × 1′ 9 1/4″. Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu (gift of Mr. Robert Allerton).

Wen Shu was probably the finest flower painter of the Ming era. Her depiction of a rock formation and three flower sprays is also an example of fan painting, a format imported from Japan.

on Painting from Monk Bitter Gourd (his adopted name), called for use of the "single brushstroke" or "primordial line" as the root of all phenomena and representation. Although he carefully studied earlier masterpieces, Shitao opposed mimicking those works and believed that he could not learn anything from the paintings of others unless he changed them.

Riding the Clouds (FIG. 34-15) is one *album leaf* (see "Chinese Painting Materials and Formats," page 489) in a series of 12 that Shitao produced during the last year of his life. Each of the paintings encapsulates his personal feelings, some happy, some sad, about his reclusive life in Nanjing. Here, the solitary rider scaling a steep mountain on a river of low-hanging clouds embodies the themes of loneliness and perseverance. The sharp angle Shitao used to record the landscape and the massing of thick ink alternating with sinuous lines and large blank areas are characteristic features of this innovative artist's distinctive style. Unlike traditional literati, Shitao did not so much depict the landscape's appearance as animate it, applying ink with unprecedented expressive force.

Giuseppe Castiglione. During the Qing dynasty, European Jesuit missionaries were familiar figures at the imperial court. Many of the missionaries were also artists, and they were instrumental in introducing modern European (that is, High Renaissance and Baroque) painting styles to China. The Chinese, while admiring the Europeans' technical virtuosity, found Western style unsatisfactory. Those Jesuit painters who were successful in China adapted their styles to Chinese tastes. The most prominent European artist at the Qing court was Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), who went by the name Lang Shining in China. *Auspicious Objects* (FIG. 34-16), which Castiglione painted in 1724 in honor of the birthday of the third Qing ruler, the Yongzheng (Concord and Rectitude) emperor (r. 1723–1735), exemplifies his hybrid Italian-Chinese painting style. The Jesuit painter's emphasis on a single

34-15 Shitao, *Reminiscences of Nanjing: Riding the Clouds,* Qing dynasty, 1707. Album leaf, ink on paper, 1′ 1/4″ × 8 7/8″. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

Shitao, a Chan Buddhist monk, experimented with unusual compositions and extreme effects of massed ink. In this album leaf, the solitary rider scaling a steep mountain embodies loneliness and perseverance.

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34-16 Giuseppe Castiglione (Lang Shining), *Auspicious Objects*, Qing dynasty, 1724. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 7′ $11\frac{3}{8}$″ × 5′ $1\frac{7}{8}$″. Palace Museum, Beijing.

Castiglione was a Jesuit painter in Qing China who successfully combined European lighting techniques and three-dimensional volume with traditional Chinese literati subjects and compositions.

source of light, consistently cast shadows, and three-dimensional volume are unmistakably European stylistic concerns. But the impact of Chinese literati painting on the Italian artist is equally evident, especially in the composition of the branches and leaves of the overhanging pine tree and the rock formations in the lower half of the scroll. Above all, the subject is purely Chinese. The white eagle, the pine tree, the rocks, and the red mushroomlike plants (lingzhi) are traditional Chinese symbols. The eagle connotes imperial status, courage, and military achievement. The evergreen pines and the rocks connote long life, which, according to Chinese belief, eating lingzhi will promote. All are fitting motifs for a painting celebrating the birthday of an emperor.

Qing Porcelain. Qing potters at the imperial kilns at Jingdezhen continued to expand on Yuan and Ming achievements in developing fine porcelain pieces with underglaze and overglaze decoration—a ceramic technology that earned wide admiration in Europe. The dish with a lobed rim reproduced here (FIG. 34-17)

34-17 Dish with lobed rim, Qing dynasty, ca. 1700. White porcelain with multicolored overglaze, 1′ $1\frac{5}{8}$″ diameter. Sir Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, London.

This dish depicting the three star gods of happiness, success, and longevity exemplifies the overglaze porcelain technique, in which all the colors come from applying enamels on top of the glaze surface.

exemplifies the overglaze technique. All of the colors—black, green, brown, yellow, and even blue—come from applying enamels after the first firing and then firing the dish again at a lower temperature (see "Chinese Porcelain," page 1063).

The decoration of the dish reflects important social changes in China. Economic prosperity and the possibility of advancement through success on civil service examinations made it realistic for many more families to hope that their sons could achieve wealth and higher social standing. In the center of this dish, painted for one of these upwardly mobile families, are Fu, Lu, and Shou, the three star gods of happiness, success, and longevity. The cranes and spotted deer, believed to live to advanced ages, and the pine trees around the rim are all symbols of long life. Artists represented similar themes in the woodblock prints produced in great quantities during the Qing era. The porcelain dish and especially the inexpensive prints were the commoners' equivalent of Castiglione's imperial painting of auspicious symbols (FIG. 34-16).

People's Republic

The overthrow of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of the Republic of China under the Nationalist Party in 1912 did not bring an end to the traditional themes and modes of Chinese art. But the triumph of Marxism in 1949, when the Communists took control of China and founded the People's Republic, inspired a social realism that broke drastically with the past. The intended purpose of Communist state-sponsored art was to promote Marxist ideas and official government propaganda.

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Ye Yushan. *Rent Collection Courtyard* (FIG. 34-18) is a 1965 tableau 100 yards long and incorporating 114 life-size figures created by YE YUSHAN (b. 1935) and a team of sculptors for the Communist government in Dayi. The purpose of the commission was to depict the grim times in Sichuan Province before the establishment of the People's Republic. Peasants, worn and bent by toil, bring their taxes (in produce) to the courtyard of their merciless, plundering landlord. (The group was first displayed in the actual courtyard of the former home of the pre-Communist rural landlord Liu Wencai.) The official 1968 publication of the Dayi group by the Foreign Languages Press in Beijing is titled *Rent Collection Courtyard: Sculptures of Oppression and Revolt.* The message of the statues and of the book is clear—this kind of thing must not happen again, and the Communist government will ensure that it does not.

Initially, the authorities who commissioned the work did not reveal the artists' names. The anonymity of those who depicted the event is significant and consistent with the Communist ethic. By withholding the identities of the artists, the state underscored that in the People's Republic, collective action, not individual initiative, was the best means to transform society for the better.

China Today. By the second decade of the 21st century, China had become one of the world's great economic powers, and the unwinding of the Cultural Revolution initiated by Mao Zedong (1893–1976) has had many significant consequences, including, in the art world, a fruitful exchange between China and the West, with artists such as Zhang Xiaogang (FIG. 32-21), Wu Guanzhong (FIG. 32-29), and Xu Bing (FIG. 32-40) achieving international reputations. Their works, which can be found in the collections of major museums in Europe and America as well as China, are treated in Chapter 32 in the context of contemporary art worldwide.

KOREA

The great political, social, religious, and artistic changes that took place in China from the Mongol era to the time of the People's Republic find parallels elsewhere in East Asia, especially in Korea. From the medieval period through the early 20th century, Korea was ruled by two long-lived dynasties, the Goryeo and Joseon, but unlike China, whose emperors were overthrown by an internal revolution, Korea became absorbed into another nation—Japan—before regaining its independence after World War II.

Joseon Dynasty

At the time that the Yuan overthrew the Song dynasty, the Goryeo dynasty (918–1392), which had ruled Korea since the downfall of China's Tang dynasty, was still in power (see "Goryeo Dynasty," page 498). The Goryeo kings outlasted the Yuan as well. Toward the end of the Goryeo dynasty, however, the Ming emperors of China attempted to take control of northeastern Korea. General Yi Seong-gye (1335–1408) repelled them and founded the last Korean dynasty, the Joseon, in 1392. The long rule of the Joseon kings ended only in 1910, when Japan annexed Korea.

34-18 YE YUSHAN and others, *Rent Collection Courtyard* (two details), Dayi, China, 1965. Clay, complete group of life-size figures 100 yards long.

In this propagandistic tableau incorporating 114 figures, sculptors depicted the exploitation of peasants by their merciless landlords during the grim times before the Communist takeover of China.

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34-19 Namdaemun (looking southwest), Seoul, South Korea, Joseon dynasty, first built in 1398.

The new Joseon dynasty rulers constructed the south gate to their new capital of Seoul as a symbol of their authority. Namdaemun combines stone foundations with Chinese-style bracketed wood construction.

Namdaemun, Seoul. Public building projects helped the new Korean state project an image of dignity and power. One impressive early monument, built for the new Joseon capital of Seoul, is the city's south gate, or Namdaemun (FIG. 34-19). It combines the imposing strength of its stone foundations with the sophistication of its intricately bracketed wood superstructure—the latter regrettably severely damaged by an arson fire in 2008. In East Asia, elaborate gateways, often in a processional series, are a standard element in city designs as well as royal and sacred compounds, all usually surrounded by walls, as in Beijing's Forbidden City (FIG. 34-1). These gateways served as magnificent symbols of the ruler's authority, as did the triumphal arches of imperial Rome (FIGS. 7-40, 7-44A, and 7-76).

Jeong Seon. Over the long course of the Joseon dynasty, Korean painters worked in many different modes and treated the same wide range of subjects seen in Ming and Qing China. One of Korea's most renowned painters was JEONG SEON (1676–1759), a great admirer of Chinese Southern School painting who brought a distinctive vision to the traditional theme of the mountainous landscape. In *Geumgangsan* (*Diamond Mountains*; FIG. 34-20), a view of the 1,638-meter-high mountain peak in North Korea near the border with South Korea, Jeong evoked a specific scene, an approach known in Korea as "true view" painting. Using sharper, darker versions of the fibrous brushstrokes that most Chinese literati favored, he was able to represent the bright crystalline appearance of the mountains and to emphasize their spiky forms.

Modern Korea

After its annexation in 1910, Korea remained part of Japan until 1945, when the Western Allies and the Soviet Union took control of the peninsula nation at the end of World War II. Korea was divided into the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and the Republic of Korea (South Korea) in 1948. South Korea soon emerged as a fully industrialized nation, and its artists have had a wide exposure to art styles from around the globe. While some Korean artists continue to work in a traditional East Asian manner, others—for example, Song Su-nam (FIG. 32-29A) and Do-Ho Suh (FIG. 32-49)—have embraced developments in Europe and America, but modified their Western models to produce distinctively Korean artworks. Contemporary Korean art is examined in Chapter 32.

34-20 JEONG SEON, *Geumgangsan* (*Diamond Mountains*), Joseon dynasty, 1734. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper, 4′ $3\frac{1}{2}$″ × 1′ $11\frac{1}{4}$″. Hoam Art Museum, Kyunggi-Do.

In a variation on Chinese literati painting, Jeong Seon used sharp, dark brushstrokes to represent the bright crystalline appearance and spiky forms of the towering Diamond Mountains in North Korea.

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THE BIG PICTURE

China and Korea, 1279 to 1980

Yuan Dynasty 1279–1368

- The Mongols invaded northern China in 1210 and defeated the last Song emperor in 1279. Under the first Yuan emperor, Kublai Khan, and his successors, China was richer and technologically more advanced than Europe.
- Most Chinese artists refused to serve in the Mongol administration, but traditional landscape painting and calligraphy continued to flourish in literati circles during the century of Yuan rule.
- The Jingdezhen kilns gained renown for porcelain pottery with cobalt-blue underglaze decoration.

David Vases, Yuan dynasty, 1351

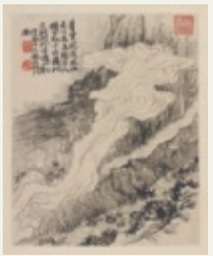
Ming Dynasty 1368–1644

- A popular uprising in 1368 drove the last Mongol emperor from Beijing. The new native Ming dynasty expanded the capital and constructed a vast new imperial palace compound, the Forbidden City. Surrounded by a moat and featuring an axial plan, it was the ideal setting for court ritual.
- At the opposite architectural pole are the gardens of Suzhou. The Ming designers employed pavilions, bridges, ponds, winding paths, and sculpted rocks to reproduce the irregularities of uncultivated nature.
- Ming painting is also diverse, ranging from formal official portrait and history painting to landscape painting. Another subject that artists explored was flowers, sometimes painted on fans.
- The workshop known as the Orchard Factory satisfied the Ming court's appetite for luxury goods with furniture and other objects in lacquered wood.

Wangshi Yuan, Suzhou, 16th century and later

Qing Dynasty 1644–1911

- In 1644, the Ming dynasty fell to the Manchus, northern invaders who, unlike the Yuan, embraced Chinese art and culture.
- Traditional painting styles remained fashionable, but the Qing painter Shitao experimented with extreme effects of massed ink and free brushwork patterns.
- Increased contact with Europe brought many Jesuit missionaries to the Qing court. The most prominent Jesuit artist was Giuseppe Castiglione, who developed a hybrid Italian-Chinese painting style.
- The Jingdezhen imperial potters developed multicolor porcelains using the overglaze enamel technique.



Shitao, *Riding the Clouds,* 1707

Modern China 1912–1980

- The overthrow of the Qing dynasty did not bring a dramatic change in Chinese art, but after the Communists gained control in 1949, state art focused on promoting Marxist ideals.
- Under the People's Republic of China, teams of sculptors produced vast propaganda pieces, such as *Rent Collection Courtyard*.

Ye Yushan, *Rent Collection Courtyard,* 1965

Korea 1392–1980

- The last Korean dynasty was the Joseon (r. 1392–1910), which established its capital at Seoul and erected impressive public monuments, such as the Namdaemun gate, to serve as symbols of imperial authority.
- After the division of Korea into two republics following World War II, South Korea emerged as a modern industrial nation. Some of its artists have brilliantly combined native and international traditions.

Namdaemun, Seoul, 1398

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◀**35-1a** In the 19th century, residents of Edo (present-day Tokyo) sought to escape from the noise and pressures of city life to visit places of leisure and natural beauty, such as the Kameido plum-tree orchard.

▲**35-1b** Hiroshige's print shows only a partial view of the most famous tree in Edo—the Sleeping Dragon Plum—whose branches spread out in abstract patterns evoking the beloved Japanese art of calligraphy.

◀**35-1c** The bold patterns of the Sleeping Dragon Plum's limbs seen against the unnaturally colored red sky so dominate the print that the viewer hardly notices the crowd of onlookers behind a fence.

1 in.

35-1 **Ando Hiroshige, *Plum Estate, Kameido,* from *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo,* Edo period, 1857. Woodblock print, ink and colors on paper, 1′ $1\frac{1}{4}$″ × $8\frac{5}{8}$″. Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn (gift of Anna Ferris).**

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JAPAN, 1333 TO 1980

35

FRAMING THE ERA

Famous Views of Edo

In the centuries bridging the medieval and modern periods in Japan, one of the major developments was the growing popularity of secular themes as art subjects, including scenes of daily life and landscapes. Both rose to prominence in the 18th century with the proliferation of inexpensive multicolor woodblock prints (see "Japanese Woodblock Prints," page 1086). The Japanese printmakers were inspired in part by imported Dutch landscape engravings, but they transformed the compositions and coloration of their Western models.

Ando Hiroshige (1797–1858) and the older Katsushika Hokusai (fig. 35-14) were the two most renowned Japanese printmakers specializing in landscapes. Hiroshige, born into a wealthy family, decided early on to pursue a career as an artist rather than following in his father's footsteps as chief of a fire brigade. In August 1832, he traveled on an official government mission to the emperor in Kyoto and the following year published a series of prints based on the sketches he made on that journey—*Fifty-three Stations of the Tokaido Highway.* That collection of views of the countryside along the major roadway on Japan's east coast was an instant success. Many other editions followed, including views of Kyoto (1834) and his last and most ambitious series, published shortly before his death, *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*.

Plum Estate, Kameido (fig. 35-1), dated "11th Month, 1857," comes from the *Edo* series. The "famous views" are not monuments and buildings but places of leisure and natural beauty where the Japanese sought to escape from the noise and pressures of city life. Many of the sites are Shinto shrines (see "Shinto," page 505) and Buddhist temples. Others, including the plum orchard of Kameido, were favorite spots to visit at particular times of the year, when their natural beauty was at its peak. The main attraction of the Kameido estate was the Sleeping Dragon Plum, the most famous tree in Edo, celebrated for its large white blossoms and aromatic fragrance.

Hiroshige's print shows only a partial view of the venerable tree, with its branches spreading out to touch all sides of the print and forming a bold abstract pattern evoking the beloved art of calligraphy. The pattern of the tree's limbs so dominates the print that the viewer hardly notices the crowd of onlookers behind a fence in the background. The unnatural coloration of the red sky enhances the abstract effect, flattening the pictorial space in a manner completely foreign to the Western notion of perspective. It was precisely this quality that fascinated 19th-century European painters who were trying to break free of the Renaissance ideals perpetuated by the official painting academies. One of those artists was Vincent van Gogh, who paid tribute to Hiroshige by painting his own version of the Kameido woodblock print (fig. 28-18B).

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MUROMACHI

The Kamakura *shogunate* (military government; see "Kamakura," page 513) ruled Japan for more than a century, but collapsed in 1332. Several years of civil war followed, ending only in 1336, when Ashikaga Takauji (1305–1358) succeeded in becoming the new imperially recognized *shogun* (general-in-chief). In art historical terms, the rise of the Ashikaga clan marked the beginning of the Muromachi era (1336–1573), named after the district in Kyoto (MAP 35-1) in which the new shogunate maintained its headquarters. During the Muromachi period, which, in historical terms, officially began with the defeat of the last opposing faction by Ashikaga Yashimitsu in 1392, Kyoto once again became the political and cultural capital of Japan, trade with China expanded, and *Zen* Buddhism (see "Zen Buddhism," page 1077) gained a wide following alongside the older traditions, such as Pure Land and Esoteric Buddhism. Unlike the Pure Land faith, which focused on death and the saving power of Amida, the Buddha of the West, Zen emphasized rigorous discipline and personal responsibility. For this reason, Zen held a special attraction for the upper echelons of *samurai* (warriors; Japanese, "guards"), whose behavioral codes placed high value on loyalty, courage, and self-control. Further, familiarity with Chinese Zen culture (see "Chan Buddhism," page 495) carried implications of superior knowledge and refinement, thereby legitimizing the elevated status of the warrior elite.

Zen, however, was not exclusively the religion of Zen monks and highly placed warriors. Aristocrats, merchants, and others studied at and supported Zen temples. Furthermore, those who embraced Zen, including samurai, also generally accepted other Buddhist teachings, especially the ideas of the Pure Land sects. Zen temples functioned not only as religious institutions but also as centers of secular culture, where people could study Chinese art, literature, and learning, which the Japanese imported along with Zen Buddhism. Some Zen monasteries accumulated considerable wealth overseeing trade missions to China.

Kano Motonobu. One of the major Zen temple complexes was Daitokuji in Kyoto, which commissioned KANO MOTONOBU (1476–1559) to paint six panels to serve as *fusuma* (sliding door paintings) for the Daitokuji abbot's room. Motonobu was the son of Kano Masanobu (1434–1530), who became the Muromachi shogunate's official painter in 1481, and founded what came to be called the Kano School, which, by the 17th century, had become virtually a national painting academy. The school flourished until the late 19th century.

MAP 35-1 **Modern Japan.**

Each of Motonobu's six fusuma panels depicted a different Zen patriarch. The illustrated example, *Zen Patriarch Xiangyen Zhixian Sweeping with a Broom* (FIG. 35-2), later refashioned as a hanging scroll, or *kakemono,* represents Xiangyen Zhixian (d. 898) at the moment when he achieved enlightenment. Motonobu portrayed the patriarch sweeping the ground near his rustic retreat as a roof tile falls at his feet and shatters. His Zen training is so deep that the resonant sound propels the patriarch into an awakening. Thick clouds obscure the mountainous setting and focus the viewer's attention on the sharp, angular rocks, bamboo branches, and modest hut framing the patriarch. Lightly applied colors also draw attention to Xiangyen Zhixian, whom the painter showed as having dropped his broom from his right hand as he recoils in astonishment. Although very different in style, the Japanese painting recalls the subject of Liang Kai's Song hanging scroll (FIG. 16-29) representing the Sixth Chan Patriarch's "Chan moment" while chopping bamboo.

JAPAN, 1333 TO 1980

1336–1573	1573–1615	1615–1868	1868–1989
Muromachi	**Momoyama**	**Edo**	**Meiji and Showa**
■ Kano Motonobu helps establish the Kano School as a virtual Japanese national painting academy ■ Sesshu Toyo is the leading master of the splashed-ink (haboku) painting technique ■ Zen Buddhist monks meditate in temples featuring dry-landscape (karesansui) gardens	■ Japanese warlords decorate their palatial fortified castles with painted folding screens featuring lavish use of gold leaf ■ Sen no Rikyu becomes the most renowned master of the Japanese tea ceremony and designs teahouses that foster humility ■ Ceramics from the Mino kilns exemplify the aesthetic principles of wabi and sabi	■ The Katsura Imperial Villa at Kyoto sets the standard for Japanese domestic architecture ■ Rinpa emerges as the major alternative style of painting to the Kano School ■ Japanese ukiyo-e prints depicting the sensual pleasures of Edo's "floating world" reach a wide audience	■ European styles and techniques, including oil painting, influence Japanese art after Japan opens its doors to the West ■ Ceramic master Hamada Shoji receives official recognition as a Living National Treasure ■ Kenzo Tange designs the modernist stadiums for the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo

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Zen Buddhism

Zen (*Chan* in Chinese), as a fully developed Buddhist tradition, began filtering into Japan in the late 12th century during the Kamakura shogunate and had its most pervasive influence on Japanese culture starting in the 14th century during the Muromachi period. The first Zen sect introduced into Japan was the Rinzai school, brought from the mainland in 1191 by the monk Eisai (1141–1215). Later, the monk Dogen (1200–1253) introduced the Soto school of Zen Buddhism. As in other forms of Buddhism, Zen followers hoped to achieve enlightenment. Zen teachings assert that everyone has the potential for enlightenment, but worldly knowledge and mundane thought patterns are barriers to achieving it. Thus followers must succeed in breaking through the boundaries of everyday perception and logic. This is most often accomplished through meditation. Indeed, the Japanese word *zen* means "meditation."

Some Zen schools stress meditation as a long-term practice eventually leading to enlightenment, whereas others stress the benefits of sudden shocks to the worldly mind. One of these shocks is the subject of Kano Motonobu's *Zen Patriarch Xiangyen Zhixian Sweeping with a Broom* (FIG. 35-2), in which the shattering of a fallen roof tile opens the monk's mind. Beyond personal commitment, the guidance of an enlightened Zen teacher is essential to arriving at enlightenment. Years of strict training involving manual labor under the tutelage of this master, coupled with meditation, provide the foundation for a receptive mind. According to Zen beliefs, by cultivating discipline and intense concentration, Buddhists can transcend their ego and release themselves from the shackles of the mundane world. Although Zen is not primarily devotional, followers do pray to specific Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and guardian figures. In general, Zen teachings view mental calm, lack of fear, and spontaneity as signs of a person's advancement on the path to enlightenment.

Zen training for monks takes place at temples, some of which have gardens designed in accord with Zen principles, such as Kyoto's Saihogi moss garden (FIG. 35-3A) and Ryoanji dry-landscape garden (FIG. 35-4). Zen temples also sometimes served as centers of Chinese learning and conducted funeral rites. These temples even embraced many traditional Buddhist observances, such as devotional rituals before images, which had little to do with meditation per se.

As Zen teachings spread, they reverberated throughout Japanese culture. Lay followers as well as Zen monks painted pictures and produced other artworks that appear to reach toward Zen ideals through their subjects and their means of expression. Other cultural practices reflected the widespread appeal of Zen Buddhism. For example, the tea ceremony (see "The Japanese Tea Ceremony," page 1082), or ritual drinking of tea, as it developed in the 15th and 16th centuries, offered a temporary respite from everyday concerns, especially when the ceremony took place in a quiet setting with a meditative atmosphere, such as the Taian teahouse (FIG. 35-8).

35-2 **KANO MOTONOBU, *Zen Patriarch Xiangyen Zhixian Sweeping with a Broom*, from Daitokuji, Kyoto, Japan, Muromachi period, ca. 1513. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 5′ 7 3/8″ × 2′ 10 3/4″. Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.**

The Kano School was the preeminent painting academy in Muromachi Japan. For a Zen Buddhist temple, Kano Motonobu painted this hanging scroll depicting a Zen patriarch experiencing enlightenment.

Sesshu Toyo. Kano Motonobu's work is characterized by exacting precision in applying ink in bold outlines by holding the brush perpendicular to the paper. Representing the opposite pole of Muromachi painting is the era's most celebrated priest-painter, SESSHU TOYO (1420–1506), one of the few Japanese painters who traveled to China and studied contemporaneous Ming painting (see "Sesshu Toyo," page 1078). His most dramatic works are in the *splashed-ink* (*haboku*) style, a technique with Chinese roots. The painter of a haboku picture pauses to visualize the image, loads the brush with ink, and then applies primarily broad, rapid strokes, sometimes even dripping the ink onto the paper. The result often hovers at the edge of legibility, without dissolving into sheer abstraction. This balance between spontaneity and a thorough knowledge of the painting tradition gives the pictures their artistic strength. The haboku

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WRITTEN SOURCES

Sesshu Toyo

Despite the prestige of Chinese art in Japan, few Japanese artists had the opportunity to travel to the mainland to study Chinese art or architecture firsthand. One who did was the renowned Muromachi painter Sesshu Toyo (FIG. 35-3), who traveled to China with a trading mission between 1467 and 1469 and visited Buddhist monasteries, major cities, and famous scenic sites. Accompanying Sesshu on his journey to China was the priest and poet Genryu Shuko (d. 1491), who left an invaluable personal account of Sesshu's travels and the artist's philosophy of painting.

> When the venerable Sesshu went to China, I was on the same boat. He saw, one after another, all the famous cities, the prosperity and beauty of the capitals and the provinces . . . Art took him to far places . . . The Emperor looked at his paintings and considered them rare treasures [and awarded him] the First Seat in the famous Tendo temple in order to show appreciation for his art. Upon his return to Japan, his reputation increased tenfold. Sesshu said, "Within the great country of China, there are no painting masters. That is not to say that there are no paintings, but no painting teachers there except as there are mountains . . . and as there are rivers . . . strange plants, trees, birds, and beasts, different men and their manners and customs. Such are the real paintings of China. In regard to the techniques of using ink and the art of handling the brush these must be mastered first in the mind and then translated by the hand . . . That is what I mean by saying that there are no teachers in China" . . . Truly [Sesshu] is one man in a thousand years. . . . Those of the upper classes such as princes and others of the nobility, and those of the lower classes such as business men and merchants—all beg for a few strokes from his brush or any fragments that may be left about. Many come and go, and it is said that the crowds are held back from entering [Sesshu's] studio by an iron gate . . . Through the open door [one can see that in] every direction paints and brushes lie disordered among large and small paintings. Some are on finely woven silk and others on coarse paper. There are rolls of finished and unfinished paintings rising to the ridge of the roof, while mounted paintings hang on the walls. At the end of the day, when weary in body and spirit from studying colors and painting the seasons, [Sesshu] rests by the railing, loosens his robes at the neck, and lets the wind caress his skin. Often he draws deep breaths and expands his lungs, meditating on the meaning of painting.*

*Translated by Jon C. Covell. Quoted in Stephen Addiss, Gerald Groemer, and J. Thomas Rimer, *Traditional Japanese Arts and Culture: An Illustrated Sourcebook* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 103–104.

35-3 SESSHU TOYO, splashed-ink (haboku) landscape, detail of the lower part of a hanging scroll, Muromachi period, 1495. Ink on paper, full scroll 4′ $10\frac{1}{4}$″ × 1′ $\frac{7}{8}$″, detail $4\frac{1}{2}$″ high. Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.

In this haboku landscape, Sesshu Toyo applied primarily broad, rapid strokes, sometimes dripping the ink on the paper. The result hovers at the edge of legibility, without dissolving into abstraction.

landscape illustrated here (FIG. 35-3) is a detail of the lower part of a hanging scroll that Sesshu presented as a gift to a favorite pupil on the completion of his studies. Images of mountains, trees, and buildings emerge from the ink-washed surface. Two figures appear in a boat (to the lower right), and the two swift strokes nearby represent the pole and banner of a wine shop.

Karesansui Gardens. Gardens played a major role in Zen Buddhist monasteries, providing the monks with an austere and serene place where they could walk and meditate, far removed from the noise and distractions of daily life. One early example is the Kokedera (Moss Temple; FIG. 35-3A) of the lower garden of Kyoto's Saihoji temple. Even more severe is the *karesansui* (Japanese, "dry-landscape") rock garden (FIG. 35-4) of Ryoanji (see "The Rock Garden of Ryoanji," page 1079).

35-3A Moss garden, Saihoji, Kyoto, 14th century.

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A SECOND OPINION

The Rock Garden of Ryoanji

Ryoanji (Temple of the Peaceful Dragon) in northwestern Kyoto occupies land that belonged to the Muromachi shogun Hosokawa Katsumoto (1430–1473), who left his estate to the Rinzai Zen sect, which erected the temple on the site around 1488. The Ryoanji karesansui garden (FIG. 35-4) probably dates to that time as well, although many scholars believe that its present form is the result of a later remodeling. Unlike the sprawling Saihoji Muromachi moss garden (FIG. 35-3A), the Ryoanji karesansui is surrounded by low walls. Situated adjacent to the abbot's quarters, the garden measures only about 75 by 29 feet. Continuously tended by the monks, who rake it daily and remove any weeds that may have emerged, the garden consists of 15 artfully placed, irregularly shaped rocks of varying sizes set in a bed of white gravel with green moss growing on and around the stones.

Opinions vary as to what the rocks are meant to represent, if anything. Many observers have compared the rocks and gravel in the Ryoanji garden to islands in a calm lake, others to mountain peaks projecting through the clouds (compare FIG. 35-10A), a cherry tree with branches, or even a tigress and her cubs crossing a river.

What is certain is that the unknown designer, probably a Zen monk, intended the garden to facilitate meditation. The monks sit quietly and view the rocks from a stationary position, even though from any vantage point it is possible to see only 14 rocks at one time. Most scholars believe that the design symbolizes the sense of incompleteness that a monk experiences before achieving enlightenment. In any case, the arrangement of rocks and raked lines (circular around the stones, parallel lines everywhere else) is an abstract composition, striking in its severity and emptiness, especially in contrast to the dense and colorful foliage that forms a backdrop to the enclosed garden. Whatever the stones may symbolize, the design successfully fulfills the purpose of the garden, which is to direct the attention of the meditating monks inward, not to the natural world.

35-4 Karesansui (dry-landscape) garden, Ryoanji, Kyoto, Japan, Muromachi period, ca. 1488.

Perfectly suited for meditation by Zen Buddhist monks, the karesansui garden of the Peaceful Dragon Temple features artfully placed, irregularly shaped rocks in a bed of raked white gravel.

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MOMOYAMA

Although the Ashikaga shogunate dominated Japan for about 250 years, its control was tenuous. Ambitious *daimyo* (feudal lords; Japanese, "great names"), the leaders of powerful bands of samurai, often seized opportunities to expand their power, sometimes aspiring to become shogun themselves. By the late 15th century, Japan was experiencing violent confrontations over territory and dominance. In fact, scholars refer to the last century of the Muromachi period as the Era of Warring States, intentionally borrowing the terminology used to describe a much earlier tumultuous period in Chinese history. Finally, three successive warlords seized power during the short-lived Momoyama period (1573–1615). In 1573, the daimyo Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) overthrew the Ashikaga shogunate in Kyoto, but was later killed by one of his generals. Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598) took control of the government after Nobunaga's murder and held on to power until he died of natural causes in 1598. In the struggle following Hideyoshi's death, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) emerged victorious, and the emperor granted him the title of shogun in 1603. Ieyasu continued to face challenges, but by 1615 he had eliminated his last rival and established his clan as the de facto rulers of Japan for two-and-a-half centuries during what historians call the Edo period after the shogunate's new headquarters.

Himeji Castle. To reinforce their power and to defend themselves against possible attack, the Momoyama warlords constructed immense fortified castles to serve as their palatial residences. These

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35-5 White Heron Castle, Himeji, Japan, constructed in 1346 and enlarged during the Momoyama period in 1581 and again in 1601–1609.

Called White Heron Castle because of its white plastered wood walls, Himeji Castle, despite its militaristic aspects, exudes a sense of weightlessness because of the winglike profiles of its elegant tile roofs.

castles housed not only the warlords and their families but also their retainers, garrisons of loyal samurai, horses, and arms, including Western firearms and cannons introduced to Japan by the Portuguese in 1543. The Western weapons dramatically changed the nature of Japanese warfare, necessitating the construction of castles with protective wall circuits.

The most impressive extant Momoyama castle is at Himeji (FIG. 35-5), west of Osaka, constructed in 1346 and enlarged in 1581 by Hideyoshi and again between 1601 and 1609 by the son-in-law of Ieyasu. Known as Shirasagi—the White Heron Castle—because of the white plaster fire-resistant coating of its wood walls, the Momoyama residential complex rises several stories above high masonry walls that have a steep incline designed to make them impossible for an enemy to scale. Ringing the complex is a moat, and, to provide further protection, the builders laid out the castle grounds with a succession of interior gates and narrow mazelike

35-6 KANO EITOKU, *Chinese Lions,* Momoyama period, late 16th century. Six-panel screen, ink, colors, and gold-leaf on paper, 7′ 4″ × 14′ 10″. Imperial Household Collection, Tokyo.

Chinese lions were fitting imagery for the castle of a Momoyama warlord because they exemplified power and bravery. Eitoku's huge screen features boldly outlined forms on a gold ground.

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passageways. The uppermost level of the warlord's private apartment complex, which commands a view of the surrounding countryside from narrow windows on all four sides, could be reached only by a ladder. Despite its militaristic aspects, the Himeji castle exudes a sense of weightlessness, achieved in part by means of its bright white walls, which reflect sunlight, but primarily by the winglike profiles of the curving tiled roofs, which lead the viewer's eye in pyramid fashion to the narrow top story silhouetted against the sky.

The castles of the Momoyama period were so numerous and so symptomatic of these turbulent times that historians have named the era after one of Hideyoshi's castles southeast of Kyoto—Momoyama (Peach Blossom Hill).

Kano Eitoku. Although the Momoyama period was only a brief interlude between two major shogunates, the artists of this era produced many outstanding artworks. Each Momoyama warlord commissioned lavish decorations for the interior of his castle, including paintings, fusuma and *byobu* (folding screens) in ink, color, and gold leaf. Gold screens had been known since Muromachi times, but Momoyama painters made them even bolder, reducing the number of motifs and often greatly enlarging them against flat, shimmering fields of gold leaf.

The grandson of Kano Motonobu, KANO EITOKU (1543–1590), was the leading painter of murals and screens and received numerous commissions from the powerful Momoyama warlords. So extensive were these commissions (in both scale and number) that Eitoku adopted a painting system developed by his grandfather, which depended on a team of specialized painters to assist him. Unfortunately, little of Eitoku's elaborate work remains because of the subsequent destruction of the ostentatious castles he helped decorate—not surprising in an era marked by power struggles. However, still extant is a six-panel screen (FIG. 35-6), originally one of a pair that Eitoku created for Toyotomi Hideyoshi as a gift to another feudal lord. The subject—two ancient Chinese mythological beasts, a lion and a lioness—was appropriate for a warlord's castle. Appearing in both religious (the historical Buddha was known as "the lion of the Shakya clan") and secular contexts, lions were associated with power and bravery. Indeed, Chinese lions became an important symbolic motif during the Momoyama period. In Eitoku's painting, the colorful beasts' powerfully muscled bodies, defined and flattened by the characteristic Kano School heavy black outlines, stride forward in a schematic landscape of brown rocks and gold clouds. The dramatic effect of this work derives in part from its scale—it is more than 7 feet tall and nearly 15 feet long.

Hasegawa Tohaku. Momoyama painters did not work exclusively in the colorful style exemplified by Eitoku's *Chinese Lions.* HASEGAWA TOHAKU (1539–1610) was a leading painter who became familiar with the aesthetics and techniques of Chinese Chan and Japanese Zen painters such as Sesshu Toyo (FIG. 35-3) by studying the art collections of the Daitokuji temple in Kyoto. Tohaku sometimes painted in ink monochrome, using loose brushwork with brilliant success, as seen in *Pine Forest* (FIG. 35-7), one of a pair of six-panel byobu. His wet brushstrokes—long and slow, short and quick, dark and pale—present a grove of great pines shrouded in mist. His trees emerge from and recede into the heavy atmosphere, as if the landscape hovers at the edge of formlessness. In Zen terms, the picture suggests the illusory nature of mundane reality while evoking a calm, meditative mood.

Sen No Rikyu. A favorite exercise of cultivation and refinement in the Momoyama period was the tea ceremony (see "The Japanese Tea Ceremony," page 1082). In Japan, this important practice eventually came to carry political and ideological implications, and provided a means for those relatively new to political or economic power to assert authority in the cultural realm. For example, on returning from a major military campaign, Toyotomi Hideyoshi held an immense tea ceremony lasting 10 days and open to

35-7 HASEGAWA TOHAKU, *Pine Forest,* Momoyama period, late 16th century. One of a pair of six-panel screens, ink on paper, 5′ $1\frac{3}{8}$″ × 11′ 4″. Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.

Tohaku used wet brushstrokes to paint a grove of great pines shrouded in mist. In Zen terms, the six-panel screen suggests the illusory nature of mundane reality while evoking a meditative mood.

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ART AND SOCIETY

The Japanese Tea Ceremony

The Japanese tea ceremony (*chanoyu*) involves the ritual preparation, serving, and drinking of powdered green tea. The fundamental practices began in China. It was not until the ninth century that a monk named Eichu introduced ritual tea drinking to Japan from China. Eventually, however, the Japanese formalities of serving tea, although based on Chinese practice, developed to a much higher degree of sophistication, peaking in the Momoyama period. Simple forms of the tea ceremony started in Japan in Zen temples as a symbolic withdrawal from the ordinary world to cultivate the mind and spirit and to teach *wa-kei-sei-jaku* ("harmony, respect, purity, tranquility"). The practices spread to other social groups, especially samurai and, by the late 16th century, wealthy merchants. Until the late Muromachi period, grand tea ceremonies in warrior residences served primarily as an excuse to display treasured collections of Chinese objects, especially porcelains, lacquers, and paintings.

Initially, the Japanese held tea ceremonies in a room or section of a house. As the popularity of tea ceremonies increased, freestanding teahouses (FIG. 35-8) became common. The ceremony involves a sequence of rituals in which both host and guests participate. The host's responsibilities include serving the guests; selecting special utensils, such as water jars (FIG. 35-9) and tea bowls; and determining the tearoom's decoration, which changes according to occasion and season. Acknowledged as having superior aesthetic sensibilities, individuals recognized as master tea-ceremony practitioners (tea masters) advise patrons on the ceremony and acquire students. Tea masters even influence the design of teahouses and tearooms within larger structures (including interiors and gardens), as well as the design of tea utensils. They often make simple bamboo implements and occasionally even ceramic vessels.

35-8 SEN NO RIKYU, interior of the Taian teahouse, Myokian temple, Kyoto, Japan, Momoyama period, ca. 1582.

The dimness and tiny size of the Taian tearoom and its alcove produce a cavelike feeling and encourage intimacy among the host and guests, who must crawl through a small door to enter.

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everyone in Kyoto. The ceremony's political connotations became so important that warlords reserved the right to grant or withhold permission for their vassals to host these rituals.

The most venerated tea master of the Momoyama period was SEN NO RIKYU (1522–1591), who was instrumental in establishing the aesthetics and rituals of the tea ceremony—for example, the exclusive use of natural construction materials of modest cost (wood, mud, stone, and straw) and the manner of entry into a teahouse (crawling on one's hands and knees). Rikyu believed that crawling fostered humility and created the impression, however unrealistic, that there was no rank in a teahouse. Rikyu was the designer of the first Japanese teahouse, or *chashitsu,* built as an independent structure as opposed to being part of a house. The Taian teahouse (FIG. 35-8) at the Myokian temple in Kyoto, also attributed to Rikyu, is the oldest in Japan. The interior displays two standard features of Japanese residential architecture of the late Muromachi period—very thick, rigid straw mats called *tatami* (a Heian innovation) and an alcove called a *tokonoma.* The tatami accommodate the traditional Japanese customs of not wearing shoes indoors and of sitting on the floor. They are still features of Japanese homes today. Less common in contemporary houses are tokonoma, which developed as places to hang scrolls of painting or calligraphy and to display seasonal floral arrangements.

The Taian tokonoma and the tearoom as a whole have unusually dark walls, with earthen plaster covering even some of the square corner posts. The room's dimness and tiny size (about 6 feet square, the size of two tatami mats) produce a cavelike feel and encourage intimacy among the tea host and guests. The guests enter from the garden outside by crawling through a small sliding door. The means of entrance emphasizes a guest's passage into a ceremonial space set apart from the ordinary world.

Wabi and Sabi. Sen no Rikyu also was influential in determining the aesthetics of tea-ceremony utensils. In his view, value and refinement lay in character and ability, not in bloodline or rank, and he therefore encouraged the use of tea items whose value was their inherent beauty rather than their monetary worth. Even before Rikyu, in the late 15th century during the Muromachi period, admiration of the technical brilliance of Chinese objects had begun to give way to ever-greater appreciation of the virtues of rustic Korean and Japanese wares. This new aesthetic of refined rusticity, or *wabi,* promoted especially by the Buddhist priest and influential tea master Murata Juko (1423–1502), was consistent with Zen concepts. Wabi suggests austerity and simplicity. Related to wabi and also important as a philosophical and aesthetic principle was *sabi*—the value found in the old and weathered, suggesting the tranquility reached in old age.

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35-9 **Kogan (tea-ceremony water jar), Momoyama period, late 16th century. Shino glazed stoneware with underglaze iron slip decoration, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$″ high. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (John L. Severance Fund).**

The vessels used in the Japanese tea ceremony reflect the concepts of wabi, the aesthetic of refined rusticity, and sabi, the value found in weathered objects, suggesting the tranquility of old age.

Wabi and sabi aesthetics underlie the ceramic vessels produced for the tea ceremony, such as the Shino water jar named *Kogan* (FIG. 35-9). The name, which means "ancient stream bank," comes from the brown-and-black painted design—marsh grass—on the jar's surface as well as from its coarse texture and rough form, both reminiscent of earth cut by water. The term *Shino* generally refers to ceramic wares produced during the late 16th and early 17th centuries in kilns at Mino, northeast of Kyoto. Shino vessels typically have rough surfaces and feature heavy glazes containing feldspar. These glazes are predominantly white when fired, but pinkish-red or "mouse-gray" (*nezumi*) hues were also popular. The illustrated water jar is of the white variety. Its coarse stoneware body and seemingly casual decoration offer the same sorts of aesthetic and interpretive challenges and opportunities as dry-landscape gardens (FIG. 35-4). This Kogan, for example, has surface cracks, an irregular rim, and sagging contours (all intentional) to suggest the accidental and natural, qualities essential to the values of wabi and sabi.

EDO

When Tokugawa Ieyasu consolidated his power in 1615, he abandoned Kyoto, the imperial capital, for Edo, which under the Tokugawa shogunate grew within the next hundred years from a modest village to a sprawling metropolis with a population of about a million. The new regime instituted many policies designed to severely limit the pace of social and cultural change in Japan. Christianity, for example, had gained its initial foothold in Japan when the Portuguese Jesuit Francis Xavier (1506–1552) led the first mission to the islands in 1549. Later in the century, Christian missionaries began to build the first churches in Japan. As the popularity of the Western religion grew, the Tokugawa shogunate began to fear the same kind of colonization that had occurred in the Americas in New Spain, and banned Christianity and expelled all Western foreigners except Dutch traders. Although in 1720 the ban on the importation of Western books was lifted, save for religious texts, the Edo period marks the beginning of a long-lasting policy of government-imposed isolation for Japan, which also limited Japanese artists' exposure to Western art.

The Tokugawa were also concerned about destabilization of the social order, and instituted Confucian ideas of social stratification and civic responsibility as public policy. They made a concerted effort to control the social influence of urban merchants, some of whom had accumulated wealth far outstripping that of most daimyo. The daimyo themselves were required to maintain homes in Edo, and when they left, their families had to remain in the city as virtual hostages. However, the explosion of population in Edo, the spread of literacy throughout the country, and a growing thirst for knowledge and diversion made for a very lively popular culture not easily subject to tight control.

Katsura Imperial Villa. In the Edo period, the power of the Japanese court remained as it had been for centuries—symbolic and ceremonial—but the imperial family continued to wield influence in matters of taste and culture, which the shogunate encouraged as far preferable to the emperor's seeking to reassert governing authority.

In 1620, Prince Toshihito (1579–1629) began to develop a modest country retreat into a villa that became the standard for domestic Japanese architecture. His son, Prince Noritada (b. 1619), continued the project, which required almost half a century to complete and eventually boasted five teahouses in addition to the residential units. Since the early 20th century, the Katsura Imperial Villa (FIG. 35-10) has inspired architects worldwide (FIG. 30-23),

35-10 **East facade of the Katsura Imperial Villa, Kyoto, Japan, Edo period, 1620–1663.**

The Katsura Imperial Villa became the standard for Japanese residential architecture. The design relies on subtleties of proportion, color, and texture instead of ornamentation for its aesthetic appeal.

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even as ordinary living environments in Japan became increasingly Westernized in structure and decor. The villa takes its name from its location on the Katsura River southwest of Kyoto. The design incorporates many features derived from earlier teahouses, such as Rikyu's Taian (FIG. 35-8), but by the Edo period, tea-ceremony aesthetics had retreated from Rikyu's wabi extremes, and the Katsura Villa's builders incorporated elements of courtly gracefulness as well.

Unlike in the castles of the Momoyama warlords, ornamentation that advertises the owner's wealth and disguises structural forms has little place in this architecture's appeal, which relies instead on subtleties of proportion, color, and texture. A variety of textures (stone, wood, tile, plaster) and subdued colors and tonal values enrich the villa's lines, planes, and volumes. Artisans painstakingly rubbed and burnished all surfaces to bring out the natural beauty of their grains and textures. The rooms are not large, but parting or removing the sliding doors between them creates broad rectangular spaces. Perhaps most important, the residents can open the doors to the outside to achieve a harmonious integration of building and garden—one of the primary ideals of Japanese residential architecture.

Rinpa. In painting, the Kano School enjoyed official governmental sponsorship during the Edo period, and its workshops provided paintings to the Tokugawa shogunate and its major vassals. By the mid-18th century, Kano masters also served as the primary painting teachers for nearly everyone aspiring to a career in the field. Even so, individualist painters and other schools emerged and flourished, working in quite distinct styles.

The earliest major stylistic alternative to emerge in the Edo period, Rinpa, was quite different in nature from the Kano School. Rinpa was not a formal school, and it did not have the Kano continuity of lineage and training through father and son, master and pupil. Instead, over time, Rinpa aesthetics and principles attracted a variety of individuals as practitioners and champions. Stylistically, Rinpa works feature vivid color and extensive use of gold and silver and often incorporate decorative patterns. The roots of the Rinpa style can be traced to TAWARAYA SOTATSU (d. 1643), an artist who emerged as an important figure during the late Momoyama period, and whose *Waves at Matsushima* (FIG. 35-10A) is one of the early masterworks of Edo painting. The name Rinpa, however, was given to the school later and is derived from the last syllable in the name of OGATA KORIN (1658–1716; FIG. I-13) combined with *pa* ("school"). Both Sotatsu and Korin were scions of wealthy merchant families with close connections to the Japanese court. Many Rinpa works incorporate literary themes that the nobility favored.

35-10A SOTATSU, *Waves at Matsushima,* ca. 1630.

Honami Koetsu. One of the earliest Rinpa masters was HONAMI KOETSU (1558–1637), the heir of a family of swordsmiths in the ancient capital of Kyoto. Koetsu was a greatly admired (and apparently self-trained) calligrapher who was related to both Sotatsu and Korin by marriage and who also participated in and produced ceramics for the tea ceremony. Many scholars credit him with overseeing the design of wood objects with lacquer decoration (see "Lacquered Wood," page 1066), perhaps with the aid of Sotatsu, who was the proprietor of a fan-painting shop. Scholars do know that the two drew on Heian traditions of painting and craft decoration to develop a style that collapsed boundaries between the two arts. Paintings, the lacquered surfaces of writing boxes, and ceramics shared motifs and compositions.

In typical Rinpa fashion, Koetsu's *Boat Bridge* writing box (FIG. 35-11) exhibits motifs drawn from a poem by Minamoto no Hitoshi (880–951) about the boat bridge at Sano, north of Edo. The lid presents a subtle, gold-on-gold scene of small boats lined up side by side in the water to support the planks of a temporary bridge. The bridge itself, a lead overlay, forms a band across the lid's convex surface. The raised metallic lines on the water, boats, and bridge are a few Japanese characters from the poem, which describes the experience of crossing a bridge as evoking reflection on life's insecurities. The box also shows the dramatic contrasts of form, texture, and color typifying Rinpa aesthetics, especially the juxtaposition of

1 in.

35-11 HONAMI KOETSU, *Boat Bridge,* writing box, Edo period, early 17th century. Lacquered wood with sprinkled gold and lead overlay, 9 1/2″ × 9″ × 4 3/8″. Tokyo National Museum, Tokyo.

Koetsu's writing box is an early example of Rinpa art, which drew on Heian traditions of painting and craft decoration to develop a style that collapsed boundaries between the two art forms.

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the bridge's dark metal and the box's brilliant gold surface. The gold decoration comes from careful sprinkling of gold dust onto wet lacquer. Whatever Koetsu's contribution to the design process, specialists well versed in the demanding techniques of metalworking and lacquering produced the writing box.

Literati Painting. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Japan's increasingly urban, educated population spurred a cultural and social restlessness among commoners and samurai of lesser rank that the policies of the restrictive Tokugawa could not suppress. People eagerly sought new ideas and images, directing their attention primarily to China, as had happened throughout Japanese history, but also to the West. From each direction, dramatically new ideas about painting emerged.

Starting in the late 17th century, emigrant Chinese monks and merchants, illustrations in woodblock-printed painting manuals, and imported paintings of lesser quality brought limited knowledge of Chinese literati painting into Japan. Korea, however, was the essential link at this time between Japan and China, as it was so often in the past. Edo Japan had no official ties with Qing China, but welcomed ambassadors and scholars from Korea. Because of this exposure to Chinese painting, some Edo artists began to emulate Chinese models, although the difference in context resulted in variations. In China, literati were cultured intellectuals whose education and upbringing as landed gentry afforded them positions in the country's governmental bureaucracy. Chinese literati artists were predominantly amateurs and pursued painting as one of the proper functions of an educated and cultivated person. By contrast, although Japanese literati artists acquired a familiarity with and appreciation for Chinese literature, they were mostly professionals, painting to earn a living. Among them, however, were many women, who could more easily work in this painting genre because of its traditional association with amateurism and private intellectual pursuits. Because of the diffused infiltration of Chinese literati painting into Japan, the resulting character of Japanese literati painting was less narrowly defined stylistically than in China. Despite the inevitable changes as Chinese ideas disseminated throughout Japan, the newly seen Chinese models were valuable in supporting emerging ideals of self-expression in painting by offering a worthy alternative to the Kano School's standardized repertoire.

Yosa Buson. One of the outstanding early representatives of Japanese literati painting was Yosa Buson (1716–1783). A master writer of *haiku* (the 17-syllable Japanese poetic form very popular from the 17th century on), Buson had a command of literati painting that extended beyond knowledge of Chinese models. His poetic abilities gave rise to a lyricism that pervaded both his haiku and his painting. *Cuckoo Flying over New Verdure* (fig. 35-12) exemplifies his fully mature style. In this hanging scroll, he incorporated basic elements of Chinese literati painting by rounding the landscape forms and rendering their soft texture in fine fibrous brushstrokes, and by including dense foliage patterns. The cuckoo, however, is a motif specific to Japanese poetry and literati painting. Moreover, although Buson imitated the vocabulary of brushstrokes associated with the Chinese literati, his touch was bolder and more abstract, and the gentle palette of pale colors was very much his own.

Ukiyo-e. Although the Tokugawa shogunate tried to hold in check the pursuit of sensual pleasure in the rapidly growing cities of Osaka, Kyoto, and Edo, their efforts were largely in vain, in part because of demographics. The population of Edo during this period included significant numbers of merchants and samurai and their families, and both groups were eager to enjoy secular city life. Taking part in the emerging urban culture involved more than simple physical satisfactions and rowdy entertainments. Many who participated were also admirers of literature, music, and art. The best-known products of this sophisticated counterculture are known as *ukiyo-e*—pictures (*e*) of the floating world (*ukiyo*), an ancient Buddhist term describing the transience of human life and the ephemerality of the material world. The subjects of these paintings and especially prints came mainly from the realms of

35-12 **Yosa Buson, *Cuckoo Flying over New Verdure,* Edo period, late 18th century. Hanging scroll, ink and colors on silk, 5′ $\frac{1}{2}$″ × 2′ 7 $\frac{1}{4}$″. Hiraki Ukiyo-e Museum, Yokohama.**

A master of haiku poetry, Yosa Buson was a leading Japanese literati painter. Although inspired by Chinese works, he used a distinctive palette of pale colors and bolder, more abstract brushstrokes.

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Japanese Woodblock Prints

During the Edo period, *woodblock* prints with "floating world" themes became enormously popular. People with very modest incomes could collect prints in albums or paste them on their walls. A highly efficient production system made this wide distribution of Japanese graphic art possible.

Ukiyo-e artists were generally painters who did not themselves manufacture the prints that made them so famous both in their own time and today. As the designers, they sold drawings to publishers, who in turn oversaw their printing. The publishers also played a role in creating ukiyo-e prints by commissioning specific designs or adapting them before printing. Consequently, the names of both designer and publisher often appeared on the final prints.

Unacknowledged in nearly all cases, however, were the individuals who produced the prints, the block carvers and printers. Using skills honed since childhood, they worked with both speed and precision for relatively low wages, thus making ukiyo-e prints affordable. The master print designers were primarily men. Women, especially wives and daughters, often assisted painters and other artists, but few gained separate recognition. Among the exceptions was the daughter of Katsushika Hokusai (FIG. 35-14), Katsushika Oi (1818–1854), who became well known as a painter and probably helped her father with his print designs.

During the Edo period, the simplest and earliest prints were black-on-white. The later polychrome prints have black outlines separating distinct color areas (FIGS. 35-1, 35-13, 35-13A, and 35-14). This format is a result of the printing process. A master carver pasted the linear designs face down on a wood block. Wetting and gently scraping the thin paper revealed the reversed image to guide the cutting of the block. After the carving, only the outlines of the forms and other elements that would be black in the final print remained raised in relief. The master printer then coated the block with black ink and printed several initial outline prints. These master prints became the guides for carving the other blocks, one for each color used. On each color block, the carver left in relief only the areas to be printed in that color. Even ordinary prints sometimes required up to 20 colors and thus 20 blocks, although to reduce costs, Edo printmakers often cut designs into both sides of each block used. Most prints were 10 to 15 inches high and 8 to 10 inches wide. To print a color, a printer applied the appropriate pigment to a block's raised surface, laid a sheet of paper on it, and rubbed the back of the paper with a smooth flat object. Then another printer would print a different color on the same sheet of paper. Perfect alignment of the paper in each step was critical to prevent overlapping of colors, so the carvers included printing guides in their blocks—an L-shaped ridge in one corner and a straight ridge on one side. The printers could cover small alignment errors with a final printing of the black outlines from the last block.

The materials used in printing varied over time, but by the mid-18th century had reached a high level of standardization. The blocks were planks of fine-grained hardwood, usually cherry. The best paper came from the white layer beneath the bark of mulberry trees, because its long fibers helped the paper stand up to repeated rubbing on the blocks. The printers used a few mineral pigments, but tended to favor inexpensive dyes made from plants for most colors. As a result, the colors of ukiyo-e prints were and are highly susceptible to fading, especially when exposed to strong light. In the early 19th century, more permanent European synthetic dyes began to enter Japan. The first such color, Prussian blue, appears in Hokusai's *The Great Wave off Kanagawa* (FIG. 35-14).

The popularity of Japanese floating-world woodblock prints extended to the West as well. Their affordability and the ease with which they could be transported facilitated dissemination of the prints, especially throughout Europe. Ukiyo-e prints appear in the backgrounds of a number of Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings, attesting to the appeal that these works held for Westerners (see "Japonisme," page 858). Some Japanese prints—for example, Ando Hiroshige's *Plum Estate, Kameido* (FIG. 35-1)—inspired 19th-century European artists to produce near-copies (FIG. 28-18B).

35-13 SUZUKI HARUNOBU, *Evening Bell at the Clock,* from *Eight Views of the Parlor,* Edo period, 1765. Woodblock print, $11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago (Clarence Buckingham Collection).

Harunobu's nishiki-e (brocade pictures), which focus on the lives of Japanese women, took their name from their costly pigments and paper. Here, a woman, attended by her maid, dries herself after bathing.

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pleasure—restaurants and bars, *kabuki* theater, *sumo* wrestling rings, bathhouses, and licensed brothels—in the Yoshiwara district of Edo (see "Japanese Woodblock Prints," page 1086). However, Japanese printmakers also frequently depicted beautiful young women in both domestic (FIG. 35-13) and public settings (FIG. 35-13A), as well as landscapes and seascapes (FIGS. 35-1 and 35-14).

Suzuki Harunobu. The urban appetite for ukiyo pleasures and for their depiction in woodblock prints provided fertile ground for many graphic designers to flourish. Consequently, competition among publishing houses led to ever-greater refinement and experimentation in printmaking. One of the most admired and emulated 18th-century designers, SUZUKI HARUNOBU (ca. 1725–1770), played a key role in developing polychrome prints. Called *nishiki-e* ("brocade pictures") because of their sumptuous and brilliant color, these prints, in contrast to most Edo prints, employed the highest-quality paper and costly pigments. Harunobu gained a tremendous advantage over his competitors when he received commissions from members of a poetry club to design limited-edition nishiki-e prints. He transferred much of the knowledge he derived from nishiki-e to his design of more commercial prints. Harunobu even issued some of the private designs later under his own name for popular consumption.

35-13A UTAMARO, *Ohisa of the Takashima Tea Shop,* 1792–1793.

The sophistication of Harunobu's work is evident in *Evening Bell at the Clock* (FIG. 35-13), from a series called *Eight Views of the Parlor.* This series draws upon a Chinese series usually titled *Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers,* in which each image focuses on a particular time of day or year. In Harunobu's adaptation, beautiful young women—the favorite subject of ukiyo-e master KITAGAWA UTAMARO (1753–1806; FIG. 35-13A)—and the activities occupying their daily lives became the theme of each picture. These themes were new to the floating-world repertoire, but after Harunobu introduced them, they became common. In *Evening Bell at the Clock,* two young women seen from the typically Japanese elevated viewpoint (compare FIG. 17-14) sit on a veranda. One is drying herself after a bath (compare FIG. 28-13). The viewer gets a privileged glimpse of a private moment. (Erotic themes, including explicit depictions of lovemaking, are quite common in ukiyo-e.) The bather's companion—her maid—turns to face the chiming clock. Here, the artist playfully transformed the great temple bell ringing over the waters in the Chinese series into a modern Japanese clock. This image incorporates the refined techniques characteristic of nishiki-e. Further, the flatness of the depicted objects and the rich color recall the traditions of court painting—but in a much more affordable medium. This was especially true of the more ordinary prints, sold in small shops and on the street for the price of a bowl of noodles.

Katsushika Hokusai. Landscape painting—long revered as a major genre of Chinese and Korean painting—emerged in the 18th century in Japan as an immensely popular subject (see "Famous Views of Edo," page 1075). One of the most famous Japanese landscape artists was KATSUSHIKA HOKUSAI (1760–1849), who was the son of a peasant family from a village east of Edo. In *The Great Wave off Kanagawa* (FIG. 35-14), part of a woodblock series called *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji,* the huge foreground wave dwarfs the artist's representation of the distant mountain. This contrast and the whitecaps' ominous fingers magnify the wave's threatening aspect, enhanced by the fact that Japanese viewers knew Mount Fuji was an active volcano that had last erupted in 1707. The men in the trading boats bend low to dig their oars against the rough sea and drive their long vessels past the danger. Although Hokusai's print draws on Western techniques and incorporates the distinctive European color called Prussian blue, it also engages the Japanese pictorial tradition. Against a background with the low horizon typical of Western painting, Hokusai placed in the foreground the wave's more traditionally flat and powerfully graphic forms, mainly curved triangles.

1 in.

35-14 **KATSUSHIKA HOKUSAI, *The Great Wave off Kanagawa,* from *Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji*, Edo period, ca. 1826–1833. Woodblock print, ink and colors on paper, $9\frac{7}{8}'' \times 1'\ 2\frac{3}{4}''$. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Bigelow Collection).**

Adopting the low horizon line of Western painting, master woodblock printmaker Hokusai used the flat and powerful graphic forms of Japanese art to depict the threatening wave in the foreground.

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MEIJI AND SHOWA

The Edo period and the rule of the shoguns ended in 1868, when rebellious samurai from provinces far removed from Edo toppled the Tokugawa clan. Facilitating this revolution was the shogunate's inability to handle the increasing pressure from Western nations for Japan to throw open its doors to the outside world. Although the rebellion restored direct sovereignty to the imperial throne, real power rested with the emperor's cabinet. As a symbol of imperial authority, however, the official name of this new period was Meiji (Enlightened Rule; 1868–1912), after the emperor's chosen regnal name.

Takahashi Yuichi. Oil painting became a major genre in Japan in the late 19th century. Ambitious students studied with Westerners at government schools and during trips abroad. One oil painting highlighting the cultural ferment of the early Meiji period is *Oiran* (*Grand Courtesan*; FIG. 35-15), painted by TAKAHASHI YUICHI (1828–1894), who opened a school to teach young Japanese artists how to paint in the Western manner. Ironically, Takahashi created *Oiran* for a patron nostalgic for vanishing elements of Japanese culture. He asked the artist to make an accurate record of a geisha who still wore her hair in the distinctive, out-of-fashion Japanese style. Ukiyo-e printmakers frequently represented similar grand courtesans of the pleasure quarters. In the painting, however, Takahashi did not portray the courtesan's features in the idealizing manner of ukiyo-e artists but in the more analytical manner of Western portraiture and, in accord with the portrait's purpose, meticulously reproduced the geisha's hairpin-filled coiffure. Yet the

35-15 TAKAHASHI YUICHI, *Oiran* (*Grand Courtesan*), Meiji period, 1872. Oil on canvas, 2′ $6\frac{1}{2}$″ × 1′ $9\frac{5}{8}$″. Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music, Tokyo.

The subject and the abstract rendering of this courtesan's garment derive from ukiyo-e and traditional Japanese art, but the oil technique and the meticulous recording of the coiffure follow Western norms.

35-16 KANO HOGAI, *Bodhisattva Kannon,* Meiji period, 1883. Hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 5′ $4\frac{3}{8}$″ × 2′ $9\frac{3}{8}$″. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (gift of Charles Lang Freer).

In composition, theme, medium, and format, this ink-and-color hanging silk scroll exemplifies the nihonga revival of Japanese subject matter and style, a sharp break from Westernized yoga.

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painter's more abstract rendering of the garments reflects a very old practice in East Asian portraiture.

Kano Hogai. Unbridled enthusiasm for Westernization in some quarters led to resistance and concern over a loss of distinctive Japanese identity in other quarters. Ironically, one of those most eager to preserve "Japaneseness" in the arts was Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), an American professor of philosophy and political economy at Tokyo Imperial University. He and a former student named Okakura Kakuzo (1862–1913) joined with others in a movement that eventually led to the founding under Okakura's direction of a new academy, the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, dedicated to Japanese arts. Their goal was to make Japanese painting viable in the modern age rather than preserve it as a relic. To this end, they encouraged students to incorporate some Western techniques, such as chiaroscuro, perspective, and bright hues, in Japanese-style paintings. The name given to the resulting style was *nihonga* (Japanese painting), as opposed to *yoga* (Western painting). One of the first professors appointed by Okakura (although he died before he could take up the position) was Kano Hogai (1828–1888), who studied painting in Tokyo under the tutelage of a master of the venerable Kano School. Hogai had met Fenollosa in 1883, and the American promoted his career and purchased several of his paintings, including *Bodhisattva Kannon* (fig. 35-16), later acquired by the American industrialist and art collector Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919). The painting depicts Kannon (Chinese Guanyin; compare figs. 16-18A and 16-25A), the mustached but effeminate bodhisattva of infinite compassion. Kannon stands on a cloud and pours drops of the water of wisdom from a small flask upon a newborn suspended in a transparent globe. Fenollosa called the painting *The Creation of Man.* In composition, theme, medium, and format, this ink-and-color silk hanging scroll exemplifies the nihonga style.

Showa. During the Showa period (1926–1989), Japan became increasingly prominent on the world stage in economics, politics, and culture, and, on December 7, 1941, bombed Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, bringing the United States into World War II. The most tragic consequences of that conflict for Japan were the widespread devastation and loss of life resulting from the 1945 atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by American pilots. During the succeeding occupation period, the United States imposed new democratic institutions on Japan, with the emperor serving as a ceremonial head of state. Japan's economy rebounded with remarkable speed, and its gross domestic product became one of the largest in the world. During the past several decades, Japanese artists have also made a mark in the international art world. As they did in earlier times with the art and culture of China and Korea, many Japanese painters, sculptors, and architects internalized Western styles and techniques and incorporated them as a part of Japan's own vital culture. Others, however, shunned Western art forms and worked in more traditional modes.

Kenzo Tange. In the 20th century, Japanese architecture, especially public buildings, underwent rapid transformation along Western lines. In fact, architecture may be the most influential Japanese art form on the world stage today. Japanese architects have made major contributions to both modern and postmodern developments. One of the most daringly experimental architects of the post–World War II period was Kenzo Tange (1913–2005). In his design of the stadiums (fig. 35-17) for the 1964 Olympics, he employed a cable suspension system that enabled him to shape steel and concrete into remarkably graceful structures. His attention to both the sculptural qualities of each building's raw concrete form and the fluidity of its spaces allied him with architects worldwide who carried on the legacy of the late style of Le Corbusier (fig. 31-42) in France. His stadiums thus bear comparison with the JetBlue terminal (fig. 31-44) at New York's Kennedy Airport and the Sydney Opera House (fig. 31-45) in Australia.

35-17 Kenzo Tange, aerial view of the national indoor Olympic stadiums (looking northeast), Tokyo, Japan, Showa period, 1961–1964.

Tange was one of the most daring architects of postwar Japan. His Olympic stadiums employ a cable suspension system that enabled him to shape steel and concrete into remarkably graceful structures.

Hamada Shoji. One modern Japanese art form with ancient roots is ceramics. Many contemporary admirers of folk art (*mingei*) are avid collectors of traditional Japanese pottery. A formative figure in Japan's folk art movement was the philosopher Yanagi Soetsu (1889–1961), who promoted an ideal of beauty inspired by the Japanese tea ceremony. He argued that true beauty could be achieved only in functional objects made of natural

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35-18 **Hamada Shoji, large plate, Showa period, 1958. Stoneware with porcelain enamel glaze, 10 3/4″ diameter. Private collection.**

A leading figure in the modern folk art movement in Japan, Hamada Shoji gained international fame. His unsigned stoneware features casual slip designs and a coarser, darker texture than porcelain.

materials by anonymous craftspeople, such as the Shino water jar (fig. 35-9) discussed earlier. Among the ceramists who produced this type of folk pottery was Hamada Shoji (1894–1978). Although Hamada espoused Yanagi's selfless ideals, he still gained international fame and in 1955 received official recognition in Japan as a Living National Treasure. Works such as his plate (fig. 35-18) with casual slip designs are unsigned, but connoisseurs easily recognize them as his. This kind of stoneware is coarser, darker, and heavier than porcelain and lacks the latter's fine decoration. For those who appreciate simpler, earthier beauty, however, this dish holds great attraction. Hamada's artistic influence extended beyond the production of pots. He traveled to England in 1920 and, along with English potter Bernard Leach (1887–1979), established a community of ceramists committed to the mingei aesthetic. Together, Hamada and Leach expanded international knowledge of Japanese ceramics, and even now, the "Hamada-Leach aesthetic" is part of potters' education worldwide.

Gutai. One of the most significant developments in 20th-century art was the emergence of *Performance Art* as a major genre (see "Performance Art," page 995), and Japanese artists played a seminal role. Gutai Bijutsu Kyokai (Concrete Art Association) was a group of 18 Japanese artists in Osaka who expanded the principles of *action painting* into the realm of performance—in a sense, taking Jackson Pollock's painting methods (see "Jackson Pollock on Easel and Mural Painting," page 963, and fig. 31-7) into a public arena. Led by Jiro Yoshihara (1905–1972), Gutai, founded in 1954, devoted itself to art that combined Japanese traditional practices such as Zen (see "Zen Buddhism," page 1077) with a renewed appreciation for materials. In the *Gutai Art Manifesto,* Yoshihara explained: "Gutai does not alter the material. Gutai imparts life to the material. . . . [T]he human spirit and the material shake hands with each other, but keep their distance."[1] Accordingly, the Gutai group's performances—for example, *Making a Work with His Own Body* (fig. 35-19), by Kazuo Shiraga (1924–2008)—involved actions such as throwing paint balls at blank canvases or wallowing in mud as a means of shaping it. In *Making a Work,* Shiraga used his body to "paint" with mud. The Gutai group disbanded upon Yoshihara's death in 1972, but their work was an important influence on Western Performance artists such as Carolee Schneemann (fig. 31-53).

Contemporary Art. In the interconnected community that the world has become over the past few decades, some Japanese artists have achieved international renown. The work of Yayoi Kusama (fig. 32-33), Tsuchiya Kimio (fig. 32-34), and other contemporary Asian sculptors and painters is treated in its worldwide context in Chapter 32.

35-19 **Kazuo Shiraga, *Making a Work with His Own Body,* Showa period, 1955. Mud.**

The members of the Gutai Bijutsu Kyokai (Concrete Art Association) expanded postwar action painting into the realm of Performance Art. Shiraga used his body to "paint" with mud.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Japan, 1333 to 1980

Muromachi 1336–1573

- The Muromachi period takes its name from the Kyoto district in which the Ashikaga shogunate maintained its headquarters.
- At this time, Zen Buddhism rose to prominence in Japan. Zen temples often featured gardens of the karesansui (dry-landscape) type, which facilitated meditation.
- The two poles of Muromachi painting are represented by the formality of the Kano School and by Sesshu Toyo's haboku (splashed-ink) technique, which has Chinese roots.

Kano Motonobu, *Zen Patriarch Xiangyen Zhixian,* ca. 1513

Momoyama 1573–1615

- Three successive warlords dominated this brief but artistically rich interlude between two long-lasting shogunates. The period takes its name from one of the warlord's castles (Momoyama, Peach Blossom Hill) outside Kyoto. The best-preserved Momoyama castle is the White Heron Castle at Himeji.
- Many of the finest works of this period were commissions from those warlords, including Kano Eitoku's *Chinese Lions,* a six-part folding screen featuring animals considered to be symbols of power and bravery.
- During the Momoyama period, the Japanese tea ceremony became an important social ritual. The tea master Sen no Rikyu designed the first teahouse built as an independent structure. The favored tea utensils were rustic wares that expressed the principles of wabi and sabi.

Sen no Rikyu, Taian teahouse, Kyoto, ca. 1582

Edo 1615–1868

- The Edo period began when the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) moved his headquarters from Kyoto to Edo (modern Tokyo).
- The Katsura Imperial Villa, which relies for its aesthetic appeal on subtleties of proportion, color, and texture instead of ornamentation, set the standard for later Japanese domestic architecture.
- Rinpa, named for Ogata Korin, emerged as a major alternative style of painting to the Kano School, which had become a virtual national art academy. Rinpa paintings and crafts feature vivid colors and extensive use of gold.
- Growing urbanization in major Japanese cities fostered a lively popular culture focused on sensual pleasure and theatrical entertainment. The best-known products of this sophisticated counterculture are the ukiyo-e woodblock prints of Edo's "floating world" by Suzuki Harunobu and others. The prints feature scenes from brothels and the theater as well as beautiful women in domestic settings.
- In the 18th century, landscapes (and seascapes) became very popular subjects, championed by printmakers such as Katsushika Hokusai and Ando Hiroshige.

Katsura Imperial Villa, Kyoto, 1620–1663

Hiroshige, *Plum Estate, Kameido,* 1857

Meiji and Showa 1868–1989

- The Tokugawa shogunate toppled in 1868, opening the modern era of Japanese history. In art, Western styles and techniques had a great influence, and many Japanese artists, including Takahashi Yuichi, incorporated shading and perspective in their works and even produced oil paintings.
- In the post–World War II period, many Japanese artists and architects achieved worldwide reputations. Kenzo Tange was a master of creating dramatic shapes using a cable suspension system for his concrete-and-steel buildings. Kazuo Shiraga played a seminal role in the development of Performance Art as a major modern genre.

Tange, Olympic stadiums, Tokyo, 1961–1964

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▲**36-1a** Produced for Charles V, the *Codex Mendoza* recounts the history of the Aztec Empire. The frontispiece represents the legendary landing of the eagle on a cactus and the founding of Tenochtitlán in 1325.

▲**36-1b** The representation of Tenochtitlán's sacred precinct includes the pyramid-temple of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc and a rack of skulls of the victims the Aztecs sacrificed and threw down the steps.

1 in.

36-1 **The founding of Tenochtitlán, folio 2 recto of the *Codex Mendoza,* from Mexico City, Mexico, Aztec, ca. 1540–1542. Ink and colors on paper, 1′ $\frac{7}{8}$″ × 8$\frac{5}{8}$″. Bodleian Library, Oxford University, Oxford.**

▶**36-1c** At the bottom of the page, the painter depicted two historical events. Aztec warriors with clubs and shields conquer the cities of Colhuacán and Tenayuca, shown as temple-pyramids set ablaze.

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NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURES, 1300 TO 1980

36

FRAMING THE ERA

The Founding of Tenochtitlán

When their insatiable quest for gold brought the Spaniards, led by Hernán Cortés (1485–1547), into contact in 1519 with the Aztec Empire in what is today Mexico, they encountered the latest in a long line of highly sophisticated indigenous *Mesoamerican* art-producing cultures in what the Spaniards called the "New World." Two decades later, the first Spanish viceroy of New Spain, Antonio de Mendoza (1495–1552; r. 1535–1550), commissioned native scribes and painters to produce a remarkable illustrated manuscript (on European paper). The *Codex Mendoza* recounts the history of the empire Cortés had vanquished and includes a description of the customs of the people who called themselves Mexica (from which the modern nation's name derives). The book takes the form of a *codex* (pl. *codices*)—a bound volume resembling a modern book, in contrast to earlier books in the form of a scroll (*rotulus,* pl. *rotuli*). The intended audience for the *Codex Mendoza* was Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor (r. 1519–1556) and King of Spain, but the king never saw the manuscript because French pirates intercepted the Spanish ship at sea.

Although produced for a Spanish patron, the *Codex Mendoza* closely reflects the format and style of contemporaneous Aztec illustrated manuscripts. The opening 16 pages of the 71-page codex summarize the 196-year history of the Mexica through the Spanish conquest of 1521. The frontispiece (FIG. 36-1), with explanatory labels in Aztec *hieroglyphs* and Spanish, represents the founding of the capital city of Tenochtitlán in 1325 on an island in Lake Texcoco. There, according to legend, an eagle landed on a prickly pear cactus, marking the spot where the chief Aztec deity, Huitzilopochtli, instructed the nomadic warriors to settle. The artist depicted the eagle on the cactus (now the central motif on the Mexican flag) at the intersection of two canals, referring to the division of Tenochtitlán into four quarters. At the center of the city—considered the center of the universe—was the sacred precinct that archaeologists call the Great Temple (FIG. 36-3), represented in abbreviated form above the eagle as a single temple—one of two surmounting a great pyramid. To the right of the cactus is the rack of skulls of the sacrificial victims whose bodies the Aztec priests threw down the pyramid's steps after cutting out their hearts. The labeled figures seated on reed mats in Tenochtitlán's four quarters are the legendary founders of the city. Below, the painter represented two historical events in stereotypical form. Aztec warriors with clubs and shields conquer two cities, Colhuacán and Tenayuca, shown as temple-pyramids set ablaze. The border contains the hieroglyphs for 51 of the 52 years of one of the recurring cycles of the Aztec calendar system.

Today, Tenochtitlán lies at the heart of densely populated Mexico City. In the early 16th century, the Aztec capital was home to more than 150,000 people. The total population of the Aztec territories in Mexico was approximately 11 million.

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MESOAMERICA

In the years following the arrival of Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) in the New World in 1492, Spain poured money into expeditions probing the coasts of North and South America, but the Spaniards had little luck finding the wealth they sought. When brief stops on the coast of Yucatán, Mexico, yielded a small but still impressive amount of gold and other precious artifacts, the Spanish governor of Cuba outfitted yet another expedition. Headed by Hernán Cortés, this contingent of explorers was the first to make contact with the great Aztec emperor Moctezuma II (r. 1502–1521) at Tenochtitlán (MAP 36-1). In only two years, with the help of guns, horses, native allies revolting against their Aztec overlords, and perhaps also a smallpox epidemic that had swept across the Caribbean and already thinned the Aztec ranks, Cortés managed to overthrow the vast and rich Aztec Empire. His victory in 1521 opened the door to hordes of Spanish conquistadors seeking their fortunes and to missionaries eager for new converts to Christianity. The ensuing clash of cultures led to a century of turmoil throughout New Spain.

The Aztec Empire of the early 16th century succeeded several other great Mesoamerican civilizations. After the fall and destruction of the important central Mexican city of Teotihuacán (FIG. 18-5) in the eighth century and the abandonment of the southern Maya sites around 900, new cities arose to take their places during the period that scholars call the early Postclassic (ca. 900–1200). Notable were the Maya city of Chichén Itzá (FIG. 18-1) in Yucatán and the Toltec capital of Tula (FIG. 18-21), not far from the later seat of Aztec power in Tenochtitlán. Their dominance was relatively short-lived, however.

MAP 36-1 Mixteca-Puebla and Aztec sites in Mesoamerica.

Mixteca-Puebla

The Mixtecs, who succeeded the Zapotecs at Monte Albán in southern Mexico after 700, were among the most impressive art-producing peoples of the late Postclassic period (ca. 1200–1521) in Mesoamerica. They extended their political sway in Oaxaca by dynastic intermarriage as well as by warfare. The treasures found in the tombs at Monte Albán bear witness to Mixtec wealth, and the quality of these works demonstrates the culture's high level of artistic achievement. The Mixtecs were skilled goldsmiths and also won renown for their work in mosaic using turquoise obtained from such far-off regions as present-day New Mexico. Like other Mesoamerican peoples, the Mixtecs prized illustrated books (see "Mesoamerican Illustrated Books," page 1095).

Aztec

The Aztecs, the greatest Mesoamerican culture at the time that Cortés and his compatriots arrived in Mexico, were a Nahuatl-speaking people who left behind, in the *Codex Mendoza* and elsewhere, a history of their rise to power. Scholars have begun to question the accuracy of that Aztec account, however, and some think it is a mythic construct. According to the traditional history, the destruction of Toltec Tula (FIG. 18-21) about 1200 brought a century of anarchy to the Valley of Mexico, the vast highland valley 7,000 feet above sea level that is now home to sprawling Mexico City. Waves of northern invaders established warring city-states and wrought destruction in the valley. The Aztecs were the last of these conquerors. With astonishing rapidity, they transformed themselves within a few generations from migratory outcasts and serfs to mercenaries for local rulers and then to masters in their own right of the Valley of Mexico's small kingdoms. They began to call themselves Mexica and, fulfilling a legendary prophecy that they would build a city where they saw an eagle perched on a cactus with a serpent in its mouth, they settled on an island in Lake Texcoco. Their settlement grew into the magnificent city of Tenochtitlán (see "The Founding of Tenochtitlán," page 1093, and FIG. 36-1), which in 1519 so amazed the Spaniards.

Recognized by those whom they subdued as fierce in war and cruel in peace, the Aztecs indeed seemed to glory in battle and in military prowess. They radically changed the social and political situation in Mesoamerica. Subservient groups not only had to submit to Aztec military power but also had to provide victims to be sacrificed to Huitzilopochtli, the hummingbird god of war, and to other Aztec deities (see "Aztec Religion," page 1097). The Mexica

NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURES, 1300 TO 1980

1300–1532
- Mixteca-Puebla artists produce illustrated codices
- Aztecs build the Templo Mayor at Tenochtitlán and place monumental statues and reliefs in the sacred precinct
- Inka construct more than 20,000 miles of roads in the Andes and build Machu Picchu and the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco

1532–1800

1800–1900
- Kwakwaka'wakw and Tlingit artists carve transformation and war masks
- Great Plains artists fashion elaborate robes and regalia for the elite
- During the reservation period, Native American artists record traditional lifestyles in ledger books

1900–1980
- Many Native American artists continue to practice traditional crafts
- Southwest ceramists develop black-on-black glazed pottery
- Bill Reid carves large-scale wood sculptures illustrating traditional Haida themes

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Mesoamerican Illustrated Books

The Postclassic Maya were preeminent in the art of writing. Their books—almost all destroyed by the Spanish conquistadors—were precious vehicles for recording history, rituals, astronomical tables, calendar calculations, maps, and trade and tribute accounts. The texts consisted of columns of hieroglyphs read from left to right and top to bottom. Miraculously, three preconquest Maya books survived the depredations of the Europeans. Bishop Diego de Landa (1524–1579), the author of an invaluable treatise on the Maya of Yucatán, described how the Maya made their books and why so few remain:

> They wrote their books on a long sheet doubled in folds, which was then enclosed between two boards finely ornamented; the writing was on one side and the other, according to the folds. . . . We found a great number of books in these [Mayan] letters and, since they contained nothing but superstitions and falsehoods of the devil, we burned them all, which they took most grievously, and which gave them great pain.*

By contrast, 10 non-Maya Postclassic books survive, five from Mixtec Oaxaca and five from the Puebla region. Art historians have named the style they represent Mixteca-Puebla, an interesting example of a Mesoamerican style crossing both ethnic and regional boundaries. The Mixteca-Puebla artists painted on long sheets of deerskin, which they first coated with fine white lime plaster and folded into accordion-like pleats with covers of wood, mosaic, or feathers.

One extensively illustrated book that escaped the Spanish destruction is the *Borgia Codex,* from somewhere in central highland Mexico (either the state of Puebla or Tlaxcala). It is the largest and most elaborate of several manuscripts known as the Borgia Group. The page reproduced here (FIG. 36-2) shows two richly attired and vividly gesticulating gods rendered predominantly in reds and yellows with black outlines. The god of life, the black Quetzalcoatl (depicted here as a masked human rather than in the usual form of a feathered serpent), sits back-to-back with the god of death, the white Mictlantecuhtli. Below them is an inverted skull with a double keyboard of teeth, a symbol of the Underworld (Mictlan), which could be entered through the mouth of a great earth monster. Both figures hold scepters in one hand and gesticulate with the other. The image conveys the inevitable relationship of life and death, an important theme in Mesoamerican art. Symbols of the 13 divisions of 20 days in the 260-day Mesoamerican ritual calendar appear in panels in the margins (compare FIG. 36-1). The origins of this calendar, used even today in remote parts of Mexico and Central America, are unknown. Save for the Mixtec genealogical codices, most books painted before and immediately after the Spanish conquest deal with astronomy, calendars, divination, and ritual—with the notable exception of the *Codex Mendoza* (FIG. 36-1), which records the history of the Aztecs.

*Diego de Landa, *Yucatan before and after the Conquest,* translated by William Gates (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover, 1978), 13, 82.

36-2 Mictlantecuhtli and Quetzalcoatl, folio 56 of the *Borgia Codex,* from Puebla or Tlaxcala, Mexico, Mixteca-Puebla, ca. 1400–1500. Mineral and vegetable pigments on deerskin, 1′ $1\frac{1}{4}$″ × 1′ $1\frac{1}{2}$″. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome.

One of the rare surviving Mesoamerican books, the Mixteca-Puebla *Borgia Codex* includes this painting depicting the gods of life and death above an inverted skull symbolizing the Underworld.

practiced bloodletting and human sacrifice to please the gods and sustain the great cycles of the universe. These rites had a long history in Mesoamerica (FIGS. 18-8A, 18-14, and 18-16). The Aztecs, however, engaged in human sacrifice on a greater scale than any earlier culture, even waging special battles, called the "flowery wars," expressly to obtain captives for future sacrifice. It is one of the reasons why Cortés found ready allies among the peoples the Aztecs had subjugated.

Tenochtitlán. Contemporaneous European accounts record at length how shocked the Spanish conquistadors were by what they saw in the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán. For example, Bernal Díaz del Castillo (ca. 1495–1585), who accompanied Cortés when he first entered Tenochtitlán in November 1519, described the amazement of the Spaniards when they discovered a group of foul-smelling men with uncut fingernails, long hair matted with blood, black body paint, and ears covered in cuts. The Europeans did not realize

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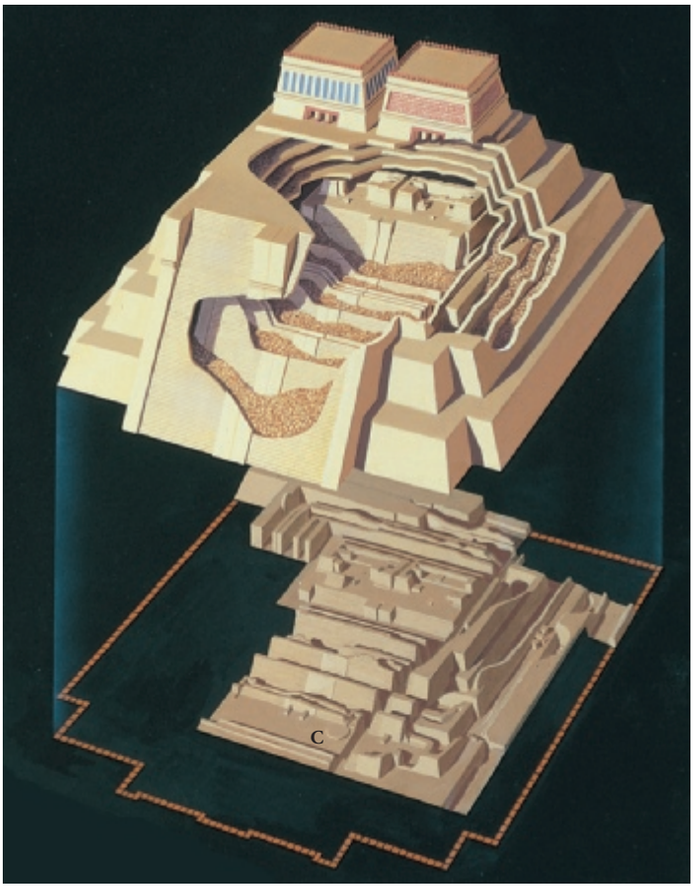

36-3 Reconstruction drawing with cutaway view of various rebuildings of the Great Temple, Tenochtitlán, Mexico City, Mexico, Aztec, ca. 1400–1500. C = Coyolxauhqui disk (FIG. 36-4).

The Great Temple in the Aztec capital encases successive earlier structures. The latest temple honored the gods Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc, whose sanctuaries were at the top of a stepped pyramid.

these men were priests who were performing rites in honor of the deities they served, including piercing their skin with cactus spines to draw blood (compare FIGS. 18-8A and 18-16). The Aztec priests were the opposite of the "barbarians" that the "Old World" conquistadors considered them to be. They were, in fact, the most highly educated men in Mesoamerica.

Tenochtitlán's ruins lie directly beneath Mexico City's main square, the Zócalo. The Aztecs constructed broad causeways to connect Tenochtitlán to the mainland and laid out the city on a grid plan, dividing it into quarters (FIG. 36-1) and wards, reminiscent of Teotihuacán (FIG. 18-5), which, long abandoned, had become a pilgrimage site for the Aztecs. Many of the Spaniards thought of Venice when they saw Tenochtitlán rising from its canals like a radiant vision. Crowded with buildings, plazas, and courtyards, the Aztec capital also boasted a vast and bustling marketplace. In the words of Díaz del Castillo: "Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many parts of the world, in Constantinople, and all over Italy, and in Rome, said that so large a marketplace and so full of people, and so well regulated and arranged, they had never beheld before."[1]

Hueteocalli. In the 1970s, Mexican archaeologists identified the exact location of many of the most important structures within Tenochtitlán's sacred precinct. The excavations in the Zócalo near the city's cathedral (FIG. 24-33) have already uncovered impressive remains of architecture and sculpture, most recently a 12-ton image of the earth deity Tlaltecuhtli (FIG. 36-5). Other recent finds suggest that additional extraordinary artworks are likely to come to light in the years ahead as excavations continue. The principal building of Tenochtitlán's religious center was the Hueteocalli—now called the Templo Mayor ("Great Temple," FIG. 36-3)—a temple-pyramid honoring the Aztec god Huitzilopochtli and the local rain god Tlaloc (see "Aztec Religion," page 1097). Two great staircases originally swept upward from the plaza level to the two sanctuaries at the summit.

The Hueteocalli is a remarkable example of *superimposition,* a common trait in Mesoamerican architecture. The excavated structure, composed of seven shells, indicates how earlier walls nested within later ones. (Today, only two of the inner structures remain. The Spaniards destroyed the later ones in the 16th century.) The sacred precinct also contained the temples of other deities, a ball court (see "The Mesoamerican Ball Game," page 528), a skull rack for the exhibition of the heads of victims killed in sacrificial rites (FIG. 36-1b), and a school for children of the nobility.

Aztec Sculpture. Fortunately, despite the attempts of the Spaniards to eradicate all of the Aztecs' despised "idols," several masterful examples of Aztec sculpture are preserved. Given the Aztecs' almost meteoric rise from obscurity to their role as the dominant culture of Mesoamerica, the quality of the art they sponsored is astonishing. Granted, they swiftly appropriated the best artworks and most talented artists in the conquered territories, bringing them all back to Tenochtitlán. Thus craftspeople from other areas, such as the Mixtecs of Oaxaca, may have created much of the exquisite pottery, goldwork, and turquoise mosaics used by the Aztec elite. Gulf Coast artists probably made the life-size terracotta sculptures of eagle warriors found at the Great Temple. Nonetheless, the Aztecs' sculptural style, developed at the height of their power in the later 15th and early 16th centuries, is unique.

Coyolxauhqui. The Temple of Huitzilopochtli at Tenochtitlán commemorated the god's victory over his sister and 400 brothers, who had plotted to kill their mother, Coatlicue (see "Aztec Religion," page 1097, and FIG. 36-6). The myth signifies the birth of the sun at dawn, a role that Huitzilopochtli sometimes assumed, and the sun's battle with the forces of darkness, the stars and moon. Huitzilopochtli killed or chased away his brothers and dismembered the body of his sister, the moon goddess Coyolxauhqui, at Coatepec Mountain near Tula (symbolized by the pyramid itself). The mythical event is the subject of a huge stone disk (FIG. 36-4), whose discovery in 1971 set off the ongoing archaeological investigations in the Zócalo. The Aztecs placed the relief at the foot of the staircase leading up to one of Huitzilopochtli's earlier temples on the site. (Cortés and his army never saw the disk because it lay within the outermost shell of the Great Temple.) The relief presents the image of the murdered and segmented body of Coyolxauhqui. The mythological theme also carried a contemporary political message. The Aztecs sacrificed their conquered enemies at the top of the Great Temple and then hurled their bodies down the temple stairs to land on this stone. The victors thus forced their foes to reenact the horrible fate of the dismembered goddess.

The Coyolxauhqui disk is a superb example of art in the service of state ideology. The unforgettable image of the fragmented goddess proclaimed the power of the Mexica over their enemies and the inevitable fate that must befall their foes when defeated. Within the circular space, the design's carefully balanced, richly

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Aztec Religion

The Aztecs saw their world as a flat disk resting on the back of a monstrous earth deity. Tenochtitlán, their capital, was at its center. Hueteocalli, the Great Temple (FIG. 36-3) at the heart of the city, represented the Hill of Coatepec, the sacred Serpent Mountain and reputed birthplace of Huitzilopochtli, and formed the axis passing up to the heavens and down through the Underworld—a concept with parallels in other cultures (see, for example, "The Stupa," page 450). Each of the four cardinal points had its own god, color, tree, and calendar symbol. The sky consisted of 13 layers, whereas the Underworld had 9. The Aztec Underworld was an unpleasant place where the dead gradually ceased to exist.

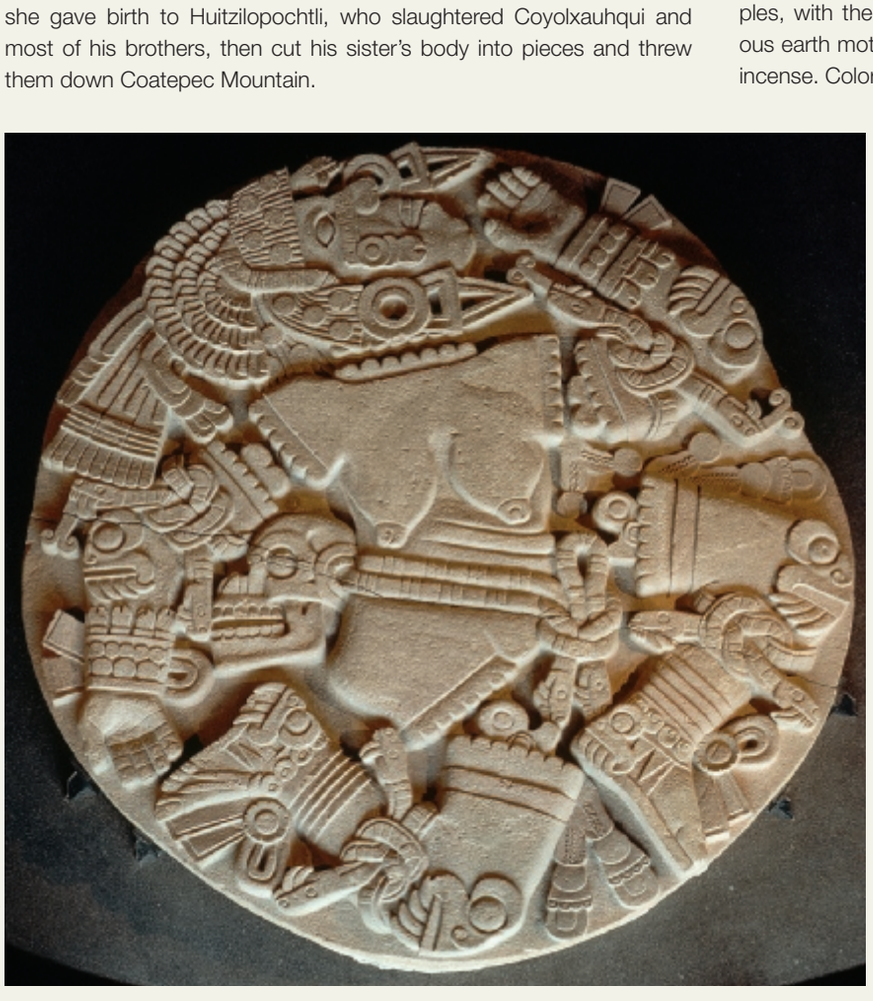
Because the Aztecs often adopted the gods of conquered peoples, their pantheon was complex and varied. When the Aztecs arrived in the Valley of Mexico, their own chief god, **Huitzilopochtli** (Hummingbird of the South), a war and sun/fire deity, joined such well-established Mesoamerican gods as the rain and fertility god **Tlaloc** and the feathered serpent **Quetzalcoatl,** who was a benevolent god of life, wind, and learning and culture, as well as the patron of priests. Huitzilopochtli was the son of **Coatlicue** (She of the Serpent Skirt, FIG. 36-6). Coatlicue was also the mother of **Coyolxauhqui** (She of the Golden Bells, FIG. 36-4) and 400 sons, the **Centzon Huitznahua** (Four Hundred Southerners), who, jealous that their mother was pregnant with Huitzilopochtli, banded together to murder her. At the moment of Coatlicue's death, she gave birth to Huitzilopochtli, who slaughtered Coyolxauhqui and most of his brothers, then cut his sister's body into pieces and threw them down Coatepec Mountain.

Other important Aztec deities were **Mictlantecuhtli** (Lord of the Underworld) and **Tlaltecuhtli** (Lord of the Earth, FIG. 36-5). As the Aztecs went on to conquer much of Mesoamerica, they appropriated the gods of their subjects, such as **Xipe Totec,** a god of spring fertility and patron of gold workers whom the Aztecs imported from the Gulf Coast and Oaxaca. Freestanding images of the various gods—made of stone (FIG. 36-6), terracotta, wood, and even dough (eaten at the end of rituals)—stood in and around their temples. Reliefs (FIGS. 36-4 and 36-5) depicting Aztec deities also adorned the temple complexes.

The Aztecs' ritual cycle was very full, because they celebrated events in two calendars—a sacred calendar of 260 days (compare FIG. 36-2) and a solar calendar of 360 days plus 5 unlucky and nameless days. The Spanish friars of the 16th century noted that the solar calendar dealt largely with agricultural matters. The two Mesoamerican calendars functioned simultaneously, requiring 52 years for the same date to recur in both. A ritual called the New Fire Ceremony commemorated this rare event. The Aztecs broke pots and made new ones for the next period, hid their pregnant women, and extinguished all fires. At midnight on a mountaintop, fire priests took out the heart of a sacrificial victim and with a fire drill (*atlequauitl,* a burning rod or stick) renewed the flame in the exposed cavity. Then they set ablaze bundles of sticks representing the 52 years just passed, ensuring that the sun would rise in the morning and another cycle would begin. The Aztecs celebrated the last New Fire Ceremony in 1507.

Thousands of priests and priestesses served in the Aztecs' temples, with the women primarily stationed in shrines dedicated to various earth mother cults. Most Aztec ceremonies involved the burning of incense. Colorfully attired dancers and actors performed, and musicians played conch-shell trumpets, drums, rattles, rasps, bells, and whistles. Almost every Aztec festival also included human sacrifice. To Tlaloc, the priests offered small children because their tears brought the rains.

Rituals also marked the completion of important religious structures. The dedication of the last major rebuilding of Hueteocalli at Tenochtitlán under Moctezuma II in the early 16th century, for example, reportedly involved the sacrifice of thousands of captives from recent wars in the Gulf Coast region. Varied offerings have been found within earlier layers of the temple, many representing tribute from subjugated peoples. These include blue-painted stone and ceramic vessels, conch shells, a jaguar skeleton, flint and obsidian knives, and even Mesoamerican "antiques"—carved stone Olmec and Teotihuacán masks made hundreds of years before the Aztec ascendancy.



36-4 Coyolxauhqui, from the Great Temple (FIG. 36-3) of Tenochtitlán, Mexico City, Mexico, Aztec, ca. 1469. Stone, diameter 10′ 10″. Museo del Templo Mayor, Mexico City.

The sacrificed foes' bodies that the Aztecs hurled down the Great Temple's stairs landed on this disk, which depicts the segmented body of the moon goddess, Coyolxauhqui, Huitzilopochtli's sister.

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36-5 Tlaltecuhtli, from the Great Temple of Tenochtitlán, Mexico City, Mexico, Aztec, 1502. Andesite, painted with mineral colors, 13′ 9″ × 11′ 10½″. Museo del Templo Mayor, Mexico City.

This 12-ton relief depicts Tlaltecuhtli squatting to give birth while drinking her/his own blood. The slab covered a treasure-filled shaft probably associated with the grave of Emperor Ahuitzotl, who died in 1502.

detailed components have a slow turning rhythm reminiscent of a revolving galaxy. The carving is in low relief, a smoothly even, flat surface raised from a flat ground. It is the sculptural equivalent of the line and flat tone, the figure and neutral ground, characteristic of Mesoamerican painting (compare FIG. 36-2).

Tlaltecuhtli. In 2006, Mexican archaeologists uncovered a gigantic *monolithic* (one-piece) pink andesite relief (FIG. 36-5) painted in ocher, red, blue, white, and black depicting the gender-neutral earth deity Tlaltecuhtli, who incorporates both male and female aspects. The Aztec sculptor depicted Tlaltecuhtli facing the viewer with arms raised, wearing elaborate headgear, and posed in a squatting position to give birth while drinking her/his own blood. The deity has claws instead of hands and feet and skulls in place of knees. The relief weighs nearly 12 tons even in its fragmentary state and would have required at least 200 men to transport it from the quarry at Lake Texcoco to Tenochtitlán. The colossal carved and painted slab covered a deep shaft at the foot of the north side of the Templo Mayor pyramid. Below, the excavators discovered sacrificial knives, gold bells, two eagles with jade and gold ornaments, and a dog or wolf with a jade necklace and turquoise ear ornaments, as well as 62 species of marine creatures from both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans—that is, from every corner of the Aztec world. The relief and the treasure-filled shaft are probably associated with the as-yet-unlocated grave of the Aztec emperor Ahuitzotl (r. 1486–1502), the predecessor of Moctezuma V and the last Aztec ruler to be interred in a lavishly furnished grave.

Coatlicue. In addition to relief carving, the Aztecs produced freestanding statuary. The most impressive surviving example is the colossal statue (FIG. 36-6) of the beheaded Coatlicue discovered in 1790 near Mexico City's cathedral (FIG. 24-33). The sculpture's original setting is unknown, but some scholars believe that it was one of a group set up at the Great Temple. The main forms are in high relief, the details executed either in low relief or by incising. The overall aspect is of an enormous blocky mass, its ponderous weight looming over awestruck viewers. From the beheaded goddess's neck writhe the two serpents whose heads meet to form a tusked mask. Coatlicue wears a necklace of severed human hands and excised human hearts. The pendant of the necklace is a skull. Entwined snakes form her skirt. From between her legs emerges another serpent, symbolic perhaps of both menstruation and the male member. Like Tlaltecuhtli, Coatlicue has both masculine and feminine traits. Her hands and feet have great claws. All her attributes symbolize sacrificial death. Yet, in Aztec thought, this mother of the gods combined savagery and tenderness, for out of destruction arose new life, a theme seen earlier at Teotihuacán (FIG. 18-8).

36-6 Coatlicue, from Tenochtitlán, Mexico City, Mexico, Aztec, ca. 1487–1520. Andesite, 11′ 6″ high. Museo Nacional de Antropología, Mexico City.

This colossal statue may have stood near the Great Temple. The beheaded goddess wears a necklace of human hands and hearts. Entwined snakes form her skirt. All her attributes symbolize sacrificial death.

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Aztecs and Spaniards. Unfortunately, despite the occasional spectacular find, such as the Tlaltecuhtli monolith (FIG. 36-5), most Aztec and Aztec-sponsored art did not survive the Spanish conquest and the subsequent period of evangelization. The conquerors took Aztec gold artifacts back to Spain and melted them down, zealous friars destroyed "idols" and illustrated books, and perishable materials such as textiles and wood largely disappeared. Aztec artisans also fashioned beautifully worked feathered objects and even created mosaic-like images with feathers, an art they put to service for the Catholic Church for a brief time after the Spanish conquest, creating religious pictures and decorating ecclesiastical clothing with the bright feathers of tropical birds.

The Spanish conquerors found it impossible to reconcile the beauty of the great city of Tenochtitlán with what they regarded as its hideous cults. They admired its splendid buildings ablaze with color, its luxuriant and spacious gardens, its sparkling waterways, its teeming markets, and its grandees resplendent in exotic bird feathers. But when Moctezuma II brought Cortés and his entourage into the shrine of Huitzilopochtli's temple, the newcomers started back in horror, recoiling in disgust at the huge statues clotted with dried blood. Cortés was furious. Denouncing Huitzilopochtli as a devil, he proposed to put a high cross above the pyramid and a statue of the Virgin in the sanctuary to exorcise its evil. This proposal came to symbolize the Spanish conquest of Mesoamerica. The conquistadors venerated the cross and the Virgin, triumphant, in new shrines built on the ruins of the plundered temples of the ancient American gods. In turn, the banner of the Most Catholic King of Spain waved over new atrocities of a European kind.

MAP 36-2 **Inka sites in Andean South America.**

SOUTH AMERICA

Late Horizon is the name of the period in the Andes Mountains of Peru and Bolivia (MAP 36-2) corresponding to the end of the late Postclassic period in Mesoamerica. The dominant power in the region at that time was the Inka.

Inka

The Inka were a small highland group who established themselves in the Cuzco Valley around 1000. In the 15th century, however, they rapidly extended their power until their empire stretched from modern Quito, Ecuador, to central Chile. At the time of the Spanish conquest, the Inka Empire, although barely a century old, was the largest in the world. Expertise in mining and metalwork enabled the Inka to accumulate enormous wealth and to amass the fabled troves of gold and silver that the Spanish coveted.

Administration and Engineering. An empire as vast and rich as the Inka's required skillful organizational and administrative control. The Inka had a rare talent for both. During the century preceding the Spanish conquest, the Inka population probably reached or exceeded 12 million men, women, and children living as much as 3,000 miles apart. The Inka rulers divided their Andean empire, which they called Tawantinsuyu (Land of the Four Quarters), into sections and subsections, provinces and communities, whose boundaries all converged on, or radiated from, the capital city of Cuzco. To feed their far-flung subjects, the Inka employed expert terracing and irrigation to overcome the difficult problems of agriculture in a mountainous region. They knitted together their extensive territories with networks of highways and bridges, upgrading or constructing more than 20,000 miles of roads, one main highway running through the highlands and another along the coast, with connecting roads linking the two regions. Instead of using wheeled vehicles and horses, they efficiently moved goods on their highways by llama herds.

The Inka also established a remarkably swift communication system of relay runners who carried messages the length of the empire. The Inka emperor in Cuzco could get fresh fish from the coast in only three days. Where the terrain was too steep for a paved flat surface, the Inka built stone steps, and their rope bridges crossed canyons high over impassable rivers. They placed small settlements along the roads no more than a day apart, where travelers could rest and obtain supplies for the journey. The Inka genius for managing their vast territories is reflected also in their development of a remarkably sophisticated record-keeping system (see "Inka Record-Keeping and the Khipu," page 1100).

Clothing and Power. The Inka aimed at imposing not only political and economic control but also their art style throughout their realm, subjugating local traditions to those of the empire. Control extended even to clothing, which communicated the social status of the person wearing the garment. The Inka wove bands of small squares of various repeated abstract designs into their fabrics. Scholars believe that the patterns had political meaning, connoting membership in particular social groups. The Inka ruler's tunics displayed a full range of abstract motifs, perhaps to indicate his control over all groups. Those that the Inka conquered had to wear their characteristic local dress at all times, a practice reflected in the distinctive and varied clothing of today's indigenous Andean peoples.

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Inka Record-Keeping and the Khipu

Unlike the Maya, the Inka never developed a writing system, but they were still able to maintain highly accurate accounts using a device known as the *khipu,* which enabled them to record calendar and astronomical information, census and tribute totals, and inventories. For example, the Spaniards noted admiringly that Inka officials always knew exactly how much maize or cloth was in any storeroom in their empire.

Not a book or a tablet, the khipu consisted of a main fiber cord and other knotted threads hanging perpendicularly off of it. The color and position of each thread, as well as the kind of knot and its location, signified numbers and categories of things, whether people, llamas, or crops. Studies of khipus have demonstrated that the Inka used the decimal system, were familiar with the concept of zero, and could record numbers up to five digits. The Inka census taker or tax collector could easily roll up and carry the khipu, one of the most lightweight and portable "computers" ever invented.

Illustrated here is a page (FIG. 36-7) from the *Codex Murúa* showing a kneeling Inka man working with a khipu at the direction of an Inka official. The codex is named after the Spanish missionary Martín de Murúa (ca. 1525–ca. 1618), who volunteered to serve in Peru, where he lived from 1595 until his return to Spain in 1611. Murúa was the author of the indispensable *Historia general del Perú: Origen y descendencia de los Incas* (1611), a chronicle of Inka and colonial history based on firsthand familiarity with the region and its culture. Two versions of his manuscript exist today. The one reproduced here is the later one, dating to 1615–1616, and is in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles.

The illustrations in the Getty *Codex Murúa* seem to be the result of a collaboration between a Spanish and an Inka artist, or at least between a Spanish illustrator and a native knowledgeable about Inka customs and costumes. For example, the two main figures on the codex page reproduced here look more European than Inka, and they stand in a plaza whose paving stones recede into the background according to the principles of Renaissance *linear perspective* (compare FIGS. 21-9, 21-41, 22-7, and 22-9).

1 in.

36-7 Inka man working with a khipu, illustration in the *Codex Murúa,* 1615–1616. Ink and colors on vellum, $1' 11\frac{1}{4}'' \times 1' 3\frac{1}{4}''$. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

The illustrations in the *Codex Murúa* provide invaluable evidence of Inka customs. This one shows a kneeling Inka man working with a khipu, a highly sophisticated record-keeping device.

Machu Picchu. The engineering prowess of the Inka matched their talent for governing, and they were gifted architects as well. Although they also worked with adobe, the Inka were supreme masters of shaping and fitting stone. As a militant people, they selected breathtaking, naturally fortified sites and further strengthened them by building various defensive structures. Inka settlement planning reveals an instinctive grasp of the harmonious relationship of architecture to site.

One of the world's most awe-inspiring sights is the terraced Inka settlement about 50 miles north of Cuzco called Machu Picchu (FIG. 36-8), which perches on a ridge between two jagged peaks 9,000 feet above sea level. Invisible from the Urubamba River Valley some 1,600 feet below, Machu Picchu remained unknown to the outside world until Hiram Bingham (1875–1956), an American explorer, reached the site in 1911. In the very heart of the Andes, Machu Picchu was the estate of a powerful mid-15th-century Inka

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36-8 Machu Picchu (looking northwest), Peru, Inka, 15th century.

Machu Picchu was probably the estate of Inka emperor Pachacuti. Large upright stones echo the contours of sacred peaks. Precisely placed windows and doors facilitated astronomical observations.

ruler, probably Emperor Pachacuti (r. 1438–1472). Though relatively small and insignificant compared to its neighbors (its resident population was a little more than a thousand), Machu Picchu is of great archaeological importance as a rare undisturbed Inka settlement. The accommodation of its architecture to the landscape is so complete that the buildings seem a natural part of the mountain ranges surrounding the site on all sides. The Inka even cut large stones to echo the shapes of the mountain beyond. Terraces spill down the mountainsides and extend even up to the very peak of Huayna Picchu, the great hill just beyond the settlement's main plaza. The Inka carefully sited buildings so that windows and doors framed spectacular views of sacred peaks and facilitated the tracking of important astronomical events. Machu Picchu is among the architectural and engineering wonders of the premodern world.

Cuzco. In the 16th century, the Spanish conquistadors largely destroyed the Inka capital at Cuzco. Consequently, architectural historians have gleaned most of their information about the city from often-contradictory Spanish sources rather than from archaeology. Some accounts describe Cuzco's plan as having the shape of a puma—a symbol of Inka royal power—with a great shrine-fortress on a hill above the city representing its head and the southeastern convergence of two rivers forming its tail. Cuzco residents still refer to the river area as "the puma's tail." The Inka capital had two great plazas separated by a river. One, nestled below the puma's belly, is now the hub of the modern city.

One Inka building at Cuzco that survives in small part is the Temple of the Sun (FIG. 36-9), built of *ashlar masonry* (stone blocks fit together without mortar), an ancient construction technique that

36-9 Remains of the Temple of the Sun (surmounted by the 16th-century church of Santo Domingo), Cuzco, Peru, Inka, 15th century. *Left:* general view of the exterior (looking north); *right:* detail of the interior masonry.

Perfectly constructed ashlar masonry walls are all that remain of the Temple of the Sun, the most important shrine in the Inka capital. Gold, silver, and emeralds covered the temple's interior walls.

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the Inka had mastered. Cuzco masons laid the stones with perfectly joined faces. Remarkably, the Inka produced the close joints of their masonry by abrasion alone, grinding the surfaces to a perfect fit. The stonemasons usually laid the blocks in regular horizontal *courses* (FIG. 36-9, *right*). Inka builders were so skilled that they could fashion walls with curved surfaces (FIG. 36-9, *left*), their planes as level and continuous as if they were a single form. The surviving walls of the Temple of the Sun are a prime example of this single-form effect. On the exterior, for example, the stones, precisely fitted and polished, form a curving semiparabola. The Inka arranged the ashlar blocks for flexibility during earthquakes, allowing for a temporary dislocation of the courses, which then return to their original position.

Named Coricancha (Golden Enclosure) by the Inka, the Temple of the Sun was the most magnificent of their many shrines. The 16th-century Spanish chroniclers wrote in awe of Coricancha's splendor, its interior veneered with sheets of gold, silver, and emeralds and housing life-size statues of silver and gold. Nothing survives, but some preserved Inka statuettes (FIG. 36-9A) may suggest the appearance of the lost large-scale statues. Built on the site of the home of Manco Capac, son of the sun god and founder of the Inka dynasty, the Temple of the Sun housed mummies of some of the early rulers. Dedicated to the worship of several Inka deities, including the creator god Viracocha and the gods of the sun, moon, stars, and the elements, the temple was the center point of a network of radiating sight lines leading to some 350 shrines, which had both calendrical and astronomical significance.

36-9A Inka llama, alpaca, and woman, ca. 1475–1532.

End of the Inka. Smallpox spreading south from Spanish-occupied Mesoamerica killed the last Inka emperor and his heir before they ever laid eyes on a Spaniard. The deaths of the emperor and his named successor unleashed a struggle among competing elite families and aided the Europeans in their conquest. In 1532, Francisco Pizarro (1471–1541), the Spanish explorer of the Andes, ambushed the would-be emperor Atawalpa on his way to be crowned at Cuzco after vanquishing his rival half-brother. Although Atawalpa paid a huge ransom of gold and silver, the Spaniards killed him and took control of his vast domain, only a decade after Cortés had defeated the Aztecs in Mexico. Following the murder of Atawalpa, the Spanish erected the church of Santo Domingo (FIG. 36-9, *left*), in an imported European style, on what remained of the Golden Enclosure. A curved section of Inka wall serves to this day as the foundation for Santo Domingo's *apse*. A violent earthquake in 1950 seriously damaged the colonial building, but the Peruvians rebuilt the church. The two contrasting structures remain standing one atop the other. Coricancha is therefore of more than architectural and archaeological interest. It is a symbol of the Spanish conquest of the Americas and serves as a composite monument to it.

NORTH AMERICA

In the United States and Canada during the centuries preceding the arrival of Europeans, power was much more widely dispersed and the native art and architecture more varied than in Mesoamerica and Andean South America. Three major regions of native North America are of special interest: the southwestern United States; Alaska and the Northwest Coast (British Columbia and the northwestern United States from Washington to northern California); and the Great Plains (MAP 36-3).

Southwest

The dominant culture of the American Southwest between 1300 and 1500 was the Ancestral Puebloan (formerly called the Anasazi), the builders of great architectural complexes such as Chaco Canyon (FIG. 18-36) and Cliff Palace (FIG. 18-37). The spiritual center of Puebloan life (*pueblo* is Spanish for "urban settlement") was the *kiva,* or male council house, usually decorated with elaborate mural paintings representing deities associated with agricultural fertility. According to their descendants, the present-day Hopi and Zuni, the detail of the Kuaua Pueblo mural shown here (FIG. 36-10) depicts a "lightning man" on the left side. Fish and eagle images (associated with rain) appear on the right side. Seeds, a lightning bolt, and a rainbow stream from the eagle's mouth. All these figures are associated with the fertility of the earth and the life-giving properties of the seasonal rains, a constant preoccupation of Southwest farmers. The Ancestral Puebloan painter depicted the figures with great economy, using thick black lines, dots, and a restricted palette of black, brown, yellow, and white. The frontal figure of the lightning man seen against a neutral ground makes an immediate visual impact.

Navajo Painting. When the first Europeans came into contact with the ancient peoples of the Southwest, they called them "Pueblo Indians." The successors of the Ancestral Puebloan and other Southwest groups, the Pueblo Indians include linguistically diverse but culturally similar peoples such as the Hopi of northern Arizona and the Rio Grande Pueblos of New Mexico. Living among them are the descendants of nomadic hunters who arrived in the Southwest from their homelands in northwestern Canada sometime between 1200 and 1500. These are the Apache and Navajo, who, although culturally quite distinct from the original inhabitants of the Southwest, adopted many features of Pueblo life.

Among these borrowed elements is *sand painting,* which the Navajo learned from the Pueblos but transformed into an extraordinarily complex ritual art form. The temporary sand paintings (also known as *dry paintings*), constructed to the accompaniment of prayers and chants, are an essential part of ceremonies for curing disease. In the healing ceremony, the patient sits in the painting's center to absorb the life-giving powers of the gods and their representations. The Navajo perform similar rites to ensure success in hunting and to promote fertility in human beings and nature alike. The artists who supervise the making of these complex images are religious leaders or "medicine men" (rarely women), thought to have direct contact with the powers of the supernatural world, which they use to help both individuals and the community. Because of the sacred nature of the sand paintings, the Navajo do not permit their reproduction.

The natural materials used—sand, varicolored powdered stones, corn pollen, and charcoal—play a symbolic role reflecting the Native Americans' preoccupation with the forces of nature. The paintings depict the gods and mythological heroes whose help the Navajo seek. As part of the ritual, the participants destroy the sand paintings, so no models exist. However, the traditional prototypes, passed on from artist to artist but never publicly displayed, must be adhered to as closely as possible. Mistakes can render the ceremony ineffective. Navajo dry painting is therefore highly stylized. Simple curves, straight lines, right angles, and serial repetition characterize most sand paintings.

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MAP 36-3 Later Native American sites in North America.

36-10 Detail of a kiva mural from Kuaua Pueblo (Coronado State Monument), New Mexico, Ancestral Puebloan, late 15th to early 16th century. Interior of the kiva, 18′ × 18′. Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

The kiva, or male council house, was the spiritual center of Puebloan life. Kivas were decorated with mural paintings associated with agricultural fertility. This one depicts a lightning man, fish, birds, and seeds.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Gender Roles in Native American Art

Although both Native American women and men have created art objects for centuries, they have traditionally worked in different media or at different tasks. Among the Navajo, for example, weavers tend to be women, whereas among the neighboring Hopi, the men weave. According to Navajo myth, long ago Spider Woman's husband built her a loom for weaving. In turn, she taught Changing Woman, who in turn taught Navajo women how to spin and weave so that they might have clothing to wear. Today, young girls learn from their mothers how to work the loom (FIG. 36-11), just as Changing Woman instructed their ancestors, passing along the techniques and designs from one generation to the next.

Among the Pueblos, pottery making normally has been the domain of women. The most famous Pueblo ceramic artist is the late MARÍA MONTOYA MARTÍNEZ (1887–1980), of San Ildefonso Pueblo in New Mexico. María coiled, slipped, and burnished her pots, but in response to heavy demand for her wares, her husband, JULIAN MARTÍNEZ (1879–1943), painted the designs. Although they worked in many styles, some based on prehistoric ceramics, around 1918 the couple invented the black-on-black ware (FIG. 36-13) that made the Martínezes, and indeed the whole pueblo, famous. The elegant shapes of the pots, as well as the traditional but abstract designs, had affinities with the contemporaneous Art Deco style in architecture (FIG. 30-22) and interior design, and collectors avidly sought (and continue to seek) them. When nonnative buyers suggested that she sign her pots to increase their value, María obliged, but in the communal spirit typical of the Pueblos, she also signed her neighbors' names so that they might share in her good fortune. María died in 1980, long after her husband passed away, but her descendants continue to garner awards as outstanding potters.

Women also produced the elaborately decorated animal-skin and, later, the trade-cloth clothing of the Woodlands and Plains, using moose hair, dyed porcupine quills, and imported beads. Among the Cheyenne, quillworking was a sacred art, and young women worked at learning both proper ritual and correct techniques to obtain membership in the prestigious quillworkers' guild. Women gained the same honor and dignity from creating finely worked utilitarian objects that men earned from warfare. Both women and men painted on *tipis* (Native American tent dwellings) and clothing (FIGS. 36-18A, 36-19, and 36-20), with women creating abstract designs (FIG. 36-19) and men working in a more realistic narrative style, often celebrating their exploits in war (FIG. 36-18A) or recording the cultural changes that the transfer to reservations brought about.

In the far north, women tended to work with soft materials such as animal skins, whereas men were sculptors of wood masks (FIG. 36-15) among the Alaskan Yupik Eskimos and of walrus ivory pieces (FIG. 18-31) throughout the Arctic. The introduction of printmaking, a foreign medium with no established gender associations, to some Canadian Inuit communities in the 1950s provided both native women and men with a new creative outlet. Printmaking became an important source of economic independence vital to these isolated and once-impoverished settlements. Today, both Inuit women and men make prints, but men still dominate in carving stone sculpture, another new medium also produced for and sold to outsiders.

Throughout North America, indigenous artists continue to work in traditional media, such as ceramics, beadwork, and basketry, marketing their wares through museum shops, galleries, regional art fairs, and, most recently, the Internet. Many also obtain degrees in art and express themselves in European media such as oil painting, often using their art to comment on political, social, and economic issues of central concern to Native Americans (FIG. 32-1).

36-11 Photograph taken on January 9, 1948, in Mesa Verde National Park (FIG. 18-37) of a Navajo mother weaving a blanket on a loom while her daughters assist her by preparing wool for the loom.

Navajo textiles are famous throughout the world. Unlike the Hopi, Navajo weavers are traditionally women, who teach their daughters how to work the loom, passing down their expertise to the next generation.

Navajo Textiles. By the mid-17th century, the Navajo had learned how to weave from their Hopi and other Pueblo neighbors, quickly adapting to new materials such as sheep's wool and synthetic dyes introduced by Spanish settlers and, later, by Anglo-Americans. They rapidly transformed the blankets they wore into handsome rugs in response to the new market created by the arrival of the railroad and early tourists in the 1880s. Other tribes, including those of the Great Plains, also purchased Navajo textiles, which became famous for their quality (the thread count in a typical Navajo rug is extraordinarily high) as well as the sophistication of their designs. Navajo rugs often incorporate vivid abstract motifs known as "eye dazzlers" and patterns derived from sand paintings (altered to preserve the sacred quality of the impermanent ritual images).

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Navajo weaving is a highly sophisticated art form that still flourishes today, practiced almost exclusively by women, who often enlist their daughters in their work (FIG. 36-11) and train them to be weavers themselves (see "Gender Roles in Native American Art," page 1104).

Hopi Katsinas. Another Southwestern art form, the *katsina* figurine, also has deep roots in the area. Katsinas are benevolent supernatural spirits personifying ancestors and natural elements living in mountains and water sources. Humans join their world after death. Among contemporary Pueblo groups, masked dancers ritually impersonate katsinas during yearly festivals dedicated to rain, fertility, and good hunting. To educate young girls in ritual lore, the Hopi traditionally give them miniature representations of the masked dancers. The Hopi katsina illustrated here (FIG. 36-12), carved in cottonwood root with added feathers, is the work of OTTO PENTEWA (d. 1963). It represents a rain-bringing deity who wears a mask painted in geometric patterns symbolic of water and agricultural fertility. Topping the mask are a stepped shape signifying thunderclouds, and feathers to carry the Hopis' airborne prayers. The origins of the katsina figurines have been lost in time (they even may have developed from carved saints that the Spaniards introduced during the colonial period). However, the cult is probably very ancient.

36-12 **OTTO PENTEWA, Katsina figurine, New Oraibi, Arizona, Hopi, carved before 1959. Cottonwood root and feathers, 1′ high. Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson.**

Katsinas are benevolent spirits living in mountains and water sources. This Hopi katsina represents a rain-bringing deity wearing a mask with geometric patterns symbolic of water and agricultural fertility.

NAGPRA. Otto Pentewa's katsina, like countless other Native American objects, is an artwork that also has sacred significance. Often, Native Americans do not permit anyone to photograph their sacred objects. Indeed, the study of Native American art presents special problems for art historians, especially since the passage in November 1990 of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), which, among other provisions, requires any museum receiving federal funding to repatriate sacred Native American objects when requested by a descendant. Native beliefs about what is sacred and what should not be illustrated in textbooks may lead to the removal in future editions of *Art through the Ages* of some works reproduced in the 16th and earlier editions.

Pueblo Pottery. The Southwest has also provided the finest examples of North American pottery. Originally producing utilitarian forms, Southwest potters traditionally work without the potter's wheel and instead coil shapes of clay that they then slip, polish, and fire. Decorative motifs, often abstract and conventionalized, mostly reference forces of nature—clouds, wind, and rain. The efforts of San Ildefonso Pueblo potter María Montoya Martínez and her husband, Julian Martínez (see "Gender Roles," page 1104), in the early decades of the 20th century revived old techniques to produce forms of striking shape, proportion, and texture. Her black-on-black pieces (FIG. 36-13) feature matte designs on highly polished

36-13 **MARÍA MONTOYA MARTÍNEZ and JULIAN MARTÍNEZ, jar with feathers and avanyus, San Ildefonso Pueblo, New Mexico, ca. 1934–1943. Black-on-black earthenware, 1′ $2\frac{1}{4}$″ × 1′ $6\frac{5}{8}$″. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (gift of Miss Ima Hogg).**

Pottery is traditionally a Native American woman's art form. María Montoya Martínez won renown for her black-on-black vessels of striking shapes with matte designs on highly polished surfaces.

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ART AND SOCIETY

Kwakwaka'wakw Transformation Masks

Like so many objects produced by Native Americans through the centuries, the masks fashioned by Northwest Coast artists were not created as display pieces but for use in sacred rituals, especially those concerned with healing. Kwakwaka'wakw religious specialists, for example, wore masks in dramatic public performances during the winter ceremonial season. The animals and mythological creatures represented in masks and a host of other carvings derive from the Northwest Coast's rich oral tradition and celebrate the mythological origins and inherited privileges of high-ranking families, who trace their lineage to mythic animals or composite human-animals.

The artist who made the Kwakwaka'wakw mask illustrated here (FIG. 36-14) meant it to be seen in flickering firelight, and ingeniously constructed it to open and close rapidly when the wearer manipulated hidden strings. He could thus magically transform himself from human to eagle and back again as he danced. The transformation theme, in myriad forms, is a central aspect of the art and religion of the Americas.

The Kwakwaka'wakw mask's human aspect also owes its dramatic character to the exaggeration and distortion of facial parts—such as the hooked beaklike nose and flat, flaring nostrils—and to the deeply undercut curvilinear depressions, which form strong shadows. In contrast to the carved human face, but painted in the same colors, is the two-dimensional abstract image of the eagle painted on the inside of the outer mask.

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36-14 Eagle transformation mask, closed (*top*) and open (*bottom*) views, Alert Bay, Canada, Kwakwaka'wakw, late 19th century. Wood, feathers, and string, 1′ 10″ × 11″. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

The wearer of this Kwakwaka'wakw mask could open and close it rapidly by manipulating hidden strings, magically transforming himself from human to eagle and back again as he danced.

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1 in.

36-15 War helmet mask, Canada, Tlingit, collected 1888–1893. Wood, 1′ high. American Museum of Natural History, New York.

This war helmet mask may be a naturalistic portrait of a Tlingit warrior or a representation of a supernatural being. The carver intended the face's grimacing expression to intimidate enemies.

surfaces specially fired in an oxygen-poor atmosphere. The illustrated example is a large jar with a repeated feather pattern ringing the top of the vessel and, at the widest point, undulating stylized *avanyus* (mythical horned and feathered water serpents that the Southwestern Puebloans associate with rain).

Northwest Coast and Alaska

The Native Americans of the coasts and islands of northern Washington state, the province of British Columbia in Canada, and southern Alaska have long enjoyed a rich and reliable environment. Traditionally, they fished, hunted sea mammals and game, gathered edible plants, and made their homes, utensils, ritual objects, and even clothing from the region's great cedar forests. Among the numerous groups who make up the Northwest Coast area are the Kwakwaka'wakw of southern British Columbia; the Haida, who live on the Queen Charlotte Islands off the coast of the province; and the Tlingit of southern Alaska (MAP 36-3).

Northwest Masks. In the Northwest, a class of professional artists developed, in contrast to the more typical Native American pattern, in which artists pursued a variety of activities and produced art only part of the time. Working in a highly formalized, subtle style, Northwest Coast artists have created a wide variety of art objects for centuries: masks, *totem poles* (carved tree trunks featuring a vertical row of stylized heads; FIG. 36-16), rattles, chests, bowls, clothing, charms, and decorated houses and canoes. Some artistic traditions originated as early as 500 BCE, although others developed only after the arrival of Europeans in North America. Of special interest are the masks of the Kwakwaka'wakw (formerly transliterated as Kwakiutl; see "Kwakwaka'wakw Transformation Masks," page 1106) and the Tlingit.

Unlike the highly stylized Kwakwaka'wakw masks, those of the Tlingit are more naturalistic. The carved-wood Tlingit war helmet (FIG. 36-15) shown here may be a portrait, but it also might represent a supernatural being whose powers enhance the wearer's strength. In either case, the artist surely created its grimacing expression to intimidate the enemy.

Haida Totem Poles. Although Northwest Coast arts have a spiritual dimension, they are often more important as expressions of social status. For example, the Haida set up poles in front of their houses that display totemic emblems of clan groups—a striking expression of the Haida interest in prestige and family history. Totem poles emerged as a major art form about 300 years ago. The examples in FIG. 36-16 date to the 19th century. They stand today in a reconstructed Haida village that BILL REID (1920–1998, Haida) and his assistant DOUG CRANMER (1927–2006, Namgis) completed in 1962. Reid was a master woodcarver who also made large-scale sculptures featuring Haida themes—for example, *The Raven and*

36-16 BILL REID (Haida), assisted by DOUG CRANMER (Namgis), re-creation of a 19th-century Haida village with totem poles, Queen Charlotte Island, Canada, 1962.

Each of the superimposed forms carved on Haida totem poles represents a crest, an animal, or a supernatural being who figures in the clan's origin story. Some Haida poles are 60 feet tall.

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the First Men (FIG. 36-16A). Each of the superimposed forms carved on the Haida totem poles represents a crest, an animal, or a supernatural being who figures in the clan's origin story. Additional crests could also be obtained through marriage and trade. The Haida so jealously guarded the right to own and display crests that even warfare could break out over the disputed ownership of a valued crest. In the poles shown, the crests represented include an upside-down dogfish (a small shark), an eagle with a downturned beak, and a killer whale with a crouching human between its snout and its upturned tail flukes. During the 19th century, the Haida erected more poles and made them larger in response to greater competitiveness and the availability of metal tools. The artists carved poles up to 60 feet tall from the trunks of single cedar trees.

36-16A REID, *The Raven and the First Men*, 1978–1980.

Chilkat Blankets. Another characteristic Northwest Coast art form is the Chilkat blanket (FIG. 36-17), named for an Alaskan Tlingit village. Male designers provided the templates for these blankets in the form of wood pattern boards for female weavers. Woven of shredded cedar bark and mountain goat wool suspended from a single bar instead of on a loom, the Tlingit blankets took at least six months to complete. These blankets, which served as robes worn over the shoulders, became widespread prestige items of ceremonial dress during the 19th century. They display several characteristics of the Northwest Coast style recurrent in all media: symmetry and rhythmic repetition, schematic abstraction of animal motifs (a bear in the illustrated robe), eye designs, a regularly swelling and thinning line, and a tendency to round off corners.

Yupik Masks. Farther north, the 19th-century Yupik Eskimos living around the Bering Strait of Alaska had a highly developed ceremonial life focused on game animals, particularly seal. Their religious specialists wore highly imaginative masks with moving parts. The Yupik generally made these masks for single occasions and then abandoned them. Consequently, many masks have ended up in museums and private collections. The example shown here (FIG. 36-18) represents the spirit of the north wind, its face surrounded by a hoop signifying the universe, its voice mimicked by the rattling appendages. The paired human hands commonly found on these masks refer to the wearer's power to attract animals for hunting. The painted white spots represent snowflakes.

The devastating effects of 19th-century epidemics, coupled with government and missionary repression of Native American ritual and social activities, threatened to wipe out the traditional arts of the Northwest Coast and the Eskimos. The past half century, however, has brought an impressive revival of traditional art forms (some created for collectors and the tourist trade) as well as the development of new ones, such as printmaking. In recent years, for example, the Inuit of Canada have set up cooperatives to produce and market stone carvings and prints. With these new media, artists generally depict themes from the rapidly vanishing, traditional Inuit way of life.

36-17 Chilkat blanket with stylized animal motifs, Canada, Tlingit, early 20th century. Cedar bark and mountain goat wool, 6′ × 2′ 11″. Southwest Museum of the American Indian, Los Angeles.

Chilkat blankets were collaborations between male designers and female weavers. Decorated with animal and abstract motifs, they were worn over the shoulders and were items of ceremonial dress.

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36-18 North Wind mask, Alaska, Yupik Eskimo, early 20th century. Wood and feathers, 3′ 9″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, gift of Nelson Rockefeller).

This Yupik mask represents the spirit of the north wind, its face surrounded by a hoop signifying the universe, its voice mimicked by the rattling appendages. The white spots represent snowflakes.

Great Plains

After colonial governments disrupted settled indigenous communities on the East Coast and the Europeans introduced the horse to North America, a new mobile Native American culture flourished on the Great Plains for a short time. Great Plains artists worked in materials and styles quite different from those of the Northwest Coast and Eskimo/Inuit peoples. Much artistic energy went into the decoration of leather garments, pouches, and horse trappings, first with compactly sewn quill designs and later with beadwork patterns. Artists painted tipis, tipi linings, and buffalo-skin robes with geometric and stiff figural designs prior to about 1800. Later, they gradually introduced naturalistic scenes, often of war exploits (as, for example, on a Mandan buffalo-hide robe; FIG. 36-18A), sometimes in styles adapted from those of visiting European artists.

36-18A Mandan buffalo-hide robe, ca. 1800.

Hidatsa Regalia. During the 18th and 19th centuries, most Plains peoples abandoned their permanent agricultural communities and adopted a nomadic lifestyle. Consequently, they focused their aesthetic attention largely on their clothing and bodies and on portable objects such as shields, clubs, pipes, tomahawks, and various containers. Transient but important Plains art forms can sometimes be found in the paintings and drawings of American and European artists, who recorded Native American costumes as anthropological curiosities, relics of a soon-to-be-lost era as the descendants of Europeans pursued their "Manifest Destiny" to take over the continent (see "Manifest Destiny," page 821).

KARL BODMER (1809–1893) of Switzerland, for example, portrayed the personal decoration of Pehriska-Ruhpa (Two Ravens), a Hidatsa warrior, in an 1833 watercolor (FIG. 36-19). The painting depicts his pipe, painted buffalo-hide robe, bear-claw necklace, and feather decorations, all symbolic of his affiliations and military accomplishments. These items represent his life story—a composite artistic statement in several media immediately intelligible to other Native Americans. The concentric circle design over his left shoulder, for example, is an abstract rendering of an eagle-feather war bonnet.

Plains peoples also made shields and shield covers that were both artworks and symbols of power. Shield paintings often derived from personal religious visions. The owners believed that the symbolism, the pigments themselves, and added materials, such as feathers, provided them with magical protection and supernatural power.

Ledger Paintings. Plains warriors battled incursions into their territory throughout the 19th century. The pursuit of Plains natives culminated in the 1890 slaughter of Lakota participants who had gathered for a ritual known as the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota. Indeed, from the 1830s on, U.S. troops

36-19 KARL BODMER, *Hidatsa Warrior Pehriska-Ruhpa* (*Two Ravens*), 1833. Engraving by PAUL LEGRAND after the original watercolor in the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, 1′ $3\frac{7}{8}$″ × $11\frac{1}{2}$″. Engraving: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody.

The personal regalia of a Hidatsa warrior included his pipe, painted buffalo-hide robe, bear-claw necklace, and feather decorations, all symbols of his affiliations and military accomplishments.

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36-20 Honoring song at painted tipi, in Julian Scott Ledger, Kiowa, 1880. Pencil, ink, and colored pencil, $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 1'$. Charles and Valerie Diker Collection.

During the reservation period, some Plains artists recorded their traditional lifestyle in ledger books. This one depicts men and women dancing an honoring song in front of three painted tipis.

forcibly removed Native Americans from their homelands and resettled them in other parts of the country. Toward the end of the century, governments confined them to reservations in both the United States and Canada.

During the reservation period, some Plains arts continued to flourish, notably beadwork (produced by women) and painting in ledger books (a men's art form). Traders, the army, and Indian agents had for years provided Plains peoples with pencils and new or discarded ledger books. They, in turn, used them to draw their personal exploits for themselves or for interested Anglo buyers. Sometimes warriors carried them into battle, where U.S. Army opponents retook the ledgers. After confinement to reservations, Plains artists began to record not only their heroic past and vanished lifestyle but also their reactions to their new surroundings, frequently in a place far from home. These images, often poignant and sometimes humorous, are important eyewitness documents of a time of great turmoil and change.

In the example shown here (FIG. 36-20), the work of an unknown Kiowa artist, a group of men and women, possibly Comanches (allies of the Kiowa), appear to dance an honoring song before three tipis, the left forward one painted with red stone pipes and a dismembered leg and arm. The women (in the middle and rear rows) wear the mixture of clothing typical of the late 19th century among the Plains Indians—traditional high leather moccasins, dresses made from calico trade cloth, and (at the far right) a red Hudson's Bay blanket with a black stripe. Although the Plains peoples no longer paint ledger books, beadwork has never completely died out. The ancient art of creating quilled, beaded, and painted clothing has evolved into the elaborate costumes displayed today at competitive dances called *powwows*.

Whether secular and decorative or spiritual and highly symbolic, the diverse styles and forms of Native American art in the United States and Canada have traditionally reflected the indigenous peoples' reliance on and reverence for the natural environment they considered it their privilege to inhabit. Today, some Native American artists work in media and styles indistinguishable from those of other contemporary artists worldwide, but in the work of others—for example, Jaune Quick-to-See Smith (FIG. 32-1)—the Native American experience remains central to their artistic identity.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Native American Cultures, 1300 to 1980

Mesoamerica

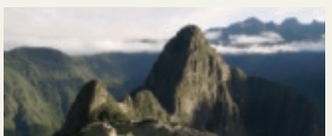
- When the first Europeans arrived in the New World, they encountered native peoples with sophisticated civilizations and a long history of art production, including illustrated books. The few surviving preconquest books, the *Borgia Codex* among them, provide precious insight into Mesoamerican rituals, science, mythology, and painting style.
- The Aztec Empire was the dominant power in Mesoamerica in the centuries before Hernán Cortés overthrew it. Tenochtitlán (Mexico City), the Aztec capital with a population of more than 150,000, was a magnificent island city laid out on a grid plan.
- The Great Temple at Tenochtitlán was a towering pyramid encasing several earlier pyramids. Dedicated to the worship of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc, it was also the place where the Aztecs sacrificed their enemies and threw their battered bodies down the stone staircase to land on a huge disk with a representation in relief of the dismembered body of the goddess Coyolxauhqui.
- In addition to relief carving, Aztec sculptors produced stone statues, some of colossal size—for example, the 11′ 6″ image from Tenochtitlán of the beheaded Coatlicue, who wears a necklace of severed human hands and excised human hearts.

Great Temple, Tenochtitlán, ca. 1400–1500

Coyolxauhqui, Tenochtitlán, ca. 1469

South America

- In the 15th century, the Inka Empire, with its capital at Cuzco in present-day Peru, extended from Ecuador to Chile. The Inka were superb engineers and constructed 20,000 miles of roads to exert control over their vast empire. They kept track of inventories, census and tribute totals, and astronomical information using a "computer of strings" called a khipu.
- Master architects, the Inka were experts in ashlar masonry construction. The most impressive preserved Inka site is Machu Picchu, probably the estate of the Inka emperor Pachacuti. Stone terraces spill down the mountainsides, and the buildings have windows and doors designed to frame views of sacred peaks and facilitate the recording of important astronomical events.

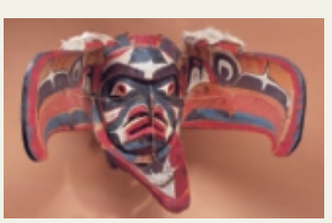


Machu Picchu, 15th century

North America

- In North America, power was much more widely dispersed and the native art and architecture more varied than in Mesoamerica and Andean South America.
- In the American Southwest, the Ancestral Puebloans built urban settlements (pueblos) and decorated their council houses (kivas) with mural paintings. The Navajo produced magnificent textiles and created temporary sand paintings as part of complex rituals. The Hopi carved katsina figurines representing benevolent supernatural spirits. The Pueblo Indian pottery produced by artists such as María Montoya Martínez is among the finest in the world.
- On the Northwest Coast, masks played an important role in religious rituals. Some examples can open and close rapidly so that the wearer can magically transform himself from human to animal and back again. Haida totem poles sometimes reach 60 feet in height and are carved with superimposed forms representing clan crests, animals, and supernatural beings. Chilkat blankets are the result of a fruitful collaboration between male designers and female weavers.
- The peoples of the Great Plains won renown for their magnificent painted buffalo-hide robes, bead necklaces, feather headdresses, and shields. Native American art lived on even after the U.S. government forcibly removed the Plains peoples to reservations. Painted ledger books record their vanished lifestyle, but the production of fine crafts continues to the present day.

Martínez, black-on-black jar, ca. 1934–1943



Eagle transformation mask, Kwakwaka'wakw, late 19th century

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▲**37-1a** Maori meeting houses symbolically represent an ancestor's body. Carved wood freestanding pou tokomanawa support the ridge beam, and poupou relief panels represent ancestors in frontal positions.

▲**37-1b** The lead sculptor, Raharuhi Rukupo, who was also chief of the Rongowhakaata clan, included his self-portrait at the entrance to the wharenui. His face and body are covered with elaborate Maori moko tattoos.

▲**37-1c** Some of the ancestor figures are female, and the stitched lattice tukutuku panels are the work of female fabric artists, but women were not permitted to enter the Maori men's community house.

37-1 **Raharuhi Rukupo and others, interior of the Te Hau-ki-Turanga wharenui (meeting house), Poverty Bay, New Zealand, Polynesia, 1842–1845. Reconstructed in Te Papa Tongarewa, Museum of New Zealand, Wellington.**

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OCEANIA BEFORE 1980 37

FRAMING THE ERA

Maori Men's Meeting Houses

The number and variety of preserved artworks from Oceania—the name often given to the South Pacific—are extraordinary, especially in light of the relatively sparse population of this vast region encompassing some 25,000 islands. As in many cultures worldwide, most Oceanic "artworks" were not created for display as aesthetic objects. Since the earliest times, the art of the Pacific Islanders has always played an important functional role in religious and communal life and cannot be understood apart from its cultural context.

One of the major venues for the display of art in many Oceanic societies was the men's communal house, which itself should be considered a "work of art." A premier example is the Te Hau-ki-Turanga (Spirit of Turanga) *wharenui* (communal meeting house; FIG. 37-1) of the Rongowhakaata clan at Poverty Bay in New Zealand. RAHARUHI RUKUPO (ca. 1800–1873) and a team of 18 Maori woodcarvers constructed and decorated the building between 1842 and 1845. The Turanga wharenui was a place for the male members of the community to assemble in the benevolent presence of their ancestors. The very structure of the building symbolized the body of an ancestor or of the ultimate ancestor, the sky father, with the exterior *barge boards* (the angled boards outlining the house gables) representing his outstretched arms, the *ridge beam* his spine, and the rafters his ribs. Along the walls, relief panels (*poupou*) depict male and female ancestors standing in frontal positions, sometimes stacked one above another, their bodies decorated with *tattoos*. They are linked by painted gourd tendrils on the rafters and ridge beam that symbolize the genealogical lineage of the clan. Freestanding figures (*pou tokomanawa*) comparable to classical *caryatids* (FIGS. 5-17 and 5-54) literally support the symbolic spine of the ancestral body that is the wharenui. The *tukutuku* (stitched lattice panels) between the poupou are the work of female fabric artists, but because women could not enter the meeting house, they installed the panels from the outside.

Raharuhi Rukupo was not only a master carver. He was a priest, warrior, and, after the death of his older brother, the chief of the Rongowhakaata. He dedicated the Turanga meeting house in honor of his late brother and, as chief, included a self-portrait holding a woodcutter's adze at the entrance to the wharenui. His face features an elaborate *moko* tattoo (see "Tattoo in Polynesia," page 1125).

Working in the long-established Maori tradition of woodcarving but using modern metal tools in place of the stone tools their predecessors employed, Rukupo and his assistants were able to complete the wharenui in only three years. The house remains the property of the Rongowhakaata clan, but in 1935 was restored and reerected at the Museum of New Zealand at Wellington.

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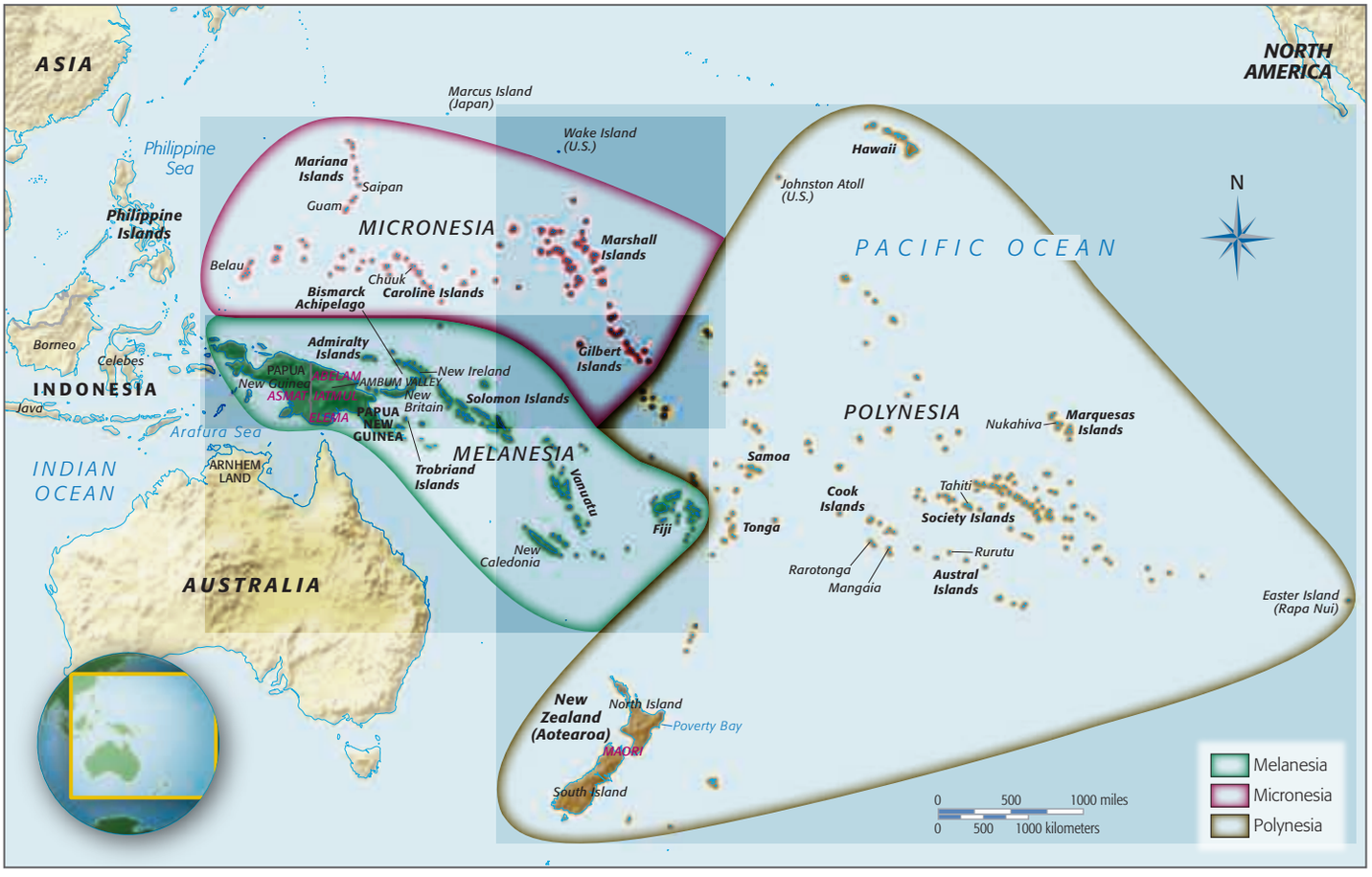
ISLAND CULTURES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

When people think of the South Pacific (MAP 37-1), images of balmy tropical islands usually come to mind. But the islands of the Pacific Ocean encompass a wide range of habitats. Environments range from the arid deserts of the Australian outback to the tropical rainforests of inland New Guinea and the coral atolls of the Marshall Islands. The region is not only geographically varied but also politically, linguistically, culturally, and artistically diverse.

In 1831, the French explorer Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville (1790–1842) proposed dividing the Pacific islands into major regions based on general geographical, racial, and linguistic distinctions. Despite its limitations, his division of Oceania into the areas of Melanesia ("black islands"), Micronesia ("small islands"), and Polynesia ("many islands") continues in use today. Melanesia includes the islands of New Guinea, New Ireland, New Britain, New Caledonia, the Admiralty Islands, and the Solomon Islands, along with other smaller island groups. Micronesia consists primarily of the Caroline, Mariana, Gilbert, and Marshall Islands in the western Pacific. Polynesia covers much of the eastern Pacific and consists of a triangular area defined by the Hawaiian Islands in the north, Rapa Nui (Easter Island) in the east, and Aotearoa (New Zealand) in the southwest.

Although documentary evidence is lacking about Oceanic cultures before the arrival of seafaring Europeans in the early 16th century, archaeologists have determined that humans have inhabited the islands for tens of thousands of years. The archaeological evidence indicates that different parts of the Pacific experienced distinct migratory waves. The first group arrived during the last Ice Age, at least 40,000 and perhaps as many as 75,000 years ago, when a large continental shelf extended from Southeast Asia and enabled land access to Australia and New Guinea. After the end of the Ice Age, descendants of these first settlers dispersed to other islands in Melanesia. The most recent migratory wave took place sometime after 3000 BCE and involved peoples of Asian ancestry moving to



MAP 37-1 Oceania.

OCEANIA BEFORE 1980

- The earliest Oceanic artworks, datable around 1500 BCE, are composite human-animal stone figurines from Papua New Guinea
- The largest Oceanic sculptures—the moai of Rapa Nui, some of which are 50 feet tall—are also among the oldest
- The traditional 19th-century Oceanic art forms in Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia include sculptures and masks of ancestors and deities, painted wood prow ornaments, and communal men's houses
- Oceanic artworks produced during the past century take a great variety of forms, ranging from the painted barkcloth produced by Tongan women to the sculpted Dilukai figures of Belau men's ceremonial houses

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areas of Micronesia and Polynesia. The last Pacific islands to be settled were those of Polynesia, but habitation of its most far-flung islands—Hawaii, New Zealand, and Easter Island—began no later than 500 to 1000 CE. Because of the expansive chronological span of these migrations, Pacific cultures vary widely. For example, the Aboriginal peoples of Australia speak a language unrelated to any of those of New Guinea, whose languages fall into a distinct but diverse group. By contrast, most of the rest of the Pacific Islanders speak languages derived from the Austronesian language family.

These island groups came to Western attention as a result of the extensive exploration and colonization that began in the 16th century and reached its peak in the 19th century. Virtually all of the major Western nations—including Great Britain, France, Spain, Holland, Germany, and the United States—established a presence in the Pacific. Much of the history of Oceania in the 20th century revolved around indigenous peoples' struggles for independence from these colonial powers. Yet colonialism also facilitated an exchange of ideas—not solely the transfer of Western cultural values and technology to the Pacific. Oceanic art, for example, had a strong influence on many Western artists, especially the late-19th-century French painter Paul Gauguin (FIG. 28-22). The "primitive" art of Oceania also inspired many early-20th-century artists (see "Primitivism," page 897).

This chapter treats the full range of Oceanic art from the second millennium BCE (FIG. 37-1A) through the European discovery of the islands in the 16th century until 1980, at which point the art of Oceania, like that of Asia and Africa, is considered in the worldwide context of contemporary art (see, for example, the discussion of the work of Maori woodcarver Cliff Whiting, FIG. 32-13A). Knowledge of early Oceanic art and the history of the Pacific islands in general before the arrival of Europeans is unfortunately very incomplete. Traditionally, the transmission of information from one generation to the next in Pacific societies was largely oral, rather than written, and little archival documentation exists. Nonetheless, archaeologists, linguists, anthropologists, ethnologists, and art historians continue to make progress in illuminating the Oceanic past.

37-1A *Ambum Stone,* Papua New Guinea, ca. 1500 BCE.

Given the pronounced regional variations among the Pacific island groups, the organization of this chapter is geographical rather than chronological.

AUSTRALIA AND MELANESIA

The westernmost Oceanic islands are the continent-nation of Australia and New Guinea in Melanesia. Together they dwarf the area of all the other Pacific islands combined.

Australia

Over the past 40,000 years, the Aboriginal peoples of Australia spread out over the entire continent and adapted to a variety of ecological conditions, ranging from those of tropical and subtropical areas in the north to desert regions in the continent's interior and more temperate locales in the south. European explorers reaching the region in the late 18th and early 19th centuries found that the Aborigines had a special relationship with the land on which they lived. Many contemporary aboriginal artists still retain close ties to the land and the spirits that inhabit it. The Aboriginal perception of the world centers on a concept known as the Dreamings—ancestral beings whose spirits pervade the present. All Aborigines identify certain Dreamings as totemic ancestors, and those who share the same Dreamings have social links. The Aborigines call the spiritual domain that the Dreamings occupy Dreamtime, which is both the time before humans inhabited the world and the physical space within which the ancestral beings moved in creating the landscape that gives the Aborigines cultural, religious, and moral direction. Because of the importance of Dreamings to all aspects of Aboriginal life, native Australian art symbolically links Aborigines with these ancestral spirits. The Aborigines recite creation myths in concert with songs and dances, and many art forms—body painting, carved figures, sacred objects, decorated stones, and rock and bark painting—serve as essential props in these dramatic re-creations. Most Aboriginal art is relatively small and portable. As hunters and gatherers in difficult terrain, the Aborigines were generally nomadic peoples, rendering large-scale art impractical.

1 ft.

Bark Painting. Bark, widely available in Australia, is portable and lightweight, and bark painting thus became a mainstay of Aboriginal art. Dreamings, mythic narratives (often tracing the movement of various ancestral spirits through the landscape), and sacred places were common subjects. Ancestral spirits pervade the lives of the Aborigines, and these paintings have served to give visual form to that presence. Traditionally, because knowledge of Dreamings was sacred and restricted, an Aborigine could depict only a Dreaming with which the artist had a connection. Thus specific Aboriginal lineages, clans, or regional groups "owned" individual designs, and it is often difficult for outsiders to interpret the representations. The bark painting illustrated here (FIG. 37-2) depicts a Dreaming known as Auuenau and comes from the Northern Territory in Australia. The artist represented the elongated figure in a style known as "X-ray," which Aboriginal painters used to depict both animal and human forms. In

37-2 **Auuenau (male ancestor figure), from East Alligator Rivers, Northern Territory, Australia, ca. 1913. Ocher on bark, 4′ 10 $\frac{5}{8}$″ × 1′ 1″. Museum Victoria, Melbourne.**

Aboriginal painters frequently depicted Dreamings, ancestral beings whose spirits pervade the present, using the X-ray style that shows both the figure's internal organs and its external appearance.

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ART AND SOCIETY

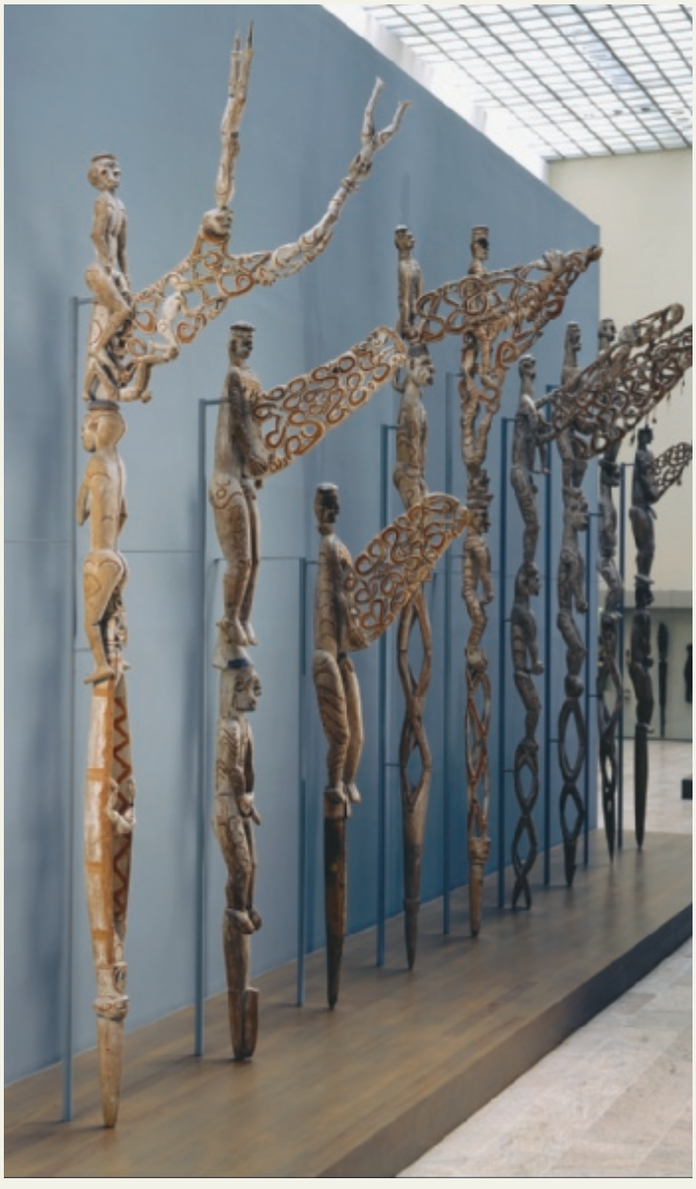
Asmat Headhunting and Bisj Poles

When they still practiced headhunting, the Asmat erected *bisj* poles (FIG. 37-3) that served as a pledge to avenge a relative's death. An individual would set up a bisj pole when he could command the support of enough men to undertake a headhunting raid. Carved in one piece from the trunk of a single mangrove tree, a bisj pole consists of superimposed figures of deceased individuals. At the top, extending winglike from the abdomen of the uppermost figure on the bisj pole, is the *cemen,* one of the tree's buttress roots carved into an openwork pattern.

All of the decorative elements on the bisj pole relate to headhunting and foretell a successful raid. The many animals carved on these mangrove poles (and in Asmat art in general) are symbols of headhunting. The Asmat see the human body as a tree—the feet and legs as the roots, the torso as the trunk, the arms and hands as the branches, and the head as the fruit. Thus any fruit-eating animal (such as the black king cockatoo, the hornbill, or the flying fox) symbolizes the headhunter, and consequently they appear frequently on bisj poles.

Traditional Asmat art also often includes representations of the praying mantis. The Asmat consider the female praying mantis's practice of beheading her mate after copulation and then eating him as another form of headhunting. The curvilinear or spiral patterns filling the pierced openwork at the top of the bisj poles can be related to the characteristic curved tail of the cuscus (a fruit-eating mammal) or the tusk of a boar (related to hunting and virility).

Once the Asmat sculptors carved the mangrove poles, they placed them on a rack near the community's men's house. After the success of the headhunting expedition, the men discarded the bisj poles and allowed them to rot, because they had served their purpose. This practice underscores an essential difference between Oceanic and Western art. Today, bisj poles are displayed as "artworks" in European and American museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (FIG. 37-3), in climate-controlled rooms designed to preserve the poles in perpetuity. In their Oceanic context, bisj poles were not art objects but functional objects that were systematically discarded after they no longer had a function to perform.



37-3 Asmat bisj poles, from Omadesep village, Faretsj River, Papua province, Melanesia, mid-20th century. Mangrove wood, paint, and fiber, 18′ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Michael C. Rockefeller Collection, bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979).

The Asmat carved bisj poles from mangrove tree trunks and erected them before undertaking a headhunting raid. The carved figures represent the relatives whose deaths the hunters must avenge.

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this style, the artist simultaneously depicts the subject's internal organs and exterior appearance. The painting possesses a fluid and dynamic quality, with the X-ray-like figure clearly defined against a solid background.

New Guinea

Because of its sheer size, New Guinea, the third-largest island in the world, dominates Melanesia. This 309,000-square-mile island consists today of parts of two countries—the provinces of Papua and West Papua of nearby Indonesia, on the island's western end, and Papua New Guinea on the eastern end. New Guinea's inhabitants together speak more than 800 different languages, almost one-quarter of the world's known tongues. Among the Melanesian cultures discussed in this chapter, the Asmat, Iatmul, Elema, and Abelam peoples of New Guinea all speak Papuan-derived languages. Scholars believe that they are descendants of the early settlers who came to the island in the remote past. By contrast, the people of New Ireland and the Trobriand Islands are Austronesian speakers and probably descendants of a later wave of Pacific migrants.

Typical Melanesian societies are fairly democratic and relatively unstratified. What political power exists belongs to groups of elder men and, in some areas, elder women. The elders handle the people's affairs in a communal fashion. Within some of these

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groups, persons of local distinction, known as "Big Men," renowned for their political, economic, and, historically, warrior skills, have accrued power. Because power and position in Melanesia can be earned (within limits), many cultural practices (such as rituals and cults) revolve around the acquisition of knowledge that enables advancement in society. To represent and acknowledge this advancement in rank, Melanesian societies mount elaborate festivals, construct communal meeting houses, and produce art objects. These cultural products serve to reinforce the social order and maintain social stability. Given the wide diversity in environments and languages, it should come as no surprise that hundreds of art styles flourished on New Guinea alone. Only a sample can be presented here.

Asmat. Living along the southwestern coast of New Guinea, the Asmat of Papua province eke out their existence by hunting and gathering the varied flora and fauna found in the mangrove swamps, rivers, and tropical forests. Asmat communities are in constant competition for limited resources. Historically, the Asmat extended this competitive spirit beyond food and materials to energy and power as well. To increase one's personal energy or spiritual power, one had to take it forcibly from someone else. As a result, warfare and headhunting became central to Asmat culture and art (see "Asmat Headhunting and Bisj Poles," page 1116). The Asmat did not believe that any death was natural. Death could result only from a direct assault (headhunting or warfare) or sorcery, and it diminished ancestral power. Thus, to restore a balance of spirit power, an enemy's head had to be taken to avenge a death and to add to one's communal spirit power. Headhunting was still common in the 1930s when Europeans established an administrative and missionary presence among the Asmat. As a result of European efforts, headhunting ceased by the 1960s, and many traditional beliefs about life and death have yielded to modern ideas.

Iatmul. The Iatmul live along the middle Sepik River in Papua New Guinea in communities based on kinship. Villages include extended families as well as different clans. The social center of every Iatmul village is a massive saddle-shaped men's ceremonial house (FIG. 37-4). In terms of both function and form, the men's house reveals the primacy of the kinship network. The meeting house reinforces kinship links by serving as the locale for the initiation of local youths to advance in rank, for men's discussions of community issues, and for ceremonies linked to the Iatmul's ancestors. Because only men can advance in Iatmul society, women and uninitiated boys cannot enter the men's house. In this manner, the Iatmul men control access to knowledge and therefore to power. Given its important political and cultural role, the men's house is appropriately monumental, physically dominating Iatmul villages and dwarfing family houses. Although men's houses are common in New Guinea, those of the Iatmul are among the most lavishly decorated.

Traditionally, the house symbolizes the protective mantle of the ancestors and represents an enormous female ancestor. The facade is her face and the rest of the house her body. The Iatmul house and its female ancestral figures symbolize a reenacted death and rebirth when a clan member enters and exits the second story of the building. The gable ends of men's houses are usually covered and sometimes include a giant female gable mask, making the ancestral symbolism visible. The interior carvings, however, are normally hidden from view. The Iatmul place carved images of clan ancestors on the central ridge-support posts and on the roof-support posts on both sides of the house (compare FIG. 37-1). They top the roof-support posts with large faces representing mythical spirits of the clans. At the top of the two raised spires at each end, birds symbolizing the war spirit of the village men sit above carvings of headhunting victims (or, on occasion, of male ancestors).

The subdivision of the house's interior into areas for each clan reflects the social demographic of the village. Many meeting houses have three sections—a front, middle, and end—representing the three major clans who built it. These areas have additional subclan divisions, in which are support posts carved with images of legendary male and female ancestors. Beneath the house, each clan keeps large carved *slit-gongs* to serve as both instruments of communication (for sending drum messages within and between villages) and the voices of ancestral spirits. On the second level of the house, above the horizontal crossbeam beneath the gable, the Iatmul place carved wood figures symbolizing female clan ancestors, depicted in a birthing position (compare FIGS. 37-11 and 37-12). The Iatmul also keep various types of portable art in their ceremonial houses. These

37-4 Iatmul ceremonial men's house, East Sepik, Papua New Guinea, Melanesia, mid- to late 20th century.

The men's house is the center of Iatmul life. Its distinctive saddle-shaped roof symbolizes the protective mantle of ancestors. The carved decoration often includes female ancestors in the birthing position.

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37-5 Elema hevehe masks retreating into the men's house, Orokolo Bay, Papua New Guinea, Melanesia, early to mid-20th century.

The Hevehe was a cycle of ceremonial activities spanning 10 to 20 years, culminating in the dramatic appearance of hevehe masks from the Elema men's house. The masks represent female sea spirits.

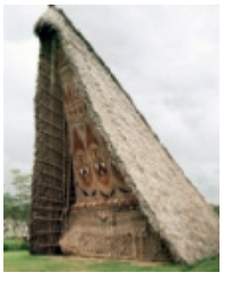
include ancestors' skulls covered with clay modeled to form a likeness of the deceased (a practice similar to one documented thousands of years before in Neolithic Jericho, FIG. 1-14), ceremonial chairs, sacred flutes, hooks for hanging sacred items and food, and several types of masks.

Elema. Central to the culture of the Elema people of Orokolo Bay in the Papuan Gulf was *Hevehe,* an elaborate cycle of ceremonial activities. Conceptualized as the mythical visitation of the water spirits (*ma-hevehe*), the Hevehe cycle involved the production and presentation of large, ornate masks (also called hevehe). The Elema last practiced Hevehe in the 1930s. Primarily organized by the male elders of the village, the cycle was a communal undertaking, and normally took from 10 to 20 years to complete. The duration of the Hevehe and the resources and human labor required reinforced cultural and economic relations and maintained the social structure in which elder male authority dominated.

Throughout the cycle, the Elema held ceremonies to initiate male youths into higher ranks. These ceremonies involved the exchange of wealth (such as pigs and shell ornaments), thereby also serving an economic purpose. The cycle culminated in the display of the finished hevehe masks (FIG. 37-5). Each mask consisted of painted barkcloth (see "Barkcloth," page 1124) stretched around a cane-and-wood frame fitted over the wearer's body. A hevehe mask was normally 9 to 10 feet in height, although extensions often raised the height to as much as 25 feet. Because of their size and intricate designs, hevehe masks required great skill to construct, and only trained men could participate in mask making. Designs were specific to particular clans, and elder men passed them down to the next generation from memory. Each mask represented a female sea spirit, but the decoration of the mask often incorporated designs from local flora and fauna as well.

The final stage of the cycle focused on the dramatic appearance of the masks from the *eravo* (men's house). After a procession, the masks were brought back into the eravo (FIG. 37-5), and the men wearing the hevehe mingled with relatives. Upon conclusion of related dancing (often lasting about a month), the Elema ritually killed and then dumped the masks in piles and burned them. This destruction enabled the sea spirits to return to their mythic domain and provided a pretext for commencing the cycle again. Like the bisj poles of the Asmat (see "Asmat Headhunting and Bisj Poles," page 1116), this practice is the polar opposite of the Western custom of collecting and displaying Oceanic masks for posterity as "artworks" in modern museums. Although the high artistic quality of the hevehe masks is undeniable, the masks were created only for short-term use in Elema rituals, in which the creation and destruction of the masks were of equal importance.

Abelam. The eravo that forms the backdrop of the hevehe festival in FIG. 37-5 resembles Iatmul ceremonial houses (FIG. 37-4) and the *korambo* or *tamberan* (FIG. 37-5A) of the Abelam people, whose architecture and portable artworks illustrate that Oceanic art often includes references both to fundamental spiritual beliefs and to basic subsistence. The Abelam are agriculturists living in the hilly regions north of the Sepik River. Relatively isolated, the Abelam received only sporadic visits from foreigners until the 1930s, so little is known about early Abelam history.



37-5A Abelam korambo, Maprik, photographed 1974.

The principal Abelam crop is the yam. Because of the importance of yams to the survival of Abelam society, those who can grow the largest yams achieve power and prestige. Indeed, the Abelam developed a complex yam cult, which involves a series of rites and activities intended to promote the growth of the tubers. Special plantations focus on yam cultivation. Only initiated men who observe strict rules of conduct, including sexual abstinence, can work these fields. The Abelam believe that ancestors aid in the growth of yams, and they hold ceremonies to honor these ancestors. Special long yams (distinct from the short yams cultivated for consumption) are on

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37-6 Abelam yam mask, Papua New Guinea, Melanesia, 20th century. Painted cane, 1′ 6 9/16″ high. Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland (gift of Nathaniel Sloane in memory of Rose White).

The Abelam believe that their ancestors aid in the growth of their principal crop, the yam. Painted cane yam masks are an important part of the elaborate ceremonies honoring these ancestors.

display during these festivities, and the largest (9 to 10 feet long) bear the names of important ancestors. Yam masks (FIG. 37-6) with cane or wood frames, usually painted red, white, yellow, and black, are an integral part of the ceremonies. The most elaborate masks also incorporate sculpted faces, cassowary feathers, and shell ornaments. They covered the "heads" of the long yams. Humans never wear the yam masks, but the Abelam use the same designs to decorate their bodies for dances, revealing how closely they identify with their principal food source.

New Ireland and the Trobriand Islands

East of New Guinea but part of the modern nation of Papua New Guinea are New Ireland and the Trobriand Islands, two important Melanesian art centers.

New Ireland. Mortuary rites and memorial festivals are a central concern of the Austronesian-speaking peoples who live in the northern section of New Ireland. The term *malanggan* refers to both the festivals held in honor of the deceased and the carvings and objects produced for these festivals. Malanggan rites are part of an ancestor cult and are critical in facilitating the transition of the soul from the world of the living to the realm of the dead and the rechanneling of energy from the deceased into the community of the living. In addition to the religious function of malanggan, the extended ceremonies also promote social solidarity and stimulate the economy through the investment necessary to mount impressive festivities. To educate the next generation about these practices, malanggan also includes the initiation of young men.

Of the wide range of malanggan carvings that New Irelanders have produced—masks, figures, poles, friezes, and ornaments—probably the most extraordinary are their wooden *uli* figures (FIG. 37-7). Sculptors created these statues for use in malanggan rituals in which the skulls of illustrious ancestors were dug up and then reburied with new sacred plants. During the ceremony, which is no longer practiced and in which only men could participate, New Ireland religious leaders coaxed the deceased chief to enter the uli. Afterward, the uli would be displayed in the community's men's house until reused (after repainting) in a subsequent malanggan. The uli illustrated here is of exceptionally high quality but is typical of the series. The ferocious-looking figure stands upright with raised arms. Most notable is the uli's bisexuality, featuring the genitals of a man and the breasts of a woman, symbolizing the chief's strength and ability to lead as well as his benevolent nurturing of his people.

37-7 Uli statue, from New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, 18th or early 19th century. Wood, ocher, and charcoal, 4′ 11 1/8″ high. Musée du quai Branly, Paris.

Uli figures, used in malanggan rites, have ferocious expressions on their faces and are bisexual with male genitals and female breasts, symbolizing the deceased chief's strength and his nurturing of his people.

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37-8 Tatanua helmet mask, from New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, Melanesia, 1884–1895. Wood, paint, opercula shells, lime plaster, plant fiber, bark, bark cloth, rattan, and cord, 1′ 3¼″ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

In New Ireland, malanggan rites facilitate the transition of the soul from this world to the land of the dead. Dancers wearing tatanua masks representing the deceased play a key role in these ceremonies.

Also created for the malanggan are tatanua masks (FIG. 37-8). *Tatanua* represent the spirits of specific deceased people. The materials used to make New Ireland tatanua masks are primarily soft wood, vegetable fiber, and rattan. The crested hair, made of fiber, duplicates a hairstyle formerly common among the men (compare FIG. 37-7). The arcs of lime plaster represent the shaved head of a man in mourning. For the eyes, the mask makers insert sea-snail shells. Traditionally, artists paint the masks black, white, yellow, and red—colors that the people of New Ireland associate with warfare, magic spells, and violence. Although some masks are display pieces, dancers wear most of them. As with the uli figures, rather than destroying their ritual masks after the conclusion of the ceremonies, as some other cultures do, the New Irelanders store them for future use.

Trobriand Islands. The various rituals of the Oceanic cultures discussed thus far often involve exchanges intended to cement social relationships and reinforce or stimulate the economy. Further, these rituals usually have a spiritual dimension. All of these aspects apply to the practices of the Trobriand Islanders, who live off the coast of the southeastern corner of New Guinea. *Kula*—an exchange of white conus-shell arm ornaments for red chama-shell necklaces—is a characteristic practice of the Trobriand Islanders. Kula exchanges may have originated some 500 years ago. They can be complex, and there is great competition for valuable shell ornaments (determined by aesthetic appeal and exchange history). Because of the isolation imposed by their island existence, the Trobriand Islanders had to undertake potentially dangerous voyages to participate in kula trading. Appropriately, the Trobrianders lavish a great deal of effort on decorating their large and elaborately carved canoes, which feature ornate prows and splashboards (FIG. 37-9). To ensure a successful kula expedition, the Trobrianders invoke spells when attaching these prows to the canoes. Human, bird, and serpent motifs—references to sea spirits, ancestors, and totemic animals—appear on the prows and splashboards. Because the sculptors use highly stylized motifs in intricate intertwined

37-9 Canoe prow and splashboard, from Trobriand Islands, Papua New Guinea, Melanesia, 19th to 20th centuries. Painted wood, 1′ 3½″ high, 1′ 11″ long. Musée du quai Branly, Paris.

To participate in kula exchanges, the Trobriand Islanders had to undertake dangerous sea voyages. They decorated their canoes with abstract human, bird, and serpent motifs referring to sea spirits.

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curvilinear designs, identification of the specific representations is difficult. In recent decades, the Trobrianders have adapted kula to modern circumstances, largely abandoning canoes for motorboats. The exchanges now facilitate business and political networking.

MICRONESIA

Some 2,500 islands, most of them tiny, scattered over nearly three million square miles of ocean make up Micronesia, home to about 200,000 people today. The Austronesian-speaking cultures of Micronesia tend to be more socially stratified than those found in New Guinea and other Melanesian areas. Micronesian cultures frequently center on chieftainships with craft and ritual specializations, and their religions honor named deities as well as ancestors. Life in virtually all Micronesian cultures focuses on seafaring activities—fishing, trading, and long-distance travel in large oceangoing vessels. For this reason, much of the artistic imagery of Micronesia relates to the sea.

Caroline Islands

The Caroline Islands are the largest island group in Micronesia. The arts of the Caroline Islands include the carving of canoes and the fashioning of charms and images of spirits to protect travelers at sea and for fishing and fertility magic.

37-10 Canoe prow ornament, from Chuuk, Caroline Islands, Micronesia, late 19th century. Painted wood, birds 11″ × 10 5/8″. British Museum, London.

Prow ornaments protected canoe paddlers and could be lowered to signal a peaceful voyage. This Micronesian example may represent facing sea swallows or perhaps a stylized human figure.

Chuuk. Given the importance of seafaring, it is not surprising that many of the most highly skilled artists in the Caroline Islands were master canoe builders. The canoe ornament illustrated here (FIG. 37-10) comes from Chuuk. Carved from a single plank of wood and fastened to the prow of a large, paddled war canoe, the ornament served a decorative purpose but also provided protection on arduous or long voyages. That this and similar ornaments are not permanent parts of the canoes reflects their function. When approaching another vessel, the Micronesian seafarers lowered these ornaments as a signal that their voyage was a peaceful one. The Chuuk prow seems at first to be an abstract design but may represent, at the top, two facing sea swallows—creatures capable of navigating long distances. Some scholars, however, think that the entire piece represents a stylized human figure, with the "swallows" constituting the arms.

Belau. On Belau (formerly Palau) in the Caroline Islands, the islanders put much effort into creating and maintaining elaborately painted men's ceremonial clubhouses called *bai*. Whereas the Iatmul and Abelam make their ceremonial houses (FIGS. 37-4 and 37-5A) by tying, lashing, and weaving different-size posts, trees, saplings, and grasses, the Belau people make the main structure of the bai entirely of worked, fitted, joined, and pegged wood pieces, which enables them to assemble it easily. Belau bai, such as the one illustrated here (FIG. 37-11), have steep overhanging roofs decorated with geometric patterns along the roof boards. Skilled artists carve the gable in low relief and paint it with narrative scenes, as well as with various abstracted forms of the shell money used

37-11 Model of a men's ceremonial house (bai) at 75 percent scale, from Belau (Palau), Micronesia, 20th century. Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

The Belau men's clubhouses (bai) have extensive carved and painted decorations illustrating important events and myths related to the clan that built the bai. The central motif is a Dilukai (FIG. 37-12).

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ART AND SOCIETY

Women's Roles in Oceania

Given the prominence of men's houses and the importance of male initiation in so many Oceanic societies, women might appear to be peripheral members of these cultures. Much of the extant material culture—ancestor masks, shields, clubs—seems to corroborate this. In reality, however, women play crucial roles in most Pacific cultures. In addition to their significant contributions through exchange and ritual activities to the maintenance and perpetuation of the social network on which the stability of village life depends, women are important producers of art.

Historically, women's artistic production has been restricted mainly to media such as fabric and ceramics. In some cultures in New Guinea, potters were primarily female. Throughout much of Polynesia, women produced barkcloth (see "Tongan Barkcloth," page 1124, and FIG. 37-14), which they often dyed and stenciled, and sometimes even perfumed. Women in the Trobriand Islands still make brilliantly dyed skirts of shredded banana fiber that not only are aesthetically beautiful but also serve as a form of wealth, presented symbolically during mortuary rituals.

In most Oceanic cultures, women usually do not use the same adzes and axes that male sculptors employ, and they do not work in hard materials, such as wood, stone, bone, or ivory. Further, they do not produce images having religious or spiritual powers or that confer status on their users. Scholars investigating the role of the artist in Oceania have concluded that the reason for these restrictions is a perceived difference in innate power. Because women have the natural power to create and control life, male-dominated societies developed elaborate ritual practices to counteract this female power. By excluding women from participating in these rituals and denying them access to knowledge about specific practices, men derived a political authority that could be perpetuated. It is important to note, however, that even in rituals or activities restricted to men, women often participate. For example, in the now-defunct Hevehe ceremonial cycle (FIG. 37-5) in Papua New Guinea, women made the fiber skirts for the hevehe masks but feigned ignorance about these sacred objects, because such knowledge was the exclusive privilege of initiated men. The tukutuku panels of Maori meeting houses (FIG. 37-1) were also the work of female fabric artists, even though women were not permitted to enter the wharenui.

Pacific cultures often acknowledged women's innate power in the depictions of women in Oceanic art. For example, the splayed Dilukai female sculpture (FIG. 37-12) that appears regularly on Palauan bai (men's houses; FIG. 37-11) celebrates women's procreative powers. Often flanked by figures of sexually aroused men, these female figures are surrounded by images of sun disks, trees, and birds. They face east toward the rising sun and symbolize the sun's gifts to earth as well as human fertility. The Dilukai figure also confers protection on visitors to the bai, another symbolic acknowledgment of female power. Similar concepts underlie the design of the Iatmul men's house (FIG. 37-4). Conceived as a giant female ancestor, the men's house incorporates women's natural power into the conceptualization of what is normally the most important architectural structure in an Iatmul village. In addition, the Iatmul associate entrance and departure from the men's house with death and rebirth, thereby reinforcing the primacy of fertility and the perception of the men's house as representing a woman's body.

One reason that scholars have tended to overlook the active participation of women in all aspects of Oceanic life is that until recently, the objects that visitors to the Pacific collected were primarily those in permanent materials, and these were made almost exclusively by male artists. That the majority of these Western travelers were men and therefore had contact predominantly with men no doubt also accounts for this pattern of collecting. Recent scholarship has done a great deal to correct the misperception that Oceanic women were insignificant members of male-dominated, warring societies, thereby revealing the richness of social, political, and artistic activity in the Pacific.

37-12 Dilukai, from Belau (Palau), Micronesia, late 19th or early 20th century. Wood, paint, and kaolin, 2′ $1\frac{5}{8}$″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Michael C. Rockefeller Collection, bequest of Nelson A. Rockefeller, 1979).

Sculpted wood figures of a splayed female, or Dilukai, commonly appear over the entrance to a Belau bai (FIG. 37-11). The figures served as symbols of fertility and protected the men's house.

traditionally on Belau as currency. These decorated storyboards illustrate important historical events and myths related to the clan that built the bai. Similar carved and painted crossbeams are inside the house. The rooster images along the base of the facade symbolize the rising sun, while the multiple frontal human faces carved and painted above the entrance and on the vertical elements above the rooster images represent a deity called Blellek. He warns women to stay away from the ocean and the bai or he will molest them.

Although the bai was the domain of men, women figured prominently in the clubhouse's imagery, consistent with the important symbolic and social positions women held in Belau culture (see "Women's Roles in Oceania," page above). A common element surmounting the main bai entrance was a simple, symmetrical wood sculpture (on occasion, a painting) of a splayed female figure, known as *Dilukai* (FIGS. 37-11 and 37-12). She wears jewelry and an armband, emblems of wealth and power, and serves as a symbol of both protection and fertility.

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POLYNESIA

Polynesia was one of the last areas in the world to be settled. Habitation in the western Polynesian islands did not begin until about the end of the first millennium BCE, and in the south not until the first millennium CE. The settlers brought complex sociopolitical and religious institutions with them. Whereas Melanesian societies are fairly egalitarian and advancement in rank is possible, Polynesian societies typically are highly stratified, with power determined by heredity. Indeed, rulers often trace their genealogies directly to the gods of creation. Most Polynesian societies possess elaborate political organizations headed by chiefs and ritual specialists. By the 1800s, some Polynesian cultures (Hawaii and the Society Islands, for example) had evolved into kingdoms. Because of this social hierarchy, historically most Polynesian art belonged to persons of noble or high religious background and served to reinforce their power and prestige. These objects, like their chieftain owners, often possessed *mana,* or spiritual power.

Rapa Nui (Easter Island)

Some of the earliest datable artworks in Oceania are also the largest. The most spectacular are the colossal sculptures called *moai* (see "The Moai of Rapa Nui," below) of Rapa Nui, or Easter Island, the name given to this small remote island by the Dutch explorer who discovered it on Easter Sunday, 1722.

A SECOND OPINION

The Moai of Rapa Nui

The *moai* (FIG. 37-13) of Rapa Nui are by far the most famous examples of Oceanic art today. Standing as much as 50 feet tall and weighing up to 100 tons, they are silent sentinels aligned on stone platforms (*ahu*) at sacred sites along the seacoasts of Easter Island. Most of the moai take the form of huge, blocky yellowish-brown volcanic tuff figures with fairly planar facial features—large staring eyes (many originally inlaid with white coral with red scoria pupils), strong jaws, straight noses with carefully articulated nostrils, and elongated earlobes. A number of the moai have *pukao*—small red scoria cylinders that serve as a sort of topknot or hat—atop their heads.

Archaeological surveys have documented nearly 1,000 moai erected on some 250 ahu. Almost all of the statues were fashioned out of soft tuff from the same quarry at the volcanic crater of Rano Raraku at the eastern end of Rapa Nui. Some of the sculptures are red scoria, basalt, or trachyte. After quarrying, the Easter Islanders dragged the moai to the ahu sites and then positioned them vertically. Given the extraordinary size of these *monoliths,* their production and placement serve as testaments to the achievements of this Polynesian culture. According to one scholar, it would have taken 30 men one year to carve a moai, 90 men two months to transport it from the quarry to the ahu site (often several miles away), and 90 men three months to position it vertically on the platform.

The Rapa Nui islanders set up the moai with their backs to the sea, facing inward toward their settled communities and the homes of the elite. Although debate continues, many scholars believe that lineage chiefs or their sons erected the moai and that the sculptures depict ancestral chiefs who can benefit the living. The moai, however, are not individual portraits but generic images that the Easter Islanders believed had the ability to accommodate spirits or gods. Some oral traditions indicate that the moai served primarily as phallic symbols and were intended to promote the fertility of the island's small population. Whatever their meaning and function, the moai served as mediators between the people and their chiefs and their gods, and between the natural and cosmic worlds.

37-13 Row of moai on a stone platform, Ahu Tongariki, Rapa Nui (Easter Island), Polynesia, ca. 1200–1500. Volcanic tuff and red scoria.

The moai of Rapa Nui are monoliths as much as 50 feet tall. Most scholars believe that they portray ancestral chiefs, but oral tradition suggests that they may be phallic symbols intended to promote fertility.

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Tonga

Tonga is the westernmost island group in Polynesia. One of its most distinctive products is barkcloth, which women have traditionally produced throughout Polynesia.

Barkcloth. Artists produce barkcloth from the inner bark of the paper mulberry tree. The finished product goes by various names in Polynesia, but during the 19th century, when the production of barkcloth reached its zenith, *tapa* became the most widely used term. Although the primary use of tapa in Polynesia was for clothing and bedding, in Tonga, large sheets were (and still are) produced for exchange (see "Tongan Barkcloth," below). Barkcloth can also have a spiritual association and can serve to confer sanctity on the object wrapped in it. Appropriately, the Polynesians traditionally wrapped the bodies of high-ranking deceased chiefs in barkcloth.

The uses and decoration of tapa have varied over the years. In the 19th century, everyday tapa clothing was normally unadorned, whereas tapa used for ceremonial or ritual purposes was dyed, painted, stenciled, and sometimes perfumed. The designs applied to the tapa differed depending on the particular island group producing it and the function of the cloth. The production process was complex and time-consuming. Indeed, some Pacific cultures, such as those of Tahiti and Hawaii, constructed buildings specifically for the beating stage in the production of barkcloth.

Tapa production reached its peak in the early 19th century, partly as a result of the interest expressed by Western whalers and missionaries. By the late 19th century, the use of tapa for cloth had been abandoned throughout much of eastern Polynesia, although its use in rituals (for example, as a wrap for corpses of deceased chiefs or as a marker of tabooed sites) continued. Today, tapa exchanges are still an integral part of funerals and marriage ceremonies, and even the coronation of kings.

The decorated ngatu shown in FIG. 37-14 clearly demonstrates the richness of pattern, subtlety of theme, and variation of geometric forms characteristic of Tongan royal barkcloths. MELE SITANI made this ngatu for the accession ceremony of King Tupou IV (r. 1965–2006) of Tonga. She kneels in the middle of the ngatu, which features triangular patterns known as manulua. This pattern results from the intersection of three or four pointed triangles. *Manulua* means "two birds," and the design gives the illusion of two birds flying together. The motif symbolizes chieftain status derived from both parents.

MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Tongan Barkcloth

Tongan barkcloth (FIG. 37-14) provides an instructive example of the labor-intensive process of tapa production. At the time of early contact between Europeans and Polynesians in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, ranking women in Tonga made decorated barkcloth (*ngatu*). Today, women's organizations called *kautaha,* sponsored by Tongan women of high rank, produce ngatu.

In Tonga, men plant the paper mulberry tree and harvest it in two to three years. They cut the trunks into about 10-foot lengths and dry them for several days. Then the women strip off the outer bark and soak the inner bark in water to prepare it for further processing. They place these soaked inner bark strips over a wood anvil and repeatedly strike them with a wood beater until they spread out and flatten. Folding and layering the strips while beating them, a felting process, results in a piece of ngatu wider than the original strips. Afterward, the beaten barkcloth dries and bleaches in the sun.

The next stage of ngatu production involves the placement of the thin, beaten sheets over semicircular boards. The women then fasten embroidered design tablets (*kupesi*—usually produced by men) of coconut-leaf midribs and string patterns to the boards. They transfer the patterns on the design tablets to the outer barkcloth by rubbing. Then the women fill in the lines and patterns by painting, covering the large white spaces with colored figures. The Tongans use brown, red, and black pigments derived from various types of bark, clay, fruits, and soot to create the colored patterns on ngatu. Sheets, rolls, and strips of ngatu play an important role in weddings, funerals, and ceremonial presentations for ranking persons.

37-14 MELE SITANI, ngatu with manulua designs, Tonga, Polynesia, 1967. Barkcloth.

In Tonga, the production of decorated barkcloth, or ngatu, involves dyeing, painting, stenciling, and perfuming. Mele Sitani made this one with a two-bird design for the coronation of Tupou IV.

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Marquesas, Austral, and Cook Islands

Even though the Polynesians were skillful navigators, various island groups remained isolated from one another for centuries, kept apart by the vast distances they would have had to cover in open outriggers. This geographical separation explains the development of distinct regional styles within a recognizable general Polynesian style.

Marquesas Islands. Although Marquesan chiefs trace their right to rule by descent from earlier rulers, the political system before European contact enabled power to be acquired by force. As a result, warfare was widespread through the late 19th century. An important art form for Marquesan warriors during the 19th century was tattoo (see "Tattoo in Polynesia," below). Tattoos protected the individual, serving in essence as a form of spiritual armor. Body

ART AND SOCIETY

Tattoo in Polynesia

Throughout Pacific societies, as in Africa (FIG. 38-27), body decoration was an important means of representing cultural and personal identity. In addition to clothing and ornaments, body adornment most often took the form of tattoo. Although tattooing was a common practice in Micronesia, it was more pervasive in Polynesia. Indeed, the English term *tattoo* is Polynesian in origin, related to the Tahitian, Samoan, and Tongan word *tatau* or *tatu*. In New Zealand, the markings are called *moko*. Within Polynesian cultures, tattoo reached its zenith in the highly stratified societies of New Zealand, the Marquesas Islands, Tahiti, Tonga, Samoa, and Hawaii. Both sexes displayed tattoos. In general, men had more tattoos than women, and the location of tattoos on the body differed. For instance, in New Zealand, the face and buttocks were the primary areas of male tattoo, whereas tattoos appeared on the lips and chin of women.

Historically, tattooing served a variety of functions in Polynesia beyond personal beautification. It indicated status, because the quantity and quality of tattoos often reflected rank. In the Marquesas Islands, for example, tattoos completely covered the bodies of men of high status (FIG. 37-15). Certain patterns could be applied only to ranking individuals, but commoners also had tattoos, generally on a less extensive scale than elite individuals. For identification purposes, slaves had tattoos on their foreheads in Hawaii and on their backs in New Zealand. According to some accounts, victors placed tattoos on defeated warriors. In Polynesia, tattoos often identified clan or familial connections. Tattoos could also serve a protective function by in essence wrapping the body in a spiritual armor. On occasion, tattoos marked significant events. In Hawaii, for example, a tattooed tongue was a sign of grief. The pain the person endured in the application of the tattoo was a sign of respect for the deceased.

Priests who were specially trained in the art form usually applied the tattoos. Rituals, chants, or ceremonies often accompanied the procedure, which took place in a special structure. Tattooing in Polynesia traditionally involved the introduction of black, carbon-based pigment under the skin with the use of a bird-bone tattooing comb or chisel and a mallet. In New Zealand, a distinctive technique emerged for tattooing the face. In a manner similar to Maori woodcarving, a serrated chisel created a groove in the skin to receive pigment, thereby producing a colored line. Moko therefore is a variation of simple tattooing, which does not involve laceration of the skin.

Polynesian tattoo designs were predominantly geometric, and affinities with other forms of Polynesian art are evident. For example, the curvilinear patterns found on decorated wall panels (poupou) in Maori meeting houses (FIGS. 37-1 and 37-21A) resemble and make reference to the patterns that predominate in Maori facial moko. Depending on their specific purpose, many tattoos could be "read" or deciphered. For facial tattoos, the Maori generally divided the face into four major, symmetrical zones: the left and right forehead down to the eyes, and the left and right lower face. The right-hand side conveyed information on the father's rank, tribal affiliations, and social position, whereas the left-hand side provided matrilineal information. Smaller secondary facial zones provided information about the tattooed individual's profession and position in society. Te Pehi Kupe (FIG. I-19) was the chief of the Ngati Toa clan in the early 19th century. The upward and downward *koru* (unrolled spirals) in the middle of his forehead connote his descent from two paramount clans. The small design in the center of his forehead documents the extent of his domain—north, south, east, and west. The five double koru in front of his left ear indicate that the supreme chief (the highest rank in Maori society) was part of his matrilineal line. The designs on his lower jaw and the anchor-shaped koru nearby reveal that Te Pehi Kupe was not only a master carver but descended from master carvers as well.

37-15 Tattooed warrior with war club, Nukahiva, Marquesas Islands, Polynesia, early 19th century. Color engraving in Carl Bertuch, *Bilderbuch für Kinder* (Weimar, 1813).

In Polynesia, with its hierarchical social structure, noblemen and warriors accumulated tattoo patterns to enhance their status and beauty. Tattoos wrapped a warrior's body in spiritual armor.

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37-16 Hair ornaments, from the Marquesas Islands, Polynesia, early to mid-19th century. Bone, $1\frac{1}{2}$″ high (*left*), $1\frac{2}{5}$″ high (*right*). University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.

These hollow cylindrical bone ornaments representing deified ancestors adorned the hair of Marquesan warriors during the 19th century. The warriors wore them until they avenged the death of a kinsman.

37-17 A'a, from Rurutu, Austral Islands, Polynesia, ca. 1800. Wood, 3′ 8″ high. British Museum, London.

A'a is the chief Rurutu ancestor god. Covering his body—and forming the features of his head—are relief figures of his progeny. A large cavity at the back of the statue held 24 more figures.

decoration in general is among the most pervasive art forms found throughout Oceania. Polynesians developed the painful but prestigious art of tattoo more fully than many other Oceanic peoples, although tattooing also occurred in various parts of Micronesia. In Polynesia, with its hierarchical social structure, nobles and warriors in particular accumulated various tattoo patterns over the years to enhance their status, mana, and personal beauty. Largely as a result of missionary pressure in the 19th century, tattooing virtually disappeared in many Oceanic societies, but some Pacific peoples have revived tattooing as an expression of cultural pride.

An 1813 engraving (FIG. 37-15) depicts a Marquesan warrior from Nukahiva Island covered with elaborate tattoo patterns. The warrior holds a large wood war club over his right shoulder and carries a decorated water gourd in his left hand. The various tattoo patterns marking his entire body seem to subdivide his body parts into zones on both sides of a line down the center. Some tattoos accentuate joint areas, whereas others separate muscle masses into horizontal and vertical geometric shapes. The warrior also covered his face, hands, and feet with tattoos.

Marquesan artists also produced ornaments that adorned the hair of warriors. Hollow, cylindrical bone or ivory ornaments (*ivi p'o*; FIG. 37-16) functioned as protective amulets. Warriors wore them until they avenged the death of a kinsman. The ornaments are in the form of *tiki*—carvings of exalted, deified ancestor figures. The large, rounded eyes and wide mouths of the tiki are typically Marquesan, as is the use of a continuous line to outline both the nose, with its wide nostrils, and the oversized eyes.

Rurutu. Deity images with multiple figures attached to their bodies are characteristic of Rurutu (FIG. 37-17) in the Austral Islands as well as Rarotonga (FIG. 37-18) and Mangaia in the Cook Islands. These carvings probably represented clan and district ancestors honored for their protective and procreative powers. Ultimately, the images refer to the creator deities that the Polynesians revere for their central role in human fertility.

Rurutu is the northernmost of the Austral Islands in French Polynesia. In August 1821, following an edict of its leaders, the entire population converted to Christianity. As a symbol of their embrace of the new monotheistic religion, the inhabitants presented statues of their gods to the British missionaries stationed on a neighboring island. The wood statue illustrated here (FIG. 37-17), representing the god A'a, was one of those gifts to the London Missionary Society. A'a was the original inhabitant of Rurutu, the ancestor of all his people. He was deified after his death. Distributed over the front and back of the god's body—and forming the eyes, nose, mouth, and ears of the disk-shaped head—are tiny relief figures of the gods and men whom A'a created. The sculptor depicted them in a variety of positions, including head downward. At the back of the figure is a large cavity that once contained 24 additional miniature figures and perhaps also ancestral bones. The god places his hands on his belly, a gesture that calls attention to the interior compartment holding his progeny.

Rarotonga. Although closely related thematically to the Rurutu statues of A'a, the wood sculptures representing Rarotonga gods are very different in style and format. The inhabitants of that central Polynesian island used various types of carved deity figures well into the early decades of the 19th century, when Christians converted the islanders and destroyed their "idols" as part of the conversion process. These included carved wood fishermen's gods, large naturalistic deity images, and at least three types of staff gods (also called district gods), some more than 20 feet tall.

The example illustrated here (FIG. 37-18) is one of the smaller but best-preserved examples. It may represent the Polynesian creator god Tangaroa. His head, with its enormous eyes, is about a third of the height of the sculpture. The "body" of the god resembles a spinal column and consists of seven figures with alternating frontal and profile heads. They probably represent the successive generations of humans whom Tangaroa created. The imagery suggests that these humans come from the body of the god. Several of the

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37-18 Staff god (Tangaroa?), from Rarotonga, Cook Islands, Polynesia, ca. 1900. Wood, 2′ 4½″ high. Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Cambridge.

The "body" of the Polynesian god Tangaroa consists of seven figures that probably represent generations of his human offspring. Several of the figures have erect penises, a reference to procreation.

figures have erect penises, an unmistakable reference to sexual reproduction and the continuation of the race for many generations to come.

Hawaii

The Hawaiians developed the most highly stratified social structure in the Pacific. By 1795, the chief Kamehameha had unified the major islands of the Hawaiian archipelago and ascended to the pinnacle of power as King Kamehameha I (r. 1810–1819). The kingdom he established did not endure, however, and Hawaii soon came under American control. The United States annexed Hawaii as a territory in 1898 and eventually conferred statehood on the island group in 1959.

Kuka'ilimoku. As elsewhere in the Pacific, the gods were a pervasive presence in Hawaiian society and were part of every person's life, regardless of status. Chiefs in particular invoked them regularly and publicized their ancestral links to the gods to reinforce their right to rule. One of the more prominent Hawaiian deities was Kuka'ilimoku, the war god. As chiefs in the pre-kingdom years struggled to maintain and expand their control, warfare was constant—hence the god's importance. Indeed, Kuka'ilimoku served as Kamehameha's special tutelary deity, and the Kuka'ilimoku sculpture illustrated here (FIG. 37-19) stood in a *heiau* (temple) on the island of Hawaii (Big Island), where Kamehameha I originally ruled before expanding his authority to the entire Hawaiian chain.

This late-18th- or early-19th-century Hawaiian wood temple image, which is more than 4 feet tall, confronts the viewer with a ferocious expression. The war god's head comprises nearly a third of his entire body. His enlarged, angled eyes and prominent teeth in his wide-open figure-eight-shaped mouth convey aggression and defiance. Kuka'ilimoku's muscular body appears to stand slightly flexed, as if ready to attack. The artist underscored this Hawaiian war god's overall athletic ism through the full-volumed, faceted treatment of his arms, legs, and chest. In addition to sculptures of deities such as this, Hawaiians placed smaller versions of lesser deities and ancestral images in the heiau. Differing styles surface in the various islands of the Hawaiian chain, but the sculpted figures share

37-19 Kuka'ilimoku, from Hawaii, Polynesia, ca. 1790–1810. Wood, 4′ 3¼″ high. British Museum, London.

This wood statue of the Hawaiian war god comes from a temple. His muscular body is flexed to attack, and his wide mouth with bared teeth set in a large head conveys aggression and defiance.

a tendency toward athleticism and expressive defiance.

Lono. Hawaiian artists also fashioned images of their gods from rare bird feathers and other natural materials placed over a wickerwork armature. The head illustrated here (FIG. 37-20), which incorporates pearl shells for eyes as well as human hair and dogs' teeth, is one of five heads in the British Museum that Captain James Cook (1728–1779) took back to England after his third voyage to the South Pacific from 1776 to 1779. The Hawaiian feather heads were sacred objects and costly to produce because they incorporated feathers from thousands of birds. The Hawaiians believed that their gods had feathers covering their flesh. Feathers therefore connoted prestige, and the feather heads were also thought to be faithful reproductions of the deities' appearance. The Hawaiians mounted the gods' heads on

37-20 Head of Lono, from Hawaii, Polynesia, ca. 1775–1780. Feathers over wickerwork, human hair, dogs' teeth, and pearl shells, 2′ ¾″ high. British Museum, London.

Feather heads of the Hawaiian gods with grimacing mouths, such as this one of Lono with human hair, pearl-shell eyes, and dog's teeth, were mounted on poles and carried in processions and into battle.

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37-21 Feather cloak of Kamehameha III, from Hawaii, Polynesia, ca. 1824–1843. Feathers and fiber netting, 4′ 8⅓″ × 8′. Bishop Pauahi Museum, Honolulu.

Costly Hawaiian feather cloaks (ʻahu ʻula) such as this one, which belonged to King Kamehameha III, provided the wearer with the gods' protection. Each cloak required the feathers of thousands of birds.

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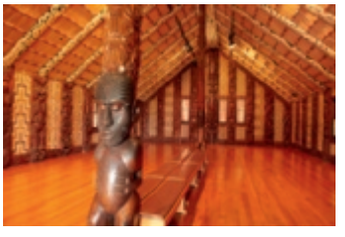
poles, displayed them in religious processions, and carried them as standards into battle. When not in use, they were on exhibit in temples under the care of religious officials.

Although very different in material and overall character, the feather heads of the gods share many iconographical and stylistic traits with Hawaiian full-length wood statues of gods, especially the larger-than-life grimacing mouths (compare FIG. 37-19). Scholars believe that the heads with large central crests of feathers represent the war god Kuka'ilimoku. The head in the British Museum instead has a crown of parted human hair and probably depicts Lono, the god of agriculture, fertility, and peace.

Feather Cloaks. Because perpetuation of the social structure was crucial to social stability, chiefs' regalia, which reinforced and made visual the hierarchy of Hawaiian society, were a prominent part of artistic production. For example, elegant feather cloaks (*ʻahu ʻula*) such as the early-19th-century example shown here (FIG. 37-21) belonged to men of high rank. Every aspect of the ʻahu ʻula reflected the status of its wearer. The materials were exceedingly precious, particularly the red and yellow feathers from the ʻi ʻiwi, ʻapapane, ʻo ʻo, and (now extinct) mamo birds. Some of these birds can yield only six or seven suitable feathers, and because a full-length cloak could require up to 500,000 feathers, the resources and labor required to produce a cloak were extraordinary. The cloak also linked its owner to the gods. The Polynesians associated the plaited fiber base for the feathers with deities. Not only did these cloaks confer the protection of the gods on their wearers, but their dense fiber base and feather matting also provided physical protection. The artists who fashioned the cloaks chanted as they worked, believing that the power of the sacred chants permeated the fabric lining. The cloak in FIG. 37-21 originally belonged to King Kamehameha III (r. 1824–1854), who gave it to Commodore Lawrence Kearny of the U.S. frigate *Constellation* in 1843 in gratitude for Kearny's assistance during a temporary occupation of Hawaii.

New Zealand

The Maori of Aotearoa (New Zealand) share many cultural practices with other Polynesian societies. Ancestors and lineage traditionally played an important role, as is evident in the form and decoration of Maori meeting houses, such as those at Poverty Bay (FIG. 37-1) and at Waitangi (FIG. 37-21A) and in the design of Maori facial moko (see "Tattoo in Polynesia," page 1125, and FIG. I-19). But as in many other Oceanic cultures, in New Zealand, largely as a result of colonial and missionary intervention in the 18th through 20th centuries, traditional practices were gradually abandoned, and production of many of the art forms illustrated in this chapter ceased. In recent years, however, a confident new cultural awareness has led many Pacific artists to reassert their inherited values with pride and to express them in a resurgence of traditional arts, such as weaving, painting, tattooing, and carving. Today's thriving tourist trade has also contributed to the revival of traditional art production.



37-21A Te Whare Runanga, Maori, 1934–1940.

Cliff Whiting. In New Zealand, the historical Maori woodcarving craft has been carried on by 21st-century sculptors, notably CLIFF WHITING (TE WHANAU-A-APANUI, 1936–2017), who achieved renown for his stunning "carved murals" (FIG. 32-13A). He and other artists throughout the Pacific islands have championed not only the renewal of native cultural life and its continuity in art but also the education of the young in the values that made the Pacific cultures great. The preservation of native identity will depend on the success of the next generation in making the traditional Oceanic cultures once again their own.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Oceania before 1980

Australia and Melanesia

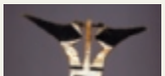
- The westernmost Oceanic islands have been populated for at least 40,000 years, but most of the preserved art dates to the last several centuries.
- The Aboriginal art of Australia focuses on ancestral spirits called Dreamings, whom artists represented in an X-ray style showing the internal organs.
- The Asmat of New Guinea avenged a relative's death by headhunting. Before embarking on a raid, they erected bisj poles with carved and painted figures of ancestors and animals.
- The center of every Iatmul village was a saddle-shaped ceremonial men's house whose form represented a woman. Images of clan ancestors decorated the interior.
- Masks figured prominently in many Melanesian cultures. The Elema celebrated water spirits in the festive cycle called Hevehe, which involved ornate masks up to 25 feet tall. The Abelam fashioned yam masks for rituals revolving around their principal crop. In New Ireland, dancers wore tatanua masks representing the spirits of the deceased.
- Artworks frequently played important roles in religious and funerary rituals. The bisexual uli figures of New Ireland symbolize a deceased chief's strength and his nurturing of his people.
- Seafaring was also a major theme of much Melanesian art. The Trobriand Islanders decorated their canoes with elaborately carved prows and splashboards.

Iatmul men's house, East Sepik, mid- to late 20th century

Tatanua helmet mask, New Ireland, 1884–1895

Micronesia

- The major themes of Melanesian art are also found in Micronesia. For example, in the Caroline Islands, many of the most skilled artists carved and painted wood prow ornaments for their canoes representing stylized birds or human figures.
- The Micronesian peoples also erected ceremonial men's houses. The bai of Belau are distinctive in having Dilukai figures in the gable of the eastern entrance. The Dilukai is a woman with splayed legs who faces the sun and serves as a symbol of procreation and as a guardian of the house.

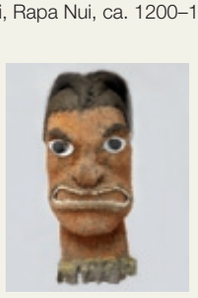


Canoe prow ornament, Caroline Islands, late 19th century

Polynesia

- Polynesia was one of the last areas of the world to be settled, but the oldest large-scale art of Oceania is the series of moai on Rapa Nui (Easter Island). These colossal monolithic sculptures, which stood in rows on stone platforms, probably represent deceased chieftains who interceded with the gods.
- The decorated barkcloth, or ngatu, of Tonga was used to wrap the corpses of deceased chiefs and for other ritual purposes, including the coronation of kings.
- Body adornment in the form of tattooing was widespread in Polynesia, especially in the Marquesas Islands and New Zealand. Beyond personal beautification, tattoos served to distinguish rank and provided warriors with a kind of spiritual armor.
- Meeting houses played an important role in Polynesian societies, as elsewhere in the Pacific islands. The meeting houses of the Maori of Aotearoa (New Zealand) are notable for their elaborate ornamentation featuring carved relief panels depicting ancestors.
- Images of named gods are common in Polynesia. Wood sculptures from Rurutu represent the chief ancestor god A'a. The Hawaiians erected statues of the war god Kuka'ilimoku in their temples and fashioned images of Lono and other deities from rare bird feathers. Hawaiian artists also produced elite regalia using feathers—for example, in cloaks worn exclusively by kings and other men of high rank.

Moai, Rapa Nui, ca. 1200–1500



Lono, Hawaii, ca. 1775–1780

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▲**38-1a** Kalabari Ijaw ancestral screens are memorials to the chiefs of trading companies called canoe houses. The deceased, the central figure holding a long staff and curved knife, is also the largest.

▲**38-1b** The name for these screens is nduen fobara ("foreheads of the deceased"). The chief's headdress is in the form of a 19th-century European sailing ship, a reference to the deceased's trading business.

1 ft.

38-1 **Ancestral screen (nduen fobara), Kalabari Ijaw, Nigeria, late 19th century. Wood, fiber, and cloth, 3′ 9½″ high. British Museum, London.**

▶**38-1c** The chief is bare chested with richly colored fabric covering the lower part of his body, an additional indication of his stature in Kalabari society. At his feet are the heads of conquered rivals, underscoring his power.

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AFRICA, 1800 TO 1980

38

FRAMING THE ERA

Honoring Leaders and Ancestors

Throughout the continent, Africans create artworks for a variety of purposes. Among those explored in detail in this chapter are artworks honoring leaders and ancestors. Virtually all societies worldwide from ancient times to the present have enlisted artists to celebrate rulers and other leaders, both secular and religious, but Africans have traditionally lavished special attention on ancestors. Africans venerate their forebears for the continuing aid that they believe they provide the living, including help in maintaining the productivity of the earth for bountiful crop production and ensuring successful hunts.

In some African societies—for example, the Fang and Kota—people place the bones of their ancestors in containers guarded by sculpted figures (FIGS. 38-2 and 38-3) in order to protect these treasured *relics* from theft or harm. In highly stratified societies headed by a monarch—for example, the Benin kingdom—the royal family maintains altars (FIG. 38-4) at which the current king offers animal sacrifices to honor his ancestors and enlist their help in protecting the living and ensuring prosperity.

The Kalabari Ijaw peoples have hunted and fished in the eastern delta of the Niger River in present-day Nigeria for several centuries. The memorials the Kalabari set up in honor of their ancestors are of unique form because a cornerstone of their economy has long been trade, and trading organizations known locally as "canoe houses" play a central role in Kalabari society. Kalabari ancestor shrines are screens of wood, fiber, textiles, and other materials.

An especially elaborate example, which honors the chief of a trading company, is the almost 4-foot-tall *nduen fobara* ("foreheads of the deceased") illustrated here (FIG. 38-1). The chief's family usually commissioned memorial screens like this one on or about the one-year anniversary of his death. Displayed in the house in which the chief lived, the screens represent the deceased himself at the center. In this case, he holds a long, silver-tipped staff in his right hand and a curved knife in his left. His chest is bare, but covering the lower part of his body is a richly colored fabric, an emblem of his elevated stature in Kalabari society. His impressive headdress is in the form of a 19th-century European sailing ship, a reference to the chief's successful trading business, and another indication of the important role that costume plays in Africa. Flanking the chief are his attendants, smaller in size as is appropriate for their lower rank—one of countless examples of *hierarchy of scale* in the art of many ancient and modern cultures worldwide. The heads of his slaves are at the top of the screen, and those of his conquered rivals are at the bottom. The hierarchical composition and the stylized rendition of human anatomy and facial features are common in African art, but the richness and complexity of this shrine are exceptional.

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AFRICA, 1800 TO 1980

Africa (MAP 38-1) was one of the first art-producing regions of the world (FIGS. 19-2 and 19-3), but its early history remains largely undocumented. In fact, a generation ago, scholars still often presented African art as if it had no history. For the period treated in this chapter, however, art historians are on firmer ground. Archaeology and field research in Africa (mainly interviews with local people) have provided much more detail on the function and meaning of art objects produced during the past two centuries than for the period before 1800. As in earlier eras, the arts in Africa are integral to a great variety of human situations, and knowledge of these contexts is essential for understanding the artworks. In Africa, art is nearly always an active agent in the lives of its diverse peoples. This chapter presents a selection of important works from different regions of the continent from the early 19th century to 1980, organized thematically rather than chronologically or geographically in order to highlight characteristic continent-wide features of modern African art. Chapter 32 treats African art and artists of the past four decades in a worldwide context.

MAP 38-1 Africa in the early 21st century.

AFRICA, 1800 TO 1980

1800–1900

- Fang, Kota, and Kalabari Ijaw artists produce reliquary guardian figures and memorial screens to venerate ancestors
- Royal arts include the throne of Bamum king Ngansu and Fon king Glele's bocio of the god Gu
- Yombe, Dogon, and Baule sculptors carve wood groups of mother and child or man and woman

1900–1980

- Royal arts continue to flourish in highly stratified societies, such as the Benin kingdom
- The recording of artists' names becomes more common; Osei Bonsu and Olowe of Ise achieve wide renown as sculptors
- Throughout the continent, African peoples produce elaborate masks to be danced at masquerades
- Personal adornment is a major art form, including body painting, complex coiffures, rich textiles, and the lavish regalia of kings

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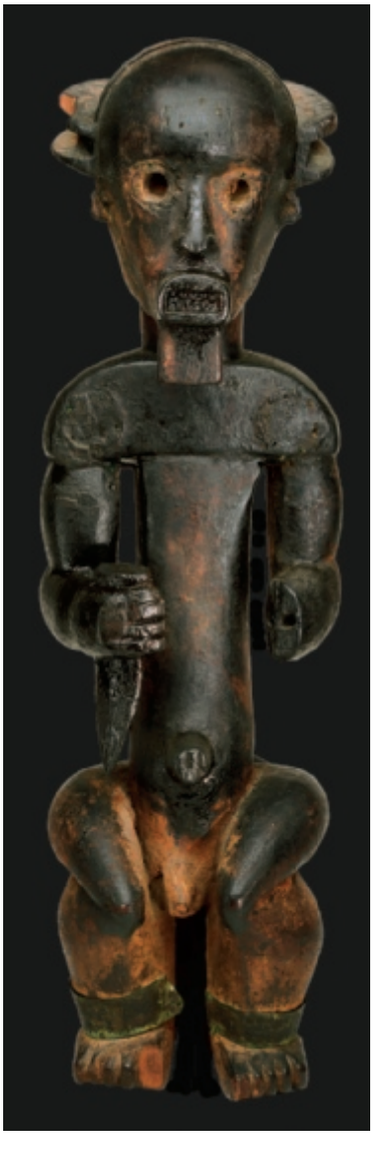
ANCESTORS AND SPIRITS

The Kalabari Ijaw screen (FIG. 38-1) already discussed is typical of many of the artworks examined in this chapter in illustrating multiple themes of African art—in that case, honoring ancestors and leaders—and the important role of costume in African societies. This section treats works whose main function is to celebrate ancestors and honor the world of spirits.

Reliquaries

Outstanding examples of ancestral artworks are the *reliquary* guardian figures of the Fang and Kota peoples just south of the equator in Gabon. Both the Fang and Kota collected relics (cranial and other bones) of the deceased and deposited them in special containers for use in ancestor worship.

Fang Bieri. Stylized wood human figures (FIG. 38-2), or in some cases simply heads, protected the Fang relic containers. The sculptors of these Fang guardian figures, or *bieri,* designed them to sit on the edge of cylindrical bark boxes of ancestral bones, ensuring that no harm would befall the ancestral spirits. The sculpted figures are symmetrical, with proportions greatly emphasizing the head, and they feature a rhythmic buildup of forms suggestive of contained power. Particularly striking are the proportions of the bodies of the bieri, with the short arms and legs typical of an infant, although the muscularity of the figures implies an adult. Scholars believe that the Fang sculptors chose this combination of traits to suggest the cycle of life, appropriate for an art form connected with the cult of ancestors.



38-2 **Reliquary guardian figure (bieri), Fang, Gabon, late 19th century. Wood, 1′ 8 3/8″ high. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.**

Bieri guard cylindrical bark boxes of Fang ancestor bones (reliquaries). The figures have the short arms and legs of infants and the muscularity of adults, a combination of traits suggesting the cycle of life.

38-3 **Reliquary guardian figure (mbulu ngulu), Kota, Gabon, early 20th century. Wood, copper, iron, and brass, 2′ 2″ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (gift of Geneviève McMillan in memory of Reba Stewart).**

Kota guardian figures have large heads and bodies in the form of an open diamond. Polished copper and brass sheets cover the wood forms. The Kota believe that gleaming surfaces repel evil.

Kota Mbulu Ngulu. The Kota of Gabon also produced reliquary guardian figures, called *mbulu ngulu* (FIG. 38-3), but they differ markedly from the Fang bieri. The Kota figures have severely stylized bodies in the form of an open diamond below a wood head. The sculptors of these reliquary guardians covered both the head and the abstract body with strips and sheets of polished copper and brass. The Kota believed that the gleaming surfaces repelled evil. The simplified heads have hairstyles flattened out laterally above and beside the face. Geometric ridges, borders, and subdivisions add a textured elegance to the shiny forms. The copper alloy on most of these images is reworked sheet brass (or copper wire) taken from brass basins originating in Europe and traded into this area of equatorial Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Kota inserted the lower portion of the image into a basket or box of ancestral relics.

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Altars

Some of the most important 20th-century African artworks come from areas with strong earlier artistic traditions—for example, the kingdom of Benin (FIGS. I-1, 19-1, 19-14, and 19-14A) in present-day Nigeria. Ancestor worship in Benin focused primarily on royalty (see "The Art of the Benin Kingdom," page 551), another major theme of African art (discussed later in this chapter).

Shrine of Eweka II. In 1897, when the British sacked Benin City, there were still 17 shrines to ancestors in the Benin royal palace. Today, only one 20th-century altar (FIG. 38-4) remains. According to oral history, it is similar to centuries-earlier versions. With a base of sacred riverbank clay, it is an assemblage of varied materials, objects, and symbols: a central copper-alloy altarpiece depicting a seated sacred king flanked by members of his entourage (compare FIG. 19-1), plus copper-alloy heads, each fitted on top with an ivory tusk carved in relief. Behind are wood staffs and metal bells. The heads represent both the kings themselves and, through the durability of the material, the enduring nature of kingship. Their glistening surfaces, seen as red and signaling danger, repel evil forces that might adversely affect the shrine and thus the king and kingdom. The elephant-tusk relief carvings atop the heads commemorate important events and personages in Benin history. Their bleached white color signifies purity and goodness (probably of royal ancestors), and the tusks themselves represent male physical power. The bamboolike, segmented forms of the carved wood rattle-staffs standing at the back refer to generations of dynastic ancestors. The rattle-staffs and the pyramidal copper-alloy bells serve the important function of calling royal ancestral spirits to rituals performed at the altar.

The Benin king's head stands for wisdom, good judgment, and divine guidance for the kingdom. The several heads of royal ancestors on the altar multiply these qualities. By means of animal sacrifices at this site, the living king annually purifies his own head (and being) by invoking the collective strength of his ancestors, whose presence is made manifest by their heads. Thus the varied objects, symbols, colors, and materials of this shrine contribute both visually and ritually to the imaging of royal power, as well as to its history, renewal, and perpetuation. The composition of the shrine, like that of the altar at its center and the mid-18th-century Altar to the Hand (FIG. I-1), is hierarchical. At the center of all Benin hierarchies stands the king.

Statuary

As in the case of the reliquary guardian figures (FIGS. 38-2 and 38-3) of the Fang and Kota, wood statues, often enhanced by the addition of metals, shells, beads, and other materials, play a key role in the veneration of ancestors and spirits in many African societies.

Kongo Nkisi N'kondi. Among the most distinctive African sculptures of the 19th century are the Kongo power figures called *nkisi n'kondi,* such as the standing statue illustrated here (FIG. 38-5), which depicts a man bristling with nails and blades. These images, consecrated by trained priests using precise ritual formulas, embodied spirits believed to heal and give life, or sometimes to inflict harm, disease, or even death. Each figure had its specific role, just as it wore particular medicines—here protruding from the abdomen, which features a large cowrie shell. The Kongo also activated every image differently. Owners appealed to a figure's forces every time they inserted a nail or blade, as if to prod the spirit to do its work. People invoked other spirits by repeating specific chants, rubbing the images, or applying special powders. The roles of power figures varied enormously, from curing minor ailments to stimulating crop growth, from punishing thieves to weakening enemies. Very large Kongo figures, such as this one, which is nearly 4 feet tall, had exceptional ascribed powers and aided entire communities. Although benevolent for their owners, the figures stood at the boundary between life and death, and most villagers held

38-4 **Royal ancestral altar of King Eweka II, in the palace in Benin City, Nigeria, photographed in 1970. Clay, copper alloy, wood, and ivory. Photo: National Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C.**

This shrine to the heads of royal ancestors is an assemblage of materials, objects, and symbols. By sacrificing animals at this altar, the Benin king annually invokes the collective strength of his ancestors.

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38-5 **Power figure (nkisi n'kondi), Kongo, from Shiloango River area, Democratic Republic of Congo, ca. 1875–1900. Wood, nails, blades, medicinal materials, and cowrie shell, 3′ 10 3/4″ high. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit.**

Only priests using ritual formulas could consecrate Kongo power figures, which embody spirits that can heal or inflict harm. This statue has simplified anatomical forms and an oversized head.

them in awe. Compared with the sculptures of other African peoples, this Kongo figure is relatively naturalistic, although the carver simplified the facial features and magnified the size of the head for emphasis.

Dogon Linked Couple. The Dogon live in the Bandiagara escarpment south of the inland delta region of the great Niger River in what is today Mali. Numbering around 800,000, spread among hundreds of small villages, the Dogon practice farming as their principal occupation. The Dogon statuette illustrated here (FIG. 38-6) depicts a human couple, one of the most common themes in African art. This Dogon example is, however, of exceptional quality. It dates to the early 19th century and may have served as a portable shrine or altar, although contextual information is lacking. Interpretations vary, but the image vividly documents primary gender roles in traditional African society. The man wears a quiver on his back. The woman carries a child on hers. Thus the man assumes a protective role as hunter or warrior, the woman a nurturing role. The slightly larger man reaches behind his mate's neck and touches her breast, as if to protect her. His left hand points to his genitalia. Four stylized figures support the stool on which they sit. They are probably either spirits or ancestors, but the identity of the larger figures is uncertain.

The strong stylization of Dogon sculptures contrasts sharply with the organic, relatively realistic treatment of the human body in Kongo art (FIG. 38-5). The artist who carved the Dogon couple based the forms more on the idea or concept of the human body than on observation of individual heads, torsos, and limbs. The linked body parts are tubes and columns articulated inorganically.

38-6 **Seated couple, Dogon, Mali, ca. 1800–1850. Wood, 2′ 4″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (gift of Lester Wunderman).**

This Dogon carving of a linked man and woman documents gender roles in traditional African society. The protective man wears a quiver on his back. The nurturing woman carries a child on hers.

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The carver reinforced the almost abstract geometry of the overall composition by incising rectilinear and diagonal patterns on the surfaces. The Dogon artist also understood the importance of space, and charged the voids, as well as the sculptural forms, with rhythm and tension.

Baule Spirit Figures. The Baule of present-day Côte d'Ivoire do not have kings, and their societies are relatively egalitarian, especially in comparison with other highly stratified African population groups, but Baule art encompasses many of the same basic themes seen elsewhere on the continent. The Baule statues of a man and woman illustrated here (FIG. 38-7) probably portray spirits (*asye usu*). The sculptor most likely carved the pair of wood figures for a trance diviner, a religious specialist who consulted the spirits symbolized by the statues on behalf of clients who were either sick or in some way troubled. In Baule thought, spirits are short, horrible-looking, and sometimes deformed creatures, yet Baule sculptors represent them in the form of beautiful, ideal human beings, because ugly figures would offend the spirits, who would then refuse to work for the diviner. Among the Baule, as among many West African peoples, spirits not only cause difficulties in life but, if properly addressed and placated, also may solve problems or cure sickness. In dance and trance performances—with wood figures and other objects displayed nearby—the diviner can divine, or understand, the will of unseen spirits as well as their needs or prophecies, which the diviner passes on to clients. When not set up outdoors for a performance, the figures and other objects remain in the diviner's house or shrine, where more private consultations take place. In striking contrast to the Dogon sculptor of the seated man and woman (FIG. 38-6), the artist who created this matched pair of Baule male and female images recorded many naturalistic aspects of human anatomy, skillfully translating them into finished sculptural form. At the same time, the sculptor was well aware of creating *waka sran* ("people of wood") rather than living beings. Thus the artist freely exaggerated the length of the figures' necks and the size of their heads and calf muscles, all of which are forms of idealization in Baule culture.

1 in.

38-7 Male and female figures, probably spirits (asye usu), Baule, Côte d'Ivoire, late 19th or early 20th century. Wood, beads, and kaolin, man 1′ 9 3/4″ high, woman 1′ 8 5/8″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Michael C. Rockefeller Memorial Collection, gift of Nelson A. Rockefeller).

In contrast to the Dogon couple (FIG. 38-6), this pair includes many naturalistic aspects of human anatomy, but the sculptor enlarged the necks, calves, and heads, a form of idealization in Baule culture.

Asante Akua'ba. The Asante of modern Ghana formed a strong confederacy around 1700. They are one of several peoples, including the Baule of Côte d'Ivoire, who speak an Akan dialect. A common stylistic characteristic of Asante figural art is the preference for conventionalized, flattened heads. Many Akan peoples considered long, slightly flattened foreheads to be emblems of beauty, and mothers gently molded their children's cranial bones to reflect this value. These anatomical features occur in a wood statuette (FIG. 38-8) representing a young girl, or *akua'ba* ("Akua's child"), carved by one of the 20th century's leading African sculptors, OSEI BONSU (1900–1976). After consecrating a simplified wood akua'ba sculpture at a shrine, a young woman hoping to conceive carried it with her. Once pregnant, she continued to carry the figure to ensure the safe delivery of a healthy and handsome child—among these matrilineal people, preferably a girl. Compared with traditional sculptures of this type, the more naturalistic rendering of the face and crosshatched eyebrows in Osei Bonsu's sculpture are distinctive features of his personal style (see "African Artists and Apprentices," page 1137).

LEADERSHIP AND ROYALTY

In addition to power and prestige, African kings, chiefs, and other leaders possessed considerable wealth, which they used to commission artworks fashioned by the finest artists employing the costliest materials (see "Art and Leadership in Africa," page 557). Not surprisingly, some of the greatest works of African art of every era were made to honor or to be used by African leaders, whether secular or religious.

Emblems of Leadership

Among the African masters who fashioned royal emblems for kings and their entourage was Osei Bonsu.

Linguist's Staff. One of Bonsu's masterworks is a gold-covered wood sculpture (FIG. 38-9) depicting two men sitting at a table of food. This object, commonly called a *linguist's staff* because its

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African Artists and Apprentices

Like European art before the Renaissance, most African art is anonymous, primarily because early researchers rarely asked for artists' names (see "Dating African Art and Identifying African Artists," page 554). Nonetheless, connoisseurs can recognize many individual hands or styles even when an artist's name has not been recorded. And, as art historians regularly do with unsigned European artworks, they will assign names to the artists who produced them—for example, the Master of the Symbolic Execution (FIG. 19-16), an anonymous 16th-century sculptor from Sierra Leone. During the past century, art historians and anthropologists have been systematically recording the names and life histories of specific individual artists, many of whom have strong regional reputations. One of the earliest preserved names is that of the mid-19th-century Fon sculptor and metalsmith Akati Akpele Kendo (FIG. 38-14). Two 20th-century artists, renowned even beyond their homelands, were Osei Bonsu (FIGS. 38-8 and 38-9), based in the Asante capital of Kumasi, and the Yoruba sculptor called Olowe of Ise (FIGS. 38-12 and 38-12A) because he came from the town of Ise. Both artists were master carvers, producing sculptures for kings and commoners alike.

Like other great artists throughout history, both Bonsu and Olowe had apprentices to assist them for several years while learning their trade. Although there are various kinds of apprenticeship in Africa, novices typically lived with their masters and were household servants as well as assistant carvers. They helped fell trees, carry logs, and rough out basic shapes, which the master later transformed into finished work. African sculptors typically worked on commission. Sometimes, as in Bonsu's case, patrons traveled to the home of the artist. But other times, Bonsu moved to the home of a patron for weeks or months while working on a commission. Masters, and in some instances also apprentices, lived and ate in the patron's compound. Olowe, for example, resided with different kings for many months at a time while he carved doors (FIG. 38-12), veranda posts (FIG. 38-12A), and other works for royal families.

38-8 Osei Bonsu, akua'ba ("Akua's child"), Asante, Ghana, ca. 1960. Wood and glass beads, 1′ 2½″ high. National Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C. (gift of Herbert C. Madison).

Osei Bonsu was one of Africa's leading sculptors. This figure, carried by women hoping to conceive a child, has a flattened face and crosshatched eyebrows, typical features of the artist's style.

38-9 Osei Bonsu, two men sitting at a table of food (linguist's staff), Asante, Ghana, mid-20th century. Wood and gold leaf, section shown 10″ high. Collection of the paramount chief of Offinso, Asante.

Bonsu carved this gold-covered wood linguist's staff for someone who could speak for the Asante king. At the top are two men sitting at a table of food—a metaphor for the office of the king.

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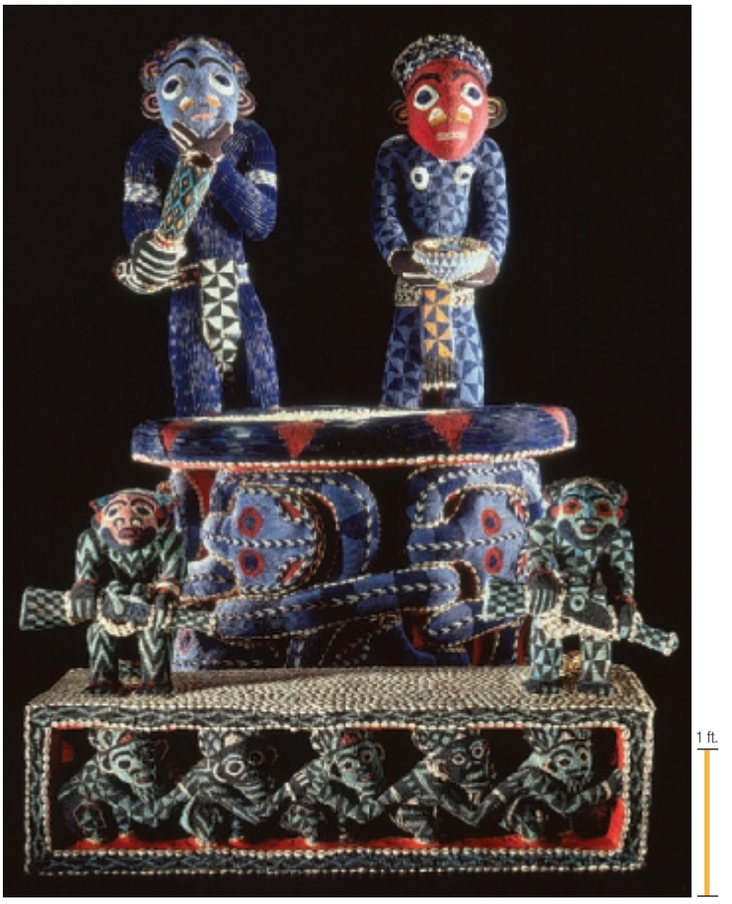
carrier often speaks for a king or chief, has a related proverb: "Food is for its rightful owner, not for the one who happens to be hungry." "Food" here is a metaphor for the office that the king or chief rightfully holds. The "hungry" man lusts for the office. The linguist, who is an important counselor and adviser to the king, might carry this staff to a meeting at which a rival contests the king's title to the stool (his throne, the office). Many hundreds of sculptures from the Akan region have proverbs or other sayings associated with them, which has created a rich verbal tradition relating to the visual arts of the Akan peoples.

Dan Ceremonial Spoons. African sculptors also carved emblems of power and prestige for women. Notable examples are the ceremonial spoons or ladles of the Dan of Côte d'Ivoire. Among the Dan, women are farmers and play a major role in masquerades. It is their responsibility to prepare the food, mainly rice they have harvested themselves, for the feasts accompanying these important rituals. One of the women is chosen to serve as the *wunkirle,* or chief hostess, and she leads a parade of her family and friends through the village carrying a large serving spoon, or ladle, as the emblem of her high position in Dan society, as she scatters food or money to onlookers. The large (almost 2-foot-long) ceremonial spoons carved by Dan sculptors for these hostesses are among the most striking African art objects preserved today. The handles, as in the illustrated example (FIG. 38-10), frequently take the form of the torso, hips, legs, and feet of a woman. The bowl of the spoon becomes the oversized head. When the hostess holds her ceremonial ladle, it extends her reach in a way comparable to the staff or scepter of a chief or king.

38-10 Large ceremonial spoon or ladle, Dan, from Liberia or western Côte d'Ivoire, late 19th or early 20th century. Wood and plant fiber, 1′ 6½″ high. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (Brown Foundation purchase).

Dan women play an important role in masquerades by preparing the food for the feast. The emblem of the chief hostess is a large ceremonial wood spoon, often with a handle in the form of a woman's hips and legs.



38-11 Throne and footstool of King Nsangu, Bamum, Cameroon, ca. 1870. Wood, textile, glass beads, and cowrie shells, 5′ 9″ high. Museum für Völkerkunde, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

King Nsangu's throne features luminous beads and shells and richly colored textiles. The decoration includes intertwining serpents, male and female retainers, and bodyguards with European rifles.

Throne of Nsangu. Perhaps the most widely recognized emblem of kingship in Africa is the throne. One of the best surviving examples comes from the kingdom of Bamum in present-day Cameroon, where a long line of kings lived in a palace compound at the capital city of Foumban until its destruction in 1910. The royal arts of Bamum make extensive use of richly colored textiles and luminous materials, such as glass beads and cowrie shells. The Bamum throne illustrated here (FIG. 38-11) belonged to King Nsangu (r. 1865–1872 and 1885–1887). Intertwining blue and black serpents decorate the cylindrical seat. Above are the figures of two of the king's retainers, perpetually at his service. One, a man, holds the royal drinking horn. The other is a woman holding a serving bowl in her hands. Below are two of the king's bodyguards wielding European rifles. Dancing figures decorate the rectangular footstool. When the king sat on this throne (compare FIG. 38-25), his rich garments complemented the bright colors of his seat, advertising his wealth and power to all who were admitted to his palace.

Palace Architecture

African artists were also called on to decorate the living quarters of kings and chiefs. One of these artists was OLOWE OF ISE (ca. 1873–1938), a Yoruba sculptor who achieved international recognition.

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38-12 Olowe of Ise, doors from the shrine of the king's head in the royal palace, Ikere, Yoruba, Nigeria, 1910–1914. Painted wood, 6′ high. British Museum, London.

These masterfully carved and painted doors to the shrine of the king's head in the Ikere palace are the work of Olowe of Ise, one of the few African artists whose name and career have been recorded.

Olowe of Ise. The Yoruba have a long history in southwestern Nigeria and the southern Republic of Benin, going back to the founding of Ile-Ife in the 11th century (FIGS. 19-7 and 19-7A). In 1925, the British Museum acquired directly from the Yoruba *ogoga* (king) of Ikere (in exchange for a British throne) the elaborately carved and painted doors (FIG. 38-12) of the shrine of the king's head in his palace in northeastern Yorubaland. At the time, the museum did not inquire about the artist's name. Not until after World War II, when art historians began to document the careers of individual African artists (see "African Artists and Apprentices," page 1137), did the British curators learn that the master carver was Olowe of Ise, the most famous Yoruba sculptor of the early 20th century. Kings and aristocrats throughout Yorubaland employed Olowe to carve reliefs, masks, bowls, veranda posts (FIG. 38-12A), and other works for them, and he traveled widely in his homeland to execute those commissions. Between 1910 and 1914, he resided at Ikere while working for the ogoga. The palace shrine doors date from that time.

38-12A Olowe of Ise, veranda post, Akure, 1920s.

Departing from convention, Olowe made the two doors of unequal width to accommodate a detailed representation of an important event in ten panels in five registers. Historical narrative has been a familiar genre of Western art since antiquity and is common in Asian and Mesoamerican art as well, but is extremely rare in African art until quite recently—for example, FIG. 32-19. An early example, dateable to the mid-19th century, comes from Bamboo Mountain in South Africa (FIGS. 38-12B and 38-12C). The Ikere door reliefs recount the 1897 visit of the representative of the British Empire, Major W. R. Reeve-Tucker, the first traveling commissioner of Ondo province. Litter-bearers carry Reeve-Tucker into the palace compound, where the enthroned king (who is far larger than the British emissary) and his principal wife receive him. The other panels on each door depict the entourages of the two protagonists, including, at the left, the king's bodyguards and other wives and, on the right door, shackled slaves carrying chests. Characteristically for Olowe, the relief is so high that some of the figures project as much as 6 inches from the surface, which has a vividly colored patterned background. Olowe also carved the veranda posts of the courtyard in front of the shrine.

38-12B Stock raid, San, mid-19th century.

38-12C Rain animal, San, mid-19th century.

Statuary

Wood sculptures representing gods, heroes, kings, and queens are among the most common surviving examples of African royal art.

Chibinda Ilunga. The Chokwe occupy the area of west-central Africa corresponding to parts of northeastern Angola and southwestern Democratic Republic of Congo. Local legend claims that the Chokwe are the descendants of the widely traveled Chibinda Ilunga, who won fame as a hunter. He married a princess named Lueji, who was a hereditary ruler of one of the kingdoms of the Lunda Empire, an important regional power during the 16th through 19th centuries. Lueji gave Chibinda a sacred bracelet, the basis and symbol of her rule, which established his authority. Chibinda taught the Lunda to be great hunters, enriched the kingdom,

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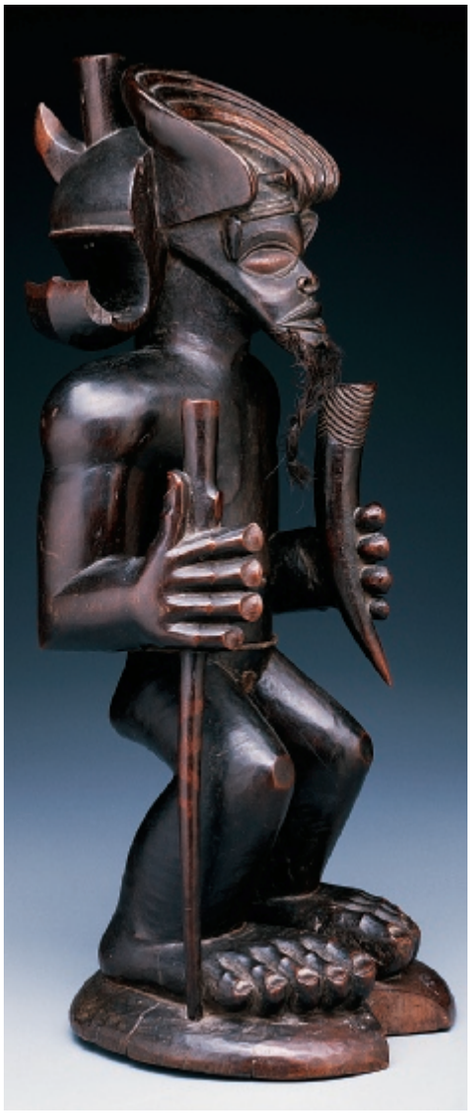

38-13 Chibinda Ilunga, Chokwe, from Angola or Democratic Republic of Congo, late 19th to 20th century. Wood and human hair, 1′ 4″ high. Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth.

The Chokwe claim descent from the legendary hunter Chibinda Ilunga, portrayed in art as a muscular man with a chief's headdress, oversized hands and feet, and a beard of human hair.

38-14 Akati Akpele Kendo, warrior figure (Gu?), from the palace of King Glele, Abomey, Fon, Republic of Benin, 1858–1859. Iron, 5′ 5″ high. Musée du quai Branly, Paris.

This bocio, or empowerment figure, probably representing the war god Gu, was the centerpiece of a circle of iron swords. The Fon believed that it protected their king, and they set it up on the battlefield.

and extended its territory. The Chokwe, one of the population groups resulting from that territorial expansion, became skilled elephant hunters and ivory traders. They eventually revolted against the Lunda kings and brought about the collapse of the Lunda Empire in the mid-19th century.

The Chokwe revere Chibinda Ilunga as founder, hunter, and civilizing hero, and he figures prominently in their royal arts. The statue illustrated here (FIG. 38-13) is one of the finest examples. It shows the legendary hunter-king wearing a chief's barkcloth-and-rattan headdress and holding a staff in his right hand and, in his left hand, a medicine horn containing powerful substances to aid hunters. The unknown master sculptor portrayed Chibinda with a muscular body and oversized arms and feet to underscore the hunter's manual dexterity and ability to undertake long journeys. A rare feature of this and other Chokwe figures is the use of human hair for Chibinda's beard.

King Glele. The founding of the Fon kingdom in the present-day Republic of Benin dates to around 1600. Under King Guezo (r. 1818–1858), the Fon became a regional power with an economy based largely on trade in palm oil. In 1900, the French dismantled the kingdom.

After his first military victory, Guezo's son Glele (r. 1858–1889) commissioned a prisoner of war, Akati Akpele Kendo, to make a life-size iron statue (FIG. 38-14) of a warrior, probably Gu, the Fon god of war and iron, for a battle shrine in Glele's palace at Abomey. This *bocio,* or empowerment figure, was the centerpiece of a circle of iron swords and other weapons set vertically into the ground. The warrior strides forward with weapons in both hands, ready to do battle. He wears a crown of miniature swords and tools on his head. The form of the crown echoes the circle of swords around the statue. The Fon believed that the bocio protected their king, and they transported it to the battlefield whenever they set out to fight an enemy force. King Glele's iron warrior is remarkable for its size and for the fact that not only the patron's name is known but also the artist's—a rare instance in Africa before the 20th century (see "African Artists," page 1137).

It is no coincidence that the iron sculptor who worked for King Glele was a man, but women as well as men have long been active in African art production—usually, however, specializing in different types of objects (see "Gender Roles in African Art Production," page 1141).

Yombe Pfemba. The Congo River formed the principal transportation route for the peoples of central Africa during the 19th century, fostering cultural exchanges as well as trade, both among Africans and with Europeans. One of the region's major art-producing societies was the Yombe in the Democratic Republic of Congo, perhaps

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Gender Roles in African Art Production

Until recently, art production in Africa has been quite rigidly gender specific. Men have been, and largely still are, ironsmiths and gold and copper-alloy casters. Men were architects, builders, and carvers of both wood and ivory. Women were, and for the most part remain, wall and body painters, calabash gourd decorators, potters, and often clay sculptors, although in some areas men make clay figures. Both men and women work with beads and weave baskets and textiles, with men executing narrow strips (later sewn together) on horizontal looms and women working wider pieces of cloth on vertical looms.

Much African art, however, is collaborative. Men may build a clay wall, for example, but women will normally decorate it. The Igbo people build *mbari* houses (FIG. 38-15A)—for ceremonies to honor the earth goddess—that are truly collaborative despite the fact that professional male artists model the figures displayed in the houses. Festival preparations, invoking virtually all the arts, are also collaborative. Masquerades (see "African Masquerades," page 1143) are largely the province of men, yet in some cases women contribute costume elements such as skirts, wrappers, and scarves. Even though women dance and wear the masks in the masquerades of the Mende and related peoples (see "Mende Women as Maskers," page 1146), men have always carved the masks themselves.

In late colonial and especially in postcolonial times, earlier gender distinctions in art production began breaking down. Today, women as well as men weave kente cloth (FIG. 38-26), and a number of women are now sculptors in wood, metal, stone, and composite materials. Men are making pottery, once the exclusive prerogative of women. Both women and men make international art forms in urban and university settings, although male artists are more numerous. One well-known Nigerian woman artist, Sokari Douglas Camp (b. 1958), produces welded metal sculptures, often of masqueraders (FIG. 32-11). Douglas Camp is thus doubly unusual as a metal sculptor and mask maker. She would find it difficult to pursue either role in her birthplace in the Niger River delta, but because she lives and works in London, she encounters no adverse response. In the future, there will undoubtedly be a further breaking down of restrictive barriers and greater mobility for artists.

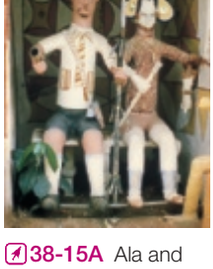
best known for their mother-and-child groups (*pfemba*), which some scholars believe may reflect the influence of Christian Madonna-and-Child imagery. The Yombe pfemba are not deities, however, but images of Kongo royalty. One masterful 19th-century example (FIG. 38-15) represents a woman with a royal cap, chest scarification, and jewelry (see "Costume and Body Art," page 1146). The image may commemorate an ancestor or, more likely, a legendary founding clan mother. The Kongo call some of these figures "white chalk," a reference to the medicinal power of white kaolin clay. Diviners own some of them, and others have been used by women's organizations to treat infertility, but the function of this 19th-century pfemba is uncertain.

38-15 Yombe mother and child (pfemba), Kongo, Democratic Republic of Congo, late 19th century. Wood, glass, glass beads, brass tacks, and pigment, $10\frac{1}{8}$″ high. National Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C.

The mother in this Yombe group wears a royal cap and jewelry and displays her chest scarification. The image may commemorate an ancestor or, more likely, a legendary founding clan mother.

RITUALS AND MASQUERADES

As noted, the Yombe pfemba may have been used to overcome infertility, and many of the artworks that Africans have produced from very early times to today have been made specifically for use in religious rituals and entertainments, most notably in masquerades, but also for display in shrines (FIG. 38-15A).



38-15A Ala and Amadioha, Igbo, photographed 1966.

Senufo Ancient Mother. The Senufo of the western Sudan region in what is now northern Côte d'Ivoire have a population today of more than a million. They speak several different languages, sometimes even in the same village. Not surprisingly, there are many different Senufo art forms, including woodcarving (FIG. 38-16) and mask making (FIGS. 38-17 and 38-18), all closely tied to community life. Senufo boys train to be productive adult members of their community during the course of a protracted (nearly 20-year) initiation process in the Senufo Poro society. Upon completing three phases of socialization involving rituals and ordeals as well as education, Senufo men about 30 years old are ready to assume responsible roles in society and to become leaders and participate in the instruction of the next generation. The initiation process takes place in a grove adjacent to the village, set apart by either a ring of trees or a fence. Symbolically presiding over this grove, consistent with the matrilineal nature of Senufo society, is the spiritual head of the Poro society, the Senufo

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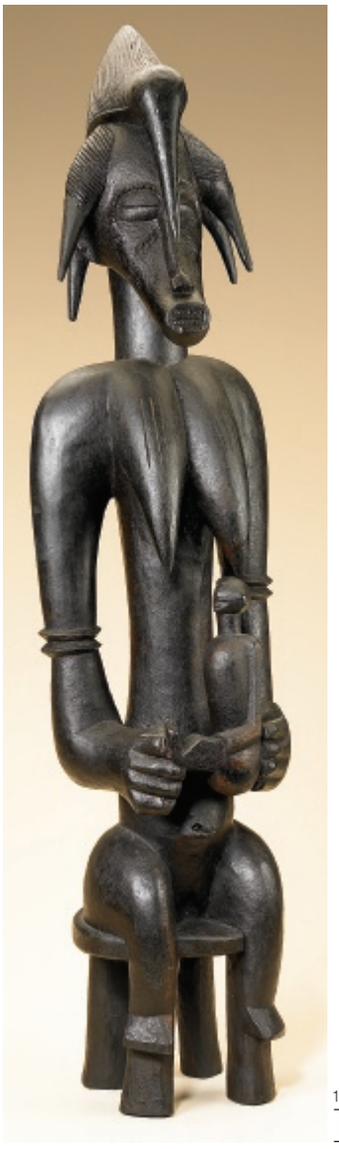

1 in.

38-16 Ancient Mother figure, Senufo, Côte d'Ivoire, early 20th century. Wood, 2′ 11″ high. National Museum of African Art, Washington, D.C. (gift of the Walt Disney Company).

The spiritual head of the 20-year-long Poro initiation of Senufo males is the Ancient Mother, typically represented in wood statues as a seated woman with large breasts holding a child in her arms.

Ancient Mother, who protects the sacred compound.

Wood images of the Ancient Mother dating to the late 19th and 20th centuries and ranging in size from 2 to 4 feet tall are in museum collections worldwide, including the National Museum of African Art in Washington, D.C. The illustrated example (FIG. 38-16) is typical in representing the Ancient Mother with an elongated body from the waist up, seated and holding a small child in her arms, but the statue is of unusually high quality. The woodcarver depicted the woman's body using mostly cylindrical and conical forms. The long, rubbery, tubular arms reiterate the shape of the stretched torso and neck. The projecting cones of hair echo the shapes of the prominent, sharply pointed breasts. The Ancient Mother's legs merge with those of the stool on which she sits. Even the horizontal bands of the bracelets repeat the pattern of the fingers. The repetition of shapes imbues the figure with a remarkable stylistic unity.

Senufo Masquerades. Adult Senufo men dance many masks (see "African Masquerades," page 1143), mostly in the context of Poro society rituals. Maskers also perform at funerals and other public spectacles. Large Senufo masks (for example, FIG. 38-17) are composite creatures, combining characteristics of antelope, crocodile, warthog, hyena, and human: sweeping horns, a head, and an open-jawed snout with sharp teeth. These masks incarnate both ancestors and benevolent spirits that combat witchcraft and sorcery, malevolent spirits, and the wandering dead. They are protectors who fight evil with their aggressively powerful forms and their medicines. At funerals, Senufo maskers attend the corpse and, by dancing the masks, help expel the deceased from the village. This is the deceased individual's final transition, a rite of passage parallel to that undergone by all men during their years of Poro socialization, in which masks also play a role. When an important person dies, the convergence of several masking groups, as well as the music, dancing, costuming, and feasting of many people, constitute a festive and complex work of art that transcends any one mask or character.

Some Senufo men also dance female masks. The most recurrent type has a small face with fine features, several extensions, and varied motifs—a hornbill bird in the illustrated example (FIG. 38-18)—rising from the forehead. The men who dance these feminine characters also wear knitted body suits or trade-cloth costumes to emphasize their beauty and indicate their ties with the order and civilization of the village. They may be called "pretty young girl," "beautiful lady," or "wife" of one of the heavy, terrorizing masculine masks (FIG. 38-17) appearing before or after them.

Dogon Satimbe Masks. Dogon masquerades dramatize creation legends. These stories say that women were the first ancestors to imitate spirit maskers and thus the first human masqueraders. Men later took over the masks, forever barring women from direct involvement with masking processes. A mask called *Satimbe* (FIG. 38-19)—that is, "sister on the head"—seems to represent all women and commemorates this legend. Satimbe masks consist of a roughly rectangular covering for the head with narrow rectangular

38-17 Senufo masqueraders, Côte d'Ivoire.

Senufo masqueraders are always men. Their masks often represent composite creatures incarnating both ancestors and bush powers. They fight malevolent spirits with their aggressively powerful forms.

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ART AND SOCIETY

African Masquerades

The art of masquerade, in which performers, almost always men, dance after donning masks, has long been a quintessential African expressive form, laden with meaning and of the highest importance culturally. This is true today, but was even more so in colonial times and earlier, when African masking societies boasted extensive regulatory and judicial powers. In stateless societies, such as those of the Senufo (FIGS. 38-17 and 38-18), Dogon (FIG. 38-19), and Mende (FIG. 38-24), masks sometimes became so influential that they had their own priests and served as power sources or as oracles. Societies empowered maskers to levy fines and to apprehend witches (usually defined as socially destructive people) and criminals, and to judge and punish them. Normally, however—especially today—masks are less threatening and more secular and educational and serve as diversions from the humdrum of daily life. Masked dancers usually embody either ancestors, seen as briefly returning to the human realm, or various nature spirits called on for their special powers.

The mask, a costume ensemble's focal point, is combined with held objects, music, and dance gestures to invoke a specific named character, almost always considered a spirit. A few masked spirits appear by themselves, but more often several characters come out together or in turn. Maskers enact a broad range of human, animal, and fantastic otherworldly behavior that is usually both stimulating and instructive. Masquerades, in fact, vary in function or effect along a continuum from weak spirit power and strong entertainment value to those rarely seen but possessing vast executive powers backed by powerful shrines. Most operate between these extremes, crystallizing varieties of human and animal behavior—caricatured, ordinary, comic, bizarre, serious, or threatening.

38-18 "Beautiful Lady" dance mask, Senufo, Côte d'Ivoire, late 20th century. Wood. Private collection.

Some Senufo men dance female masks such as this one with a hornbill bird rising from the forehead. The female characters are sometimes the wives of the terrorizing male masks (FIG. 38-17).

The maskers' actions inform and affect audience members because of their dramatic staging. It is the purpose of most masquerades to move people, to affect them, and to effect change.

Thus masks and masquerades are mediators—between men and women, youths and elders, initiated and uninitiated, powers of nature and those of human agency, and even life and death. For many groups in West and Central Africa, masking plays (or once played) an active role in the socialization process, especially for men, who control most masks. Maskers carry boys (and, more rarely, girls) away from their mothers to initiation camps, put them through ordeals and schooling, and welcome them back to society as men months or even years later. A second major role is in aiding the transformation of important deceased persons into productive ancestors who, in their new roles, can bring benefits to the living community. Because most masking cultures are agricultural, Africans often invoke masquerades to increase the productivity of the fields, to stimulate the growth of crops, and later to celebrate the harvest.

38-19 Satimbe masquerader, Dogon, Mali, mid- to late 20th century.

Satimbe ("sister on the head") masks commemorate the legend describing women as the first masqueraders. The mask's crown is a woman with large breasts and sticklike bent arms.

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openings for the eyes and a crowning element, much larger than the mask proper, depicting a schematic woman with large protruding breasts and sticklike bent arms. In ceremonies called Dama, held every 13 years to honor the lives of people who have died since the last Dama, Satimbe is among the dozens of different masked spirit characters escorting dead souls away from the village. In recent times, gunfire accompanying the masquerade aids in chasing the souls of the deceased out of the village. The souls are sent off to the land of the dead, where, as ancestors, they will be enjoined to benefit their living descendants and stimulate agricultural productivity.

Kuba Masquerades. The Kuba have been well established in the Democratic Republic of Congo since at least the 16th century. They represent almost 20 different ethnic groups, but they all recognize the authority of a single king. At the court of Kuba kings, three masks, known as Mwashamboy, Bwoom, and Ngady Amwaash, perform together in a ritual ceremony that celebrates royal ancestors. Mwashamboy symbolizes the founding ancestor, Woot, and embodies the king's supernatural and political powers. Bwoom (FIG. 38-20), with its bulging forehead, represents a commoner who opposes the king's power. Bwoom also vies with Mwashamboy for the attention of the beautiful ancestress, Ngady Amwaash (FIG. 38-21), who symbolizes both the first woman and all women. On her cheeks are striped tears. They symbolize the pain of childbirth as well as Ngady's sorrow at having been forced to commit incest with her father, Woot, in order to procreate. These three characters reenact creation stories during royal initiation ceremonies. The masks and their costumes, with elaborate beads, feathers, animal pelts, cowrie shells, cut-pile cloth, and ornamental trappings, make for a sumptuous display at Kuba festivals.

Bamana Ci Wara. Among the most striking African sculptures are the *Ci Wara* antelope headdresses (FIG. 38-22) of the Bamana of southern Mali. Raffia-clad young dancers wore these stylized antelope figures on their heads, which they also covered with fabric, in the Ci Wara rituals that prepared boys for their future roles as husbands and farmers. Ci Wara is the legendary primordial wild antelope that taught the Bamana the secrets of agriculture. In the annual Ci Wara masquerade, two boys dress as Ci Wara and his female consort and perform a dance in which they hold staffs and bend over, as if hoeing the fields. The piercing of the antelope's body and the sweeping arc of the horns of the Ci Wara headdresses form abstract patterns that greatly appealed to early-20th-century European painters and sculptors seeking a new formal vocabulary (see "Primitivism and Colonialism," page 897).

Baga D'mba. Until the early 20th century, when Muslim missionaries suppressed the custom, the Baga of northern Guinea danced a masquerade in honor of the Mother of Fertility to protect pregnant women and promote abundant harvests. (The government restored the practice in 1984.) The masks that the Baga

38-20 **Bwoom masquerader, Kuba, Democratic Republic of Congo, photographed ca. 1950.**

At Kuba festivals, masqueraders reenact creation legends involving Bwoom, Mwashamboy, and Ngady Amwaash. The first two characters are males who vie for the attention of Ngady, the first female ancestor.

38-21 **Ngady Amwaash mask, Kuba, Democratic Republic of Congo, late 19th or early 20th century. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge.**

Ngady's mask incorporates beads, shells, and feathers in geometric patterns. The stripes on her cheeks are tears from the pain of childbirth after incest with her father, represented by the Mwashamboy mask.

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38-22 **Ci Wara headdress, Bamana, from the Bamako region of Mali, late 19th or early 20th century. Wood, metal bands, and thread, 2′ 11″ high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Michael C. Rockefeller Collection, gift of Nelson A. Rockefeller).**

Bamana boys wear Ci Wara headdresses at festivals that prepare them for their future roles as husbands and farmers. Ci Wara is the legendary wild antelope that taught the Bamana the secrets of agriculture.

38-23 **D'mba mask, Baga, Guinea, late 19th or early 20th century. Wood and brass, 4′ 4″ high. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (Charles B. Benenson Collection).**

Baga men wear d'mba masks on their shoulders with raffia skirts concealing their bodies. The masks portray the Mother of Fertility with flattened breasts. She is the ideal woman who has suckled countless babies.

dancers wear, one of which was in the collection of Pablo Picasso (FIG. 29-12), are called *d'mba* and take the form of the head and torso of a woman (FIG. 38-23). Carved from a single piece of wood, the masks have four "legs" so that Baga men can rest them on their shoulders. The dancer thus appears about 8 feet tall and towers over all others in the community. The d'mba's legs provide stability for the heavy masks, which often weigh as much as 80 pounds. The legs are hidden beneath a long raffia skirt, which also disguises the dancer's identity. Holes between the mask's prominent breasts enable the wearer to see. The breasts themselves are flattened because they are the breasts of an ideal woman who has suckled countless babies. The face has a large nose, and the forehead and cheeks as well as the breasts feature scarification patterns. The Mother of Fertility masks are danced at weddings, funerals, and harvest festivals exclusively by men, despite the identity of the d'mba.

Mende Female Maskers. The Mende, whose homeland is on the Atlantic coast of Africa in Sierra Leone, have long been farmers. Although men own and perform most masks in Africa, in Mende society, women control and dance Sande society masks

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ART AND SOCIETY

Mende Women as Maskers

The Mende and neighboring peoples of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea are unusual in Africa because their women perform masquerades. However, the masks and costumes the women wear conceal their bodies from the audience watching their performance.

The Sande society of the Mende controls the initiation, education, and acculturation of Mende girls. Women leaders who dance the Sande masks serve as priestesses and judges during the three years that the women's society controls the ritual calendar (alternating with the men's society in this role), thus serving the community as a whole. Women maskers, who function as initiators, teachers, and mentors, help girl novices with their transformation into educated and marriageable women. Sande women associate their Sowie masks with water spirits and the color black, which the society, in turn, connects with human skin color and the civilized world. The women wear these helmet masks on top of their heads as headdresses, with black raffia and cloth costumes to hide the wearers' individual identities while personifying the spirits during public performances. Elaborate coiffures, shiny black color, dainty triangular-shaped faces with slit eyes, rolls around the neck, and real and carved versions of amulets and various emblems on the top commonly characterize Sowie masks (FIG. 38-24). These reference the adult women's roles as wives, mothers, providers for the family, and keepers of medicines for use within the Sande association and the society at large.

Sande members commission the masks from male carvers, with the carver and patron together determining the type of mask needed for a particular societal purpose. The Mende often keep, repair, and reuse masks for many decades, thereby preserving them as models for subsequent generations of carvers.

38-24 Female Sowie mask, Mende, Sierra Leone, mid- to late 20th century. Painted wood, 1′ 2½″ high. Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles (gift of the Wellcome Trust).

This Mende mask refers to ideals of female beauty, morality, and behavior. The large forehead signifies wisdom, the neck design beauty and health, and the plaited hair the order of ideal households.

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(see "Mende Women as Maskers," above), while Mende men perform the Poro society masks.

The glistening black surface of Mende Sowie masks evokes female spirits newly emergent from their underwater homes (also symbolized by the turtle on top). The mask and its parts refer to ideals of female beauty, morality, and behavior. A high, broad forehead signifies wisdom and success. The neck ridges have multiple meanings. They are signs of beauty, good health, and prosperity and also reference the ripples in the water from which the water spirits emerge. Intricately woven or plaited hair is the essence of harmony and order found in ideal households. A small, closed mouth and downcast eyes indicate the silent, serious demeanor expected of recent initiates.

COSTUME AND BODY ART

Masquerade is, of course, costume art as well as ritual dancing, but the costumes are not those worn in contemporary society. Clothing, however, also plays an important role in the daily life of Africans. Throughout history, African costumes have been laden with meaning and have projected messages that all members of the society could read.

Kot a-Mbweeky III. A photograph (FIG. 38-25) taken in 1970 shows the Kuba king Kot a-Mbweeky III, who became king the previous year, seated in state before his court, bedecked in a dazzling multimedia costume with many symbolic elements. The king

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38-25 Kuba king Kot a-Mbweeky III during a display for photographer and filmmaker Eliot Elisofon in 1970, Mushenge, Democratic Republic of Congo.

Eagle feathers, leopard skin, cowrie shells, imported beads, raffia, and other materials combine to make the Kuba king larger than life. His costume underscores his wealth, dignity, and military might.

38-26 Two Asante noblemen wearing kente cloth robes, Kumasi, Ghana, photographed in January 1972.

Originally reserved for Asante kings, kente cloth is traditionally woven on horizontal looms exclusively by men. It is produced in long strips and then sewn together to form robes worn draped over the left shoulder.

commissioned the costume he wears. Eagle feathers, leopard skin, cowrie shells, imported beads, raffia, and other materials combine to overload and expand the image of the man, making him larger than life and truly a multimedia work of art. He holds not one but two weapons, symbolic of his military might and underscoring his wealth, dignity, and grandeur. The man, with his regalia, embodies the office of sacred kingship. He is a superior being, in fact and figuratively, raised on a dais, flanked by ornate drums, with a treasure basket of sacred relics by his left foot. The geometric patterns on the king's costume and nearby objects, and the abundance and redundancy of rich materials, exemplify the opulent style of Kuba court arts.

Kente. *Kente* cloth, the distinctive textile of the Akan area, has, until recently, been woven exclusively by men since the 16th century. The brightly colored patterns famous today date to the 18th century. The name derives from *kenten* (basket), but the material used is cotton, except for the costliest examples, which are silk. Weavers produced the earliest silk examples, reserved for Asante kings, by unraveling imported fabrics and reusing the silk threads. The Asante men produce kente cloth on horizontal looms in long strips 2 to 4 inches wide and then sew the strips together to create larger fabrics. Kente robes (FIG. 38-26) are typically 6 or 7 feet by 12 or 13 feet. Men wear them like Roman *togas,* unbelted and draped over the left shoulder and arm with the right shoulder bare. Women also wear kente garments, usually consisting of a separate skirt and bodice. Researchers have documented more than 300 distinct colored warp and weft patterns, some associated with specific kings, each having a name variously derived from proverbs, historical events, or people.

After the first president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah (r. 1957–1966), wore a kente robe during his official visit to the United States in 1958, kente cloth became synonymous with native African dress. Kente garments have become a symbol of African American pride, highlighted by the 1998 traveling exhibition "Wrapped in Pride: Ghanaian Kente and African American Identity."

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38-27 Samburu men and women preparing to dance, Samburu National Reserve, Kenya.

Men and women in many rural areas of Africa paint their bodies and wear elaborate hairstyles and beaded jewelry. This personal adornment reveals their age, marital status, and parentage.

Body Adornment. In addition to wearing masks and costumes on special occasions, people in many rural areas of eastern Africa, including the Samburu in northern Kenya, continue to embellish their own bodies.

The Samburu men and women shown in FIG. 38-27 preparing for a dance have distinct styles of personal decoration. Men, particularly warriors who are not yet married, expend hours creating elaborate hairstyles for one another. They paint their bodies with red ocher and wear bracelets, necklaces, and other bands of beaded jewelry made for them by young Samburu women.

For themselves, women fashion more lavish constellations of beaded collars, which they mass around their necks. As if to help separate the genders, women shave their heads and adorn them with beaded headbands. Personal decoration begins in childhood, increasing to become lavish and highly self-conscious in young adulthood and diminishing as people age. Much of the decoration contains coded information—age, marital or initiation status, parentage of a warrior son—that can be read by those who know the codes.

Dress ensembles have evolved over time. Different colors and sizes of beads became available, as did plastics and aluminum, and specific fashions have changed, but the overall concept of fine personal adornment—that is, dress raised to the level of art—remains much the same today as it was centuries ago.

CONTEMPORARY ART

The art forms of contemporary Africa vary immensely and defy easy classification. Those of distinctly modern or postmodern character that have garnered international attention—works by Chris Ofili (FIG. 32-12), Willie Bester (FIG. 32-19), Trigo Piula (FIG. 32-20), and El Anatsui (FIG. 32-35)—are discussed in Chapter 32. Others testify to the continuing vitality in the 21st century of art forms with roots hundreds and even thousands of years ago—for example, the masquerade sculptures of Sokari Douglas Camp (FIG. 32-11).

During the past two centuries and especially in recent decades, the encroachments of Christianity, Islam, Western education, and market economies have led to increasing secularization in all the arts of Africa. Many figures and masks earlier commissioned for shrines or as incarnations of ancestors or spirits are now made mostly for sale to outsiders, essentially as tourist arts. They are also sold in art galleries abroad as collector's items for display. In towns and cities, painted murals and cement sculptures appear frequently, often making implicit comments about modern life. Nonetheless, despite the growing importance of urbanism, most African people still live in rural communities. Traditional values, although under pressure, hold considerable force in villages especially, and some people adhere to spiritual beliefs that uphold age-old art forms. African art remains as varied as the vast continent itself and continues to evolve.

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THE BIG PICTURE

Africa, 1800 to 1980

Ancestors and Spirits

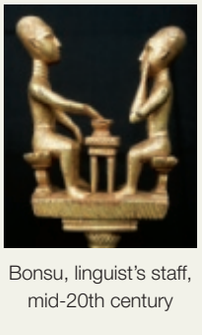
- Most of the traditional forms of African art continued to play dominant roles during the past 200 years. Among these are sculptures and shrines connected with the veneration of ancestors. Wood or metal-covered wood figures guarded Fang and Kota reliquaries. Especially elaborate are some Kalabari ljaw screens with figures of a deceased chief, his retainers, and the heads of his slaves and conquered rivals.
- Kongo nkisi n'kondi (power figures) represent men bristling with nails and blades and are believed to embody spirits that can heal and give life. Baule spirits are thought to be ugly and deformed, but artists portrayed them as ideal human beings.

Kongo nkisi n'kondi, ca. 1875–1900

Leadership and Royalty

- The arts associated with African kings, chiefs, and other leaders include emblems of status—for example, thrones, the decoration of doors and posts of royal palaces, and statues representing local gods and heroes—as well as images of the leaders themselves. Royalty could afford to hire the finest artists using the costliest materials.
- The throne of King Nsangu of Bamum, for example, incorporates richly colored textiles and glass beads, cowrie shells, and other luminous materials.
- Akati Akpele Kendo is one of the first African artists whose name has been recorded. Fon king Glele commissioned him to make an iron statue of the war god Gu, which the Fon brought into battle to protect the king.
- Osei Bonsu, one of the first African artists to achive fame beyond their homeland, carved linguist staffs for Asante kings and chiefs.
- The ogoga of Ikere commissioned the renowned sculptor Olowe of Ise to carve doors and veranda posts for his palace compound.
- African sculptors also carved emblems of power and prestige for women, for example, the ceremonial spoons of the Dan of Côte d'Ivoire.

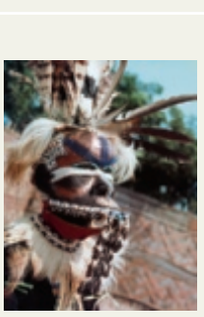
Throne of King Nsangu, ca. 1870



Bonsu, linguist's staff, mid-20th century

Rituals and Masquerades

- In Africa, art is nearly always an active agent in the lives of its peoples. A major African art form is the fashioning of masks for festive performances. Masqueraders are almost always men—even when the masks they dance are female, as among the Senufo, Dogon, and Kuba—but in Mende society, women are maskers too.
- African masks take many forms. Some cover the dancer's face. Others, such as the d'mba of the Baga, have "legs" designed to sit on the wearer's shoulders, making the dancer 8 feet tall. Other "masks" are more accurately described as headdresses, worn above the dancer's head, such as the antelope headdresses of the Bamana, which depict in abstract form Ci Wara, the primordial creature that taught humans the secrets of agriculture.



Kuba masquerader, ca. 1950

Costume and Body Art

- Africans have also traditionally lavished attention on costume and jewelry and other forms of body adornment, such as elaborate coiffures and body painting. The decoration often contains coded information about age, status, and parentage. Royal costumes consist of animal skins, feathers, shells, beads, and raffia, and symbols of power such as crowns, swords, and scepters. They make men, such as the Kuba king Kot a-Mbweeky III, seem larger than life.

Asante kente cloth robes, 1972

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GLOSSARY

NOTE: *Text page references are in parentheses. References to bonus image online essays are in pink.*

a secco—Italian, "dry." See *fresco.* (639)
abacus—The uppermost portion of the *capital* of a *column,* usually a thin slab. (116, 449)
abbess—See *abbey.* (336)
abbey—A religious community under the direction of an abbot (for monks) or an abbess (for nuns). (336)
abbot—See *abbey.* (336)
abhaya mudra—See *mudra.* (447)
abrasion—The rubbing or grinding of stone or another material to produce a smooth finish. (66)
abstract—Nonrepresentational; forms and colors arranged without reference to the depiction of an object. (22)
Abstract Expressionism—The first major American avant-garde movement, Abstract Expressionism emerged in New York City in the 1940s. The artists produced *abstract* paintings that expressed their state of mind and that they hoped would strike emotional chords in viewers. The movement developed along two lines: *gestural abstraction* and *chromatic abstraction*. (961)
acropolis—Greek, "high city." In ancient Greece, usually the site of the city's most important temple(s). (115)
action painting—Also called *gestural abstraction.* The kind of *Abstract Expressionism* practiced by Jackson Pollock, in which the emphasis was on the creation process, the artist's gesture in making art. Pollock poured liquid paint in linear webs on his canvases, which he laid out on the floor, thereby physically surrounding himself in the painting during its creation. (964, 1090)
ad catacumbas—Latin, "in the hollows." See *catacombs.* (240)
additive light—Natural light, or sunlight, the sum of all the wavelengths of the visible *spectrum.* See also *subtractive light.* (7)
additive sculpture—A kind of sculpture *technique* in which materials (for example, clay) are built up or "added" to create form. (11)
adobe—The clay used to make a kind of sun-dried mud brick of the same name; a building made of such brick. (560)
aesthetics—The branch of philosophy that addresses the nature of beauty, especially in art. (1)
agone—Italian, "contest." (717)
agora—An open square or space used for public meetings or business in ancient Greek cities. (137)
ahu—A stone platform on which the *moai* of Easter Island stand. Ahu marked burial sites or served ceremonial purposes. (1123)
ʻahu ʻula—A Hawaiian feather cloak. (1128)
airbrush—A tool that uses compressed air to spray paint onto a surface. (980)
aisle—The portion of a *basilica* flanking the *nave* and separated from it by a row of *columns* or *piers.* (12, 191, 249)
akua'ba—"Akua's child." A Ghanaian image of a young girl. (1136)
ala (pl. **alae**)—One of a pair of rectangular recesses at the back of the *atrium* of a Roman *domus.* (193)
album leaf—A painting on a single sheet of paper for a collection stored in an album. (1096)
alchemy—The study of seemingly magical changes, especially chemical changes. (696)
altar frontal—A decorative panel on the front of a *church* altar. (383)
altarpiece—A panel, painted or sculpted, situated above and behind an altar. See also *retable.* (410)
alternate-support system—In *church* architecture, the use of alternating wall supports in the *nave,* usually *piers* and *columns* or *compound piers* of alternating form. (338)
amalaka—In Hindu temple design, the large, flat disk with ribbed edges surmounting the beehive-shaped tower (*shikara*). (460)
Amazonomachy—In Greek mythology, the battle between the Greeks and Amazons. (135)
ambo—A *church pulpit* for biblical readings. (410)
ambulatory—A covered walkway, outdoors (as in a *church cloister*) or indoors; especially the passageway around the *apse* and the *choir* of a *church.* In Buddhist architecture, the passageway leading around the *stupa* in a *chaitya hall.* (250, 451)
Amida triad—A three-figure group with a central Buddha flanked on each side by a *bodhisattva.* (508)
amphiprostyle—A *classical* temple *plan* in which the *columns* are placed across both the front and back but not along the sides. (115)
amphitheater—Greek, "double theater." A Roman building type resembling two Greek theaters put together. The Roman amphitheater featured a continuous elliptical *cavea* around a central *arena.* (192)
amphora—An ancient Greek two-handled jar used for general storage purposes, usually to hold wine or oil. (108)
amulet—An object worn to ward off evil or to aid the wearer. (61)
Analytic Cubism—The first phase of *Cubism,* developed jointly by Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque, in which the artists analyzed form from every possible vantage point to combine the various views into one pictorial whole. (898)
anamorphosis (adj. **anamorphic**)—Image distortion that requires a special device—such as a cylindrical mirror—or looking at the painting at an acute angle to recognize it. (696)
Anastasis—Greek, "resurrection." In Byzantine art, the representation of Christ's descent into limbo. (245)
ancien régime—French, "old order." The term used to describe the political, social, and religious order in France before the Revolution at the end of the 18th century. (779)
ankh—The Egyptian sign of life. (79)
antae—The molded projecting ends of the walls forming the *pronaos* or *opisthodomos* of an ancient Greek temple. (115)
ante legem—Latin, "before the law." In Christian thought, the period before Moses received the Ten Commandments. See also *sub lege.* (410)
apadana—The great audience hall in ancient Persian palaces. (51)
aphros—Greek, "foam." (107, 593)
apostle—Greek, "messenger." One of the 12 disciples of Jesus. (246)
apotheosis—Elevated to the rank of gods, or the ascent to Heaven. (209, 530)

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apotropaic—Capable of warding off evil. (118)
apoxyomenos—Greek, "athlete scraping oil from his body." (146)
apse—A recess, usually semicircular, in the wall of a building, commonly found at the east end of a *church.* (28, 133, 212, 249, 1102)
apsidal—Rounded; *apse*-shaped. (451)
aqueduct—A channel for carrying water, often elevated on *arches.* (205)
arcade—A series of *arches* supported by *piers* or *columns.* (54, 206, 249, 270, 300)
Arcadian (adj.)—In Renaissance and later art, depictions of an idyllic place of rural peace and simplicity. Derived from Arcadia, an ancient district of the central Peloponnesos in southern Greece. (661)
arch—A curved structural member that spans an opening and is generally composed of wedge-shaped blocks (*voussoirs*) that transmit the downward pressure laterally. See also *thrust.* (50)
Archaic—The artistic style of 600–480 BCE in Greece, characterized in part by the use of the *composite view* for painted and *relief* figures and of Egyptian stances for *statues.* (112)
Archaic smile—The smile that appears on all *Archaic* Greek *statues* from about 570 to 480 BCE. The smile is the Archaic sculptor's way of indicating that the person portrayed is alive. (113)
architrave—The *lintel* or lowest division of the *entablature*; also called the epistyle. (116, 451, 675)
archivolt—The continuous molding framing an *arch.* In *Romanesque* and *Gothic* architecture, one of the series of concentric bands framing the *tympanum.* (358)
arcuated—*Arch*-shaped. (50, 957)
arcuated lintel—A *lintel* with alternating horizontal and *arcuated* sections. (217)
arena—In a Roman *amphitheater,* the central area where bloody *gladiator* combats and other boisterous events took place. (192)
armature—The crossed, or diagonal, *arches* that form the skeletal framework of a *Gothic rib vault.* In sculpture, the framework for a clay form. (11, 387)
arriccio—In *fresco* painting, the first layer of rough lime plaster applied to the wall. (428)
arringatore—Italian, "orator." (178)
Art Brut—French, "Crude Art." The mid-20th-century art movement led by Jean Dubuffet that rejected the conventions of traditional art in favor of the untaught art of children and the mentally ill. (960)
Art Deco—Descended from *Art Nouveau,* this movement of the 1920s and 1930s sought to upgrade industrial design as a "fine art" and to work new materials into decorative patterns that could be either machined or handcrafted. Characterized by streamlined, elongated, and symmetrical design. (950)
Art Nouveau—French, "new art." A late-19th- and early-20th-century art movement whose proponents tried to synthesize all the arts in an effort to create art based on natural forms that could be mass produced by technologies of the industrial age. The movement had other names in other countries: Jugendstil in Austria and Germany, Modernismo in Spain, and Stile Floreale in Italy. (880)
ascetic—One who follows a path of self-denial. (1043)
asceticism—Self-discipline and self-denial. (449)
ashlar masonry—Carefully cut and regularly shaped blocks of stone used in construction, fitted together without mortar. (64, 1101)
assemblage—An artwork constructed from already existing objects. (975)
asye usu—Baule (Côte d'Ivoire) bush spirits. (1136)
atlantid—A male figure that functions as a supporting *column* or *pier.* See also *caryatid.* (535, 3-23A)
atlatl—A device that enables hunters to throw a spear farther and with greater velocity. (536)
atlequauitl—An Aztec fire drill, a burning rod or stick used in the New Fire Ceremony. (1097)
atmospheric perspective—See *perspective.* (197, 20-15A, 20-15B)
atrium (pl. **atria**)—The central reception room of a Roman *domus* that is partly open to the sky. Also, the open, *colonnaded* court in front of and attached to a Christian *basilica.* (193, 248, 714)
attic—The uppermost story of a building, *triumphal arch,* city gate, or *aqueduct.* (205)
attribute—(n.) The distinctive identifying aspect of a person—for example, an object held, an associated animal, or a mark on the body. (v.) To make an *attribution.* (6, 246)
attribution—Assignment of a work to a maker or makers. (6)
augur—A Roman priest who determined the will of the gods from the flight of birds and whose attribute is the *lituus.* (165)
augustus—Latin, "majestic" or "exalted." (201)
aula—An ancient Roman audience hall. (231)
autem generatio—Latin, "now this is how the birth of Christ came about." (319)
automatism—In painting, the process of yielding oneself to instinctive motions of the hands after establishing a set of conditions (such as size of paper or *medium*) within which a work is to be created. (915)
avant-garde—French, "advance guard" (in a platoon). Late-19th- and 20th-century artists who emphasized innovation and challenged established convention in their work. Also used as an adjective. (889)
avanyu—A mythical Native American water serpent. (1107)
avatar—A manifestation of a deity incarnated in some visible form in which the deity performs a sacred function on earth. In Hinduism, an incarnation of a god. (1048)
axial plan—See *plan.* (74)
axis mundi—Latin, "axis of the world." In South Asia, a tall pillar planted deep in the ground, connecting earth and sky. (448, 530, 17-9A)
bacchanal—An orgiastic revel in which the followers of the Greco-Roman god Bacchus take part. (664)
backstrap loom—A simple Andean loom featuring a belt or backstrap encircling the waist of the seated weaver. (539)
bai—An elaborately painted men's ceremonial house on Belau (formerly Palau) in the Caroline Islands of Micronesia. (1121)
baldacchino—A canopy on *columns,* frequently built over an altar. The term derives from *baldacco.* (250, 714)
baldacco—Italian, "silk from Baghdad." See *baldacchino.* (714)
baldric—A sashlike belt worn over one shoulder and across the chest to support a sword. (224)
baptism—The Christian bathing ceremony in which an infant or a convert becomes a member of the Christian community. (244)
baptistery—In Christian architecture, the building used for *baptism,* usually situated next to a *church.* Also, the designated area or hall within a *church* for baptismal rites. (237)
bar tracery—See *tracery.* (392)
baray—One of the large reservoirs laid out around Cambodian *wats* that served as means of transportation as well as irrigation. A network of canals connected the reservoirs. (466)
barge boards—The angled boards that outline the exterior gables of a Maori meeting house. (1113)
Baroque/baroque—The traditional blanket designation for European art from 1600 to 1750. Uppercase *Baroque* refers to the art of this period, which features dramatic theatricality and elaborate ornamentation in contrast to the simplicity and orderly rationality of *Renaissance* art, and is most appropriately applied to Italian art. Lowercase *baroque* describes similar stylistic features found in the art of other periods—for example, the *Hellenistic* period in ancient Greece. The term derives from *barroco.* (156, 712)
barrel vault—See *vault.* (186, 618)
barroco—Portuguese, "irregularly shaped pearl." See *Baroque.* (712)
base—In ancient Greek architecture, the molded projecting lowest part of *Ionic* and *Corinthian columns.* (*Doric* columns do not have bases.) (51, 152)

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basilica (adj. **basilican**)—In Roman architecture, a public building for legal and other civic proceedings, rectangular in plan, with an entrance usually on a long side. In Christian architecture, a *church* somewhat resembling the Roman basilica, usually entered from one end and with an *apse* at the other. (190, 248)

bas-relief—See *relief.* (12)

battlement—A low parapet at the top of a circuit wall in a fortification. (399, 435, 26-27A)

Bauhaus—A *school* of architecture in Germany in the 1920s under the aegis of Walter Gropius, who emphasized the unity of art, architecture, and design. (929)

bay—The space between two *columns,* or one unit in the *nave arcade* of a *church*; also, the passageway in an *arcuated* gate. (480)

beam—A horizontal structural member that carries the load of the superstructure of a building; a timber *lintel.* (28, 480)

beatification—The declaration by the Catholic Church of a person as *beatus*; a preliminary stage in the process of *canonization.* (246)

beatus—Latin, "blessed." (246)

Beaux-Arts—An architectural *style* of the late 19th and early 20th centuries in France. Based on ideas taught at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, the Beaux-Arts style incorporated *classical* principles, such as symmetry in design, and included extensive exterior ornamentation. (839)

begging bowl—The bowl that Buddhist monks use to collect alms, either money or food. (513)

belvedere—Italian, "beautiful view." A building or other structure with a view of a *landscape* or seascape. (680)

ben-ben—A pyramidal stone; an emblem of the Egyptian god Re. (60)

benday dots—Named after the newspaper printer Benjamin Day, the benday dot system involves the modulation of *colors* through the placement and size of colored dots. (969)

benedictional—A Christian religious book containing bishops' blessings. (324)

bent-axis plan—A *plan* that incorporates two or more angular changes of direction, characteristic of Sumerian architecture. (33)

bestiary—A collection of illustrations of real and imaginary animals. (357)

bhakti—In Buddhist thought, the adoration of a personalized deity (*bodhisattva*) as a means of achieving unity with it; love felt by the devotee for the deity. In Hinduism, the devout, selfless direction of all tasks and activities of life to the service of one god. (1050)

Bharat Mata—Mother India; the female personification of India. (33-11A)

bhumisparsha mudra—See *mudra.* (447)

bi—In ancient China, jade disks carved as ritual objects for burial with the dead. They were often decorated with piercings that extended entirely through the object, as well as with surface carvings. (476)

bibliophile—Lover of books. (573)

bichrome—Two-*color.* (541)

bieri—The wood *reliquary* guardian figures of the Fang in Gabon and Cameroon. (1133)

bilateral symmetry—Having the same *forms* on either side of a central axis. (66)

bilingual vases—Experimental Greek vases produced for a short time in the late sixth century BCE; one side featured *black-figure* decoration, the other *red-figure.* (121)

Biomorphic Surrealism—See *Surrealism.* (915)

bisj—An elaborately carved pole constructed from the trunk of the mangrove tree. The Asmat people of southwestern New Guinea created bisj poles to indicate their intent to avenge a relative's death. (1116)

black-figure painting—In early Greek pottery, the silhouetting of dark figures against a light background of natural, reddish clay, with linear details *incised* through the silhouettes. (111)

blind arcade—An *arcade* having no true openings, applied as decoration to a wall surface. (54, 300, 389)

block statue—In ancient Egyptian sculpture, a cubic stone image with simplified body parts. (75)

bocio—A Fon (Republic of Benin) empowerment figure. (1140)

bodhisattva—In Buddhist thought, a potential Buddha who chooses not to achieve enlightenment in order to help save humanity. (447)

Book of Hours—A Christian religious book for private devotion containing prayers to be read at specified times of the day. (324, 571)

boshan—A Chinese incense burner. (478)

bosquet—French, "grove." One of the subdivisions within the gardens of the palace at Versailles. (25-28A)

boss—A circular knob. (446, 11-3A)

bottega—An artist's studio-shop. (602)

bourse—French, "stock market." (568)

braccia—Italian, "arm." A unit of measurement; 1 braccia equals 23 inches. (616)

bracket—An architectural supporting member projecting from a wall or a *beam*, commonly used in Chinese wood architecture. (480)

Brahmin—A priest in Aryan and Hindu South Asia. (446)

breakfast piece—A Dutch *still life* that includes bread and fruit. (745)

breviary—A Christian religious book of selected daily prayers and Psalms. (324, 404, 571)

brocade—The weaving together of threads of different colors. (477)

bucranium (pl. **bucrania**)—Latin, "bovine skull." A common motif in classical architectural ornament. (698, 1-15A)

buon fresco—See *fresco.* (91, 428, 539)

burgher—A middle-class citizen. (28-33A)

burgomeister—Chief magistrate (mayor) of a Flemish city. (575)

burin—A pointed tool used for *engraving* or *incising.* (17, 590, 689)

busshi—Japanese, "maker of Buddhist images." (501)

bust—A freestanding sculpture of the head, shoulders, and chest of a person. (12)

buttress—An exterior masonry structure that opposes the lateral *thrust* of an *arch* or a *vault.* A pier buttress is a solid mass of masonry. A flying buttress consists typically of an inclined member carried on an arch or a series of arches and a solid buttress to which it transmits lateral thrust. (186)

byobu—Japanese painted folding screens. (1081)

Byzantine—The art, territory, history, and culture of the Eastern Christian Empire and its capital of Constantinople (ancient Byzantium). (264)

caduceus—See *kerykeion.* (107, 614)

caementa—Latin, "small stones." A key ingredient of Roman *concrete.* (186)

caldarium—The hot-bath section of a Roman bathing establishment. (225)

caliph(s)—Islamic rulers, regarded as successors of Muhammad. (295)

calligrapher—One who practices *calligraphy.* (491)

calligraphy—Greek, "beautiful writing." Handwriting or penmanship, especially elegant writing as a decorative art. (305, 491, 1061)

calotype—From the Greek *kalos,* "beautiful." A photographic process in which a positive image is made by shining light through a negative image onto a sheet of sensitized paper. (842)

came—A lead strip in a *stained-glass* window that joins separate pieces of colored glass. (392)

camera lucida—Latin, "lighted room." A device in which a small lens projects the image of an object downward onto a sheet of paper. (843)

camera obscura—Latin, "dark room." An ancestor of the modern camera in which a tiny pinhole, acting as a lens, projects an image on a screen, the wall of a room, or the ground-glass wall of a box; used by artists in the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries as an aid in drawing from nature. (756, 788)

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campanile—A bell tower of a *church,* usually, but not always, free-standing. (366, 434, 12-29A)
campo—Italian, "field." (429)
canon—A rule (for example, of proportion). The ancient Greeks considered beauty to be a matter of "correct" proportion and sought a canon of proportion, for the human figure and for buildings. The fifth-century BCE sculptor Polykleitos wrote the *Canon,* a treatise incorporating his formula for the perfectly proportioned *statue.* Also, a *church* official who preaches, teaches, administers sacraments, and tends to pilgrims and the sick. (68, 134, 144, 12-25A)
canon table—A concordance, or matching, of the corresponding passages of the four *Gospels* as compiled by Eusebius of Caesarea in the fourth century. (324)
canonization (adj. **canonized**)—The declaration by the Catholic Church of a person as a *saint* after his or her death, often as a *martyr.* (246, 481, 14-5A)
canopic jars—In ancient Egypt, the four jars containing the lungs, liver, stomach, and intestines of the deceased removed during mummification. (61)
capital—The uppermost member of a *column,* serving as a transition from the *shaft* to the *lintel.* In *classical* architecture, the form of the capital varies with the *order.* (51, 62, 115)
Capitolium—An ancient Roman temple dedicated to the gods Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. (190)
capriccio—Italian, "originality." One of several terms used in Italian *Renaissance* literature to praise the originality and talent of artists. (640)
caput mundi—Latin, "head (capital) of the world." (182)
cardo—The north-south street in a Roman town, intersecting the *decumanus* at right angles. (189)
Caroline minuscule—The alphabet that *Carolingian* scribes perfected, from which the modern English alphabet was developed. (329)
Carolingian—Pertaining to the empire of Charlemagne (Latin, "Carolus Magnus") and his successors. (329)
carpet page—In early medieval manuscripts, a decorative page resembling a textile. (325)
cartography—The art of mapmaking. (13-39B)
cartoon—In painting, a full-size preliminary drawing from which a painting is made. (428, 638)
carving—A sculptural *technique* in which the artist cuts away material (for example, from a stone block) in order to create a *statue* or a *relief.* (11)
caryatid—A female figure that functions as a supporting *column.* See also *atlantid.* (386, 1113, 3-23A)
cassone (pl. **cassoni**)—A carved chest, often painted or gilded, popular in *Renaissance* Italy for the storing of household clothing. (665)
castellum—See *westwork.* (336)
casting—A sculptural *technique* in which the artist pours liquid metal, plaster, clay, or another material into a *mold.* When the material dries, the sculptor removes the cast piece from the mold. (11)
castrum—A Roman military encampment. (211)
catacombs—Subterranean networks of rock-cut galleries and chambers designed as cemeteries for the burial of the dead. (240)
cathedra—Latin, "seat." See *cathedral.* (248, 364, 9-13A)
cathedral—A bishop's *church.* The word derives from *cathedra,* referring to the bishop's chair. (9-13A)
causeway—A raised roadway. (64)
cavea—Latin, "hollow place or cavity." The seating area in ancient Greek and Roman theaters and *amphitheaters.* (151)
celadon—A Chinese-Korean pottery *glaze,* fired in an oxygen-deprived kiln to a characteristic gray-green or pale blue color. (498)
cella—The chamber at the center of an ancient temple; in a *classical* temple, the room (Greek, *naos*) in which the *cult statue* usually stood. (33, 115, 117, 698)
celt—In Olmec Mexico, an ax-shaped form made of polished jade; generally, a prehistoric metal or stone implement shaped like a chisel or ax head. (522)
cemen—The winglike openwork projection at the top of an Asmat *bisj* pole. (1116)
centaur—In ancient Greek mythology, a creature with the front or top half of a human and the back or bottom half of a horse. (105)
centauromachy—In ancient Greek mythology, a battle between the Greeks and *centaurs.* (120)
central plan—See *plan.* (250, 299, 617)
cestrum—A small spatula used in *encaustic* painting. (223, 5-63A)
chacmool—A *Mesoamerican* statuary type depicting a fallen warrior on his back with a receptacle on his chest for sacrificial offerings. (534, 925)
chaitya hall—A South Asian rock-cut temple hall having a votive *stupa* at one end. (451, 1055)
chakra—The Buddha's wheel, set in motion at Sarnath. (447)
chakravartin—In South Asia, the ideal king, the Universal Lord who ruled through goodness. (449)
Chan—See *Zen.* (495, 1077)
chancel arch—The arch separating the chancel (the *apse* or *choir*) or the *transept* from the *nave* of a basilica or *church.* (231, 249)
chanoyu—Japanese, "tea ceremony." (1082)
chantry—An endowed chapel for the chanting of the *Mass* for the founder of the chapel. (13-44A)
chaplet—A metal pin used in hollow-casting to connect the *investment* with the clay core. (129)
chapter house—The meeting hall in a *monastery.* (617)
characters—In Chinese writing, signs that record spoken words. (472, 1028, 1061)
char-bagh—The "four-plot" plan of Iranian gardens. (1048)
chartreuse—A Carthusian *monastery.* (569)
charun—An Etruscan death demon. (177)
chashitsu—Japanese, "teahouse." (1082)
chasing—The engraving or embossing of metal. (715)
chasseur—French, "cavalry officer." (811)
château (pl. **châteaux**)—French, "castle." A luxurious country residence for French royalty, developed from medieval castles. (704)
chatra—See *yasti.* (450)
cherub—A chubby winged child angel. (583)
chiaroscuro—In drawing or painting, the treatment and use of light and dark, especially the gradations of light that produce the effect of *modeling.* (429, 638)
chiaroscuro woodcut—A *woodcut technique* using two blocks of wood instead of one. The printmaker carves and inks one block in the usual way in order to produce a traditional black-and-white print. Then the artist cuts a second block consisting of broad highlights that can be inked in gray or color and printed over the first block's impression. (694)
chicha—Andean fermented maize beer. (541)
chigi—Decorative extensions of the *rafters* at each end of the roof of a Japanese shrine. (506)
chimera—A monster of Greek invention with the head and body of a lion and the tail of a serpent. A second head, that of a goat, grows out of one side of the body. (174)
chisel—A tool with a straight blade at one end for cutting and shaping stone or wood. (18)
chiton—A Greek tunic, the essential (and often only) garment of both men and women, the other being the *himation,* or mantle. (114)
chlamys—A woollen Greek cloak. (5-47A)
choir—The space reserved for the clergy and singers in the *church,* usually east of the *transept* but, in some instances, extending into the *nave.* (12, 272)
Christ—Savior. From Latin Christus and Greek Christos, "the anointed one." (244)

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Christogram—The monogram comprising the three initial letters (chi-rho-iota) of Christ's name in Greek. (234, 251)
Christophoros—Greek, "he who carries Christ"—that is, Saint Christopher. (20-22A)
chromatic abstraction—A kind of *Abstract Expressionism* that focuses on the emotional resonance of color, as exemplified by the work of Barnett Newman and Mark Rothko. (962)
chronology—In art history, the dating of art objects and buildings. (2)
chryselephantine—Fashioned of gold and ivory. (135, 4-13A)
church—Christian house of worship. (249)
Ci Wara—The legendary wild antelope that taught humans the secrets of agriculture, portrayed in *abstract* Bamana headdresses used in masquerades. (1144)
Cinquecento—Italian, "500"—that is, the 16th century (the 1500s) in Italy. (635)
circumambulation—In Buddhist worship, walking around the *stupa* in a clockwise direction, a process intended to bring the worshiper into harmony with the cosmos. (443, 450)
circus—An ancient Roman chariot racecourse. (717)
cire perdue—See *lost-wax process.* (128)
cista (pl. **cistae**)—An Etruscan cylindrical container made of sheet bronze with cast handles and feet, often with elaborately engraved bodies, used for women's toiletry articles. (175)
city-state—An independent, self-governing city. (31)
Classical/classical—The art and culture of ancient Greece between 480 and 323 BCE. Lowercase *classical* refers more generally to Greco-Roman art and culture. (125)
claustrum—Latin, "enclosed place." See *cloister.* (356)
clerestory—The *fenestrated* part of a building that rises above the roofs of the other parts. The oldest known clerestories are Egyptian. In Roman *basilicas* and medieval *churches,* clerestories are the windows that form the *nave*'s uppermost level below the timber ceiling or the *vaults.* (75, 186, 249, 389)
cliens— Latin, "client." A Roman who owes allegiance to a *patronus.* (193)
cloison—French, "partition." A cell made of metal wire or a narrow metal strip soldered edge-up to a metal base to hold *enamel,* semiprecious stones, pieces of colored glass, or glass paste fired to resemble sparkling jewels. (321)
cloisonné—A decorative metalwork *technique* employing *cloisons*; also, decorative brickwork in later Byzantine architecture. (280, 321, 868)
cloister—A *monastery* courtyard, usually with covered walks or *ambulatories* along its sides. (335, 356, 609)
cluster pier—See *compound pier.* (389)
codex (pl. **codices**)—Separate pages of *vellum* or *parchment* bound together at one side; the predecessor of the modern book. The codex superseded the *rotulus.* In *Mesoamerica,* a painted and inscribed book on long sheets of bark paper or deerskin coated with fine white plaster and folded into accordion-like pleats. (252, 1093)
coffer—A sunken panel, often ornamental, in a *vault* or a ceiling. (216)
collage—A composition made by combining various materials on a flat surface, such as newspaper, wallpaper, printed text and illustrations, photographs, and cloth. (8, 899, 910)
coller—French, "to paste." (899)
colonnade—A series or row of *columns,* usually spanned by *lintels.* (71)
colonnette—A thin *column.* (197)
colophon—An inscription, usually on the last page, giving information about a book's manufacture. In Chinese painting, written texts on attached pieces of paper or silk. (325, 1061)
color-field painting—A variant of *Post-Painterly Abstraction* in which artists sought to reduce painting to its physical essence by pouring diluted paint onto unprimed canvas and letting these pigments soak into the fabric, as exemplified by the work of Helen Frankenthaler and Morris Louis. (968)
colorito—Italian, "colored" or "painted." A term used to describe the application of paint. Characteristic of the work of 16th-century Venetian artists who emphasized the application of paint as an important element of the creative process. Central Italian artists, in contrast, largely emphasized *disegno*—careful design preparation based on preliminary drawing. (661)
colossal order—An architectural design in which the *columns* or *pilasters* are two or more stories tall. Also called a giant order. (629)
column—A vertical, weight-carrying architectural member, circular in cross-*section* and consisting of a *base* (sometimes omitted), a *shaft,* and a *capital.* (10, 50)
combines—The name that American artist Robert Rauschenberg gave to his *assemblages* of painted passages and sculptural elements. (975)
commedia dell'arte—A traditional Italian comic play performed by actors and musicians. (29-17A)
complementary colors—Those pairs of *colors,* such as red and green, that together embrace the entire *spectrum.* The complement of one of the three *primary colors* is a mixture of the other two. (7, 863)
compline—The last prayer of the day in a *Book of Hours.* (572)
compose—See *composition.* (7)
Composite capital—A capital combining *Ionic* volutes and *Corinthian* acanthus leaves, first used by the ancient Romans. (209, 21-34A)
composite view—A convention of representation in which part of a figure is shown in profile and another part of the same figure is shown frontally; also called twisted perspective. (22, 555)
composition—The way in which an artist organizes *forms* in an artwork, either by placing shapes on a flat surface or arranging forms in space. (7)
compound pier—A *pier* with a group, or cluster, of attached *shafts,* or *responds,* especially characteristic of *Gothic* architecture. (353, 389)
Conceptual Art—An American *avant-garde* art movement of the 1960s whose premise was that the "artfulness" of art lay in the artist's idea rather than its final expression. (998)
conceptual representation—The representation of the fundamental distinguishing properties of a person or object, not the way a figure or object appears in space and light at a specific moment. See also *composite view.* (27)
concrete—A building material invented by the Romans and consisting of various proportions of lime mortar, volcanic sand, water, and small stones. (185)
condottiere (pl. **condottieri**)—An Italian mercenary general. (594)
confraternity—In Late Antiquity, an association of Christian families pooling funds to purchase property for burial. In late medieval Europe, an organization founded by laypersons who dedicated themselves to strict religious observances. (241, 14-20A)
congregational mosque—A city's main *mosque,* designed to accommodate the entire Muslim population for the Friday noonday prayer. Also called the great mosque or Friday mosque. (299, 1044)
connoisseur—An expert in *attributing* artworks to one artist rather than another. More generally, an expert on artistic *style.* (6)
Constructivism—An early-20th-century Russian art movement formulated by Naum Gabo, who built up his sculptures piece by piece in space instead of carving or *modeling* them. In this way, the sculptor worked with "volume of mass" and "volume of space" as different materials. (911)
consuls—In the Roman Republic, the two chief magistrates. (183)
continuous narration—The depiction of the same figure more than once in the same space at different stages of a story. (276, 7-43A, 20-15A, 20-15B)
contour line—In art, a continuous *line* defining the outer shape of an object. (7)

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contrapposto—The disposition of the human figure in which one part is turned in opposition to another part (usually hips and legs one way, shoulders and chest another), creating a counterpositioning of the body about its central axis. Sometimes called "weight shift" because the weight of the body tends to be thrown to one foot, creating tension on one side and relaxation on the other. (132)

corbel—A projecting wall member used as a support for some element in the superstructure. Also, *courses* of stone or brick in which each course projects beyond the one beneath it. Two such walls, meeting at the topmost course, create a *corbeled arch* or *corbeled vault.* (408, 435, 659)

corbeled arch—An *arch* formed by the piling of stone blocks in horizontal *courses,* cantilevered inward until the blocks meet at a *keystone.* (97)

corbeled dome—A *dome* formed by the piling of stone blocks in successive circles of horizontal *courses,* cantilevered inward to form a conical dome. (97)

corbeled vault—A *vault* formed by the piling of stone blocks in horizontal *courses,* cantilevered inward until the two walls meet in an *arch.* (27, 97, 529)

Corinthian capital—A more ornate form than *Doric* or *Ionic*; it consists of a double row of acanthus leaves from which tendrils and flowers grow, wrapped around a bell-shaped *echinus.* Although this *capital* is often cited as the distinguishing feature of the Corinthian *order,* in strict terms no such order exists. The Corinthian capital is a substitute for the standard capital used in the Ionic order. (152, 604)

cornice—The projecting, crowning member of the *entablature* framing the *pediment*; also, any crowning projection. (116, 619)

cornucopia—Horn of plenty. (7-58A)

couching—Knotting. See *embroidery.* (377)

course—In masonry construction, a horizontal row of stone blocks. (1102)

crenel—See *crenellation.* (399, 26-27A)

crenellation—Alternating solid merlons and open crenels in the notched tops of walls, as in *battlements.* (399, 26-27A)

cross-hatching—See *hatching.* (590)

cross vault—See *vault.* (186)

crossing—The space in a *cruciform church* formed by the intersection of the *nave* and the *transept.* (257, 337)

crossing square—The area in a *church* formed by the intersection (*crossing*) of a *nave* and a *transept* of equal width, often used as a standard *module* of interior proportion. (337, 21-31A)

crossing tower—The tower over the *crossing* of a *church.* (258)

crucifix—A freestanding sculptural representation of Christ on the cross. (342)

cruciform—Cross-shaped. (257, 21-31B)

Crude Art—See *Art Brut.* (960)

Crusades—In medieval Europe, armed pilgrimages aimed at recapturing the Holy Land from the Muslims. (360)

crypt—A *vaulted* space under part of a building, wholly or partly underground; in *churches,* normally the portion under an *apse.* (356)

cubiculum (pl. **cubicula**)—A small cubicle or bedroom that opened onto the *atrium* of a Roman *domus.* Also, a chamber in an Early Christian *catacomb* that served as a mortuary chapel. (193, 241)

Cubism—An early-20th-century art movement that rejected *naturalistic* depictions, preferring *compositions* of shapes and *forms abstracted* from the conventionally perceived world. See also *Analytic Cubism* and *Synthetic Cubism.* (898)

cuerda seca—A type of *polychrome* tilework used in decorating Islamic buildings. (311)

cuirass—A military leather breastplate. (188)

cult statue—The *statue* of the deity that stood in the *cella* of an ancient temple. (101, 115)

cuneiform—Latin, "wedge-shaped." A system of writing used in ancient Mesopotamia, in which wedge-shaped characters were produced by pressing a *stylus* into a soft clay tablet, which was then baked or otherwise allowed to harden. (33)

cuneus (pl. **cunei**)—In ancient Greek and Roman theaters and *amphitheaters,* the wedge-shaped section of stone benches separated by stairs. (151)

cupola—An exterior architectural feature composed of a *drum* with a shallow cap; a *dome.* (9-31A)

cura animarum—Latin, "care of souls," the duty of a Catholic priest. (654)

Curia—The papal court in the Vatican. (657)

cutaway—An architectural drawing that combines an exterior view with an interior view of part of a building. (12, 901)

Cycladic—The prehistoric art of the Aegean Islands around Delos, excluding Crete. (87)

Cyclopean masonry—A method of stone construction, named after the mythical *Cyclopes,* using massive, irregular blocks without mortar, characteristic of the Bronze Age fortifications of Tiryns and other *Mycenaean* sites. (96)

Cyclops (pl. **Cyclopes**)—In Greek mythology, a one-eyed giant. (96, 644)

cylinder seal—A cylindrical piece of stone usually about an inch or so in height, decorated with an *incised* design, so that a raised pattern is left when the seal is rolled over soft clay. In the ancient Near East, documents, storage jars, and other important possessions were signed, sealed, and identified in this way. Stamp seals are an earlier, flat form of seal used for similar purposes. (37)

Dada—An early-20th-century art movement prompted by a revulsion against the horror of World War I. Dada embraced political anarchy, the irrational, and the intuitive. A disdain for convention, often enlivened by humor or whimsy, is characteristic of the art the Dadaists produced. (906)

Daedalic—The Greek *Orientalizing* sculptural style of the seventh century BCE named after the legendary artist Daedalus. (911)

daguerreotype—A photograph made by an early method on a plate of chemically treated metal; developed by Louis J. M. Daguerre. (842, 1052)

daimyo—Local lords who controlled small regions and owed obeisance to the *shogun* in the Japanese *shogunate* system. (1079)

damnatio memoriae—The Roman decree condemning those who ran afoul of the Senate. Those who suffered damnatio memoriae had their memorials demolished and their names erased from public inscriptions. (209)

darbar—The official audience of a *Mughal* emperor. (33-5A)

darshan—In Hindu worship, seeing images of the divinity and being seen by the divinity. (456)

De Stijl—Dutch, "the style." An early-20th-century art movement (and magazine), founded by Piet Mondrian and Theo van Doesburg, whose members promoted utopian ideals and developed a simplified geometric style. (922)

deacon—A *church* official charged with distributing alms to the poor. (247)

Deconstructivism—A late-20th-century architectural *style.* Deconstructivist architects attempt to disorient the observer by disrupting the conventional categories of architecture. The haphazard presentation of *volumes, masses, planes,* lighting, and so forth challenges the viewer's assumptions about *form* as it relates to function. (1036)

Decorated—The more ornate phase of English Gothic architecture, which flourished from about 1270 to 1370, succeeded by the Perpendicular style. (409)

decumanus—The east-west street in a Roman town, intersecting the *cardo* at right angles. (189)

decursio—The ritual circling of a Roman funerary pyre. (220)

Deësis—Greek, "entreaty to God." In Byzantine art, an image of Christ flanked by two figures, often the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, who intercede on behalf of humankind. (284)

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demos—Greek, "the people," from which the word *democracy* derives. (106)
demotic—Late Egyptian writing. (58)
denarius—The standard Roman silver coin from which the word *penny* ultimately derives. (189)
Der Blaue Reiter—German, "the blue rider." An early-20th-century German *Expressionist* art movement founded by Vassily Kandinsky and Franz Marc. The artists selected the whimsical name because of their mutual interest in the color blue and horses. (891)
Dervish—A Muslim *ascetic* holy man. (1043)
dharma—In Buddhism, moral law based on the Buddha's teaching. (447)
dharmachakra mudra—See *mudra.* (447)
dhyana mudra—See *mudra.* (447)
di sotto in sù—Italian, "from below upward." A *perspective* view seen from below. (631)
diagonal rib—See *rib.* (389)
diaphragm arch—A transverse, wall-bearing *arch* that divides a *vault* or a ceiling into compartments, providing a kind of firebreak. (12-30A)
dictator—In the Roman Republic, the supreme magistrate with extraordinary powers, appointed during a crisis for a specified period. Julius Caesar eventually became *dictator perpetuo,* dictator for life. (183, 798)
dictator perpetuo—See *dictator.* (189)
Die Brücke—German, "the bridge." An early-20th-century German *Expressionist* art movement under the leadership of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. The group thought of itself as the bridge between the old age and the new. (891)
Dilukai—A female figure with splayed legs, a common motif over the entrance to a Belau *bai,* serving as both guardian and fertility symbol. (1122)
dipteral—See *peristyle.* (115)
diptych—A two-paneled painting or *altarpiece*; also, an ancient Roman, Early Christian, or Byzantine hinged writing tablet, often of ivory and carved on the external sides. (253)
disciplina Etrusca—Latin, "Etruscan [religious] practice." (6-2A)
disegno—Italian, "drawing" and "design." *Renaissance* artists considered drawing to be the external physical manifestation (*disegno esterno*) of an internal intellectual idea of design (*disegno interno*). (640, 661, 722)
diskobolos—Greek, "discus thrower." (130)
disputatio—Latin, "logical argument." The philosophical methodology used in *Scholasticism.* (388)
divine right—The belief in a king's absolute power as God's will. (757)
divisionism—See *pointillism.* (864)
d'mba—A Baga mask of the Mother of Fertility in the form of the head and breasts of a woman, worn over the shoulders and with a raffia skirt concealing the dancer's identity. (1145)
documentary evidence—In art history, the examination of written sources in order to determine the date of an artwork, the circumstances of its creation, or the identity of the artist(s) who made it. (3)
doge—Italian (Venetian dialect), "duke." (283, 440, 621)
dome—A hemispherical *vault*; theoretically, an *arch* rotated on its vertical axis. In *Mycenaean* architecture, domes are beehive-shaped. (27)
dominus et deus—Latin, "lord and god." (211)
domus—A Roman private house. (193)
donor portrait—A portrait of the individual(s) who commissioned (donated) a religious work (for example, an *altarpiece*) as evidence of devotion. (575)
Doric—One of the two systems (or *orders*) invented in ancient Greece for articulating the three units of the *elevation* of a classical building—the platform, the *colonnade,* and the superstructure (*entablature*). The Doric order is characterized by, among other features, *capitals* with funnel-shaped *echinuses, columns* without *bases,* and a *frieze* of *triglyphs* and *metopes.* See also *Ionic.* (115, 621, 675)
dormer—A projecting gable-capped window. (704)
doryphoros—Greek, "spear bearer." (131)
dotaku—Ancient Japanese bronze ceremonial bells, usually featuring raised decoration. (503, 505)
double monastery—A *monastery* for both monks and nuns. (367)
dressed masonry—Stone blocks shaped to the exact dimensions required, with smooth faces for a perfect fit. (64, 205, 619)
dromos—The passage leading to a *tholos tomb.* (98)
drum—One of the stacked cylindrical stones that form the *shaft* of a *column.* Also, the cylindrical wall that supports a *dome.* (116, 280)
dry masonry—A mortarless stone construction *technique* in which the stones are held in place by their own weight. (25)
dry painting—See *sand painting.* (1102)
drypoint—An *engraving* in which the design, instead of being cut into the plate with a *burin,* is scratched into the surface with a hard steel "pencil." See also *etching, intaglio.* (590)
Duecento—Italian, "200"—that is, the 13th century (the 1200s) in Italy. (420)
duomo—Italian, "cathedral." (437)
earthenware—Pottery made of clay that is fired at low temperatures and is slightly porous. Also, clay figurines and *statues* produced in the same manner. (473)
earthworks—See *Environmental Art.* (995)
eaves—The lower part of a roof that overhangs the wall. (480)
echinus—The convex element of a *capital* directly below the *abacus.* (116)
edition—A set of impressions taken from a single *incised* metal plate or carved woodblock. (589)
effigy mounds—Ceremonial mounds built in the shape of animals or birds by native North American peoples. (545)
elevation—In architecture, a head-on view of an external or internal wall, showing its features and often other elements that would be visible beyond or before the wall. (12)
embroidery—The *technique* of sewing threads onto a finished ground to form contrasting designs. Stem stitching employs short overlapping strands of thread to form jagged lines. Laid-and-couched work creates solid blocks of color. (377, 477, 539, 9-35A)
emir—A Muslim ruler. (304)
empiricism—The search for knowledge based on observation and direct experience. (822)
en plein air—See *plein air.* (849)
enamel—A decorative coating, usually colored, fused onto the surface of metal, glass, or ceramics. (314, 672, 1063)
encaustic—A painting *technique* in which pigment is mixed with melted wax and applied to the surface while the mixture is hot. (111, 223, 975)
engaged column—A half-round *column* attached to a wall. See also *pilaster.* (62, 177, 300, 353, 621)
engraving—The process of *incising* a design in hard material, often a metal plate (usually copper); also, the *print* or impression made from such a plate. (17, 588)
Enlightenment—The 18th-century Western philosophy based on empirical evidence. The Enlightenment was a new way of thinking critically about the world and about humankind, independently of religion, myth, or tradition. (771)
ensi—Sumerian, "ruler." (39)
entablature—The part of a building above the *columns* and below the roof. The entablature has three parts: *architrave, frieze,* and *pediment.* (116, 32-19A)
entasis—The convex profile (an apparent swelling) in the *shaft* of a *column.* (117)
Environmental Art—An American art form that emerged in the 1960s. Often using the land itself as their material, Environmental artists construct monuments of great scale and minimal form. Permanent or impermanent, these works transform some section of the environment, calling attention both to the land itself and to the hand of the artist. Sometimes referred to as earthworks. (995)

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eravo—A ceremonial men's meeting house constructed by the Elema people in New Guinea. (1118)
escutcheon—An emblem bearing a coat of arms. (664)
etching—A kind of *engraving* in which the design is *incised* in a layer of wax or varnish on a metal plate. The parts of the plate left exposed are then etched (slightly eaten away) by the acid in which the plate is immersed after incising. See also *drypoint, intaglio.* (590)
Eucharist—In Christianity, the partaking of the bread and wine, which believers hold to be either Christ himself or symbolic of him. (245)
eunuch—A castrated male. (2-5A)
evangelist—One of the four authors (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John) of the New Testament *Gospels.* (247, 329)
Event—See *Fluxus.* (995)
exedra (pl. **exedrae**)—Recessed area, usually semicircular. (198, 263, 957)
exemplum virtutis—Latin, "example or model of virtue." (771)
existentialism—A philosophy asserting the absurdity of human existence and the improbability of achieving certitude. (957)
Expressionism—Twentieth-century art that is the result of the artist's unique inner or personal vision and that often has an emotional dimension. Expressionism contrasts with art focused on visually describing the empirical world. (891)
extramural—Outside the walls (of a city). (170)
facade—Usually, the front of a building; also, the other sides when they are emphasized architecturally. (54)
faience—A low-fired opaque glasslike silicate. (94)
fan vault—See *vault.* (410, 26-27A)
fantasia—Italian, "imagination." One of several terms used in Italian *Renaissance* literature to praise the originality and talent of artists. (640)
fasces—A bundle of rods with an ax attached, an emblem of authority in ancient Rome. (798)
fauces—Latin, "jaws." In a Roman *domus,* the narrow foyer leading to the *atrium.* (193)
Fauves—French, "wild beasts." See *Fauvism.* (889)
Fauvism—An early-20th-century art movement led by Henri Matisse. For the Fauves, *color* became the formal element most responsible for pictorial coherence and the primary conveyor of meaning. (889)
Favrile—A type of leaded stained glass patented by Louis Comfort Tiffany in the late 19th century. (28-38B)
felicior—Latin, "luckier." (211)
femmages—The name that American artist Miriam Schapiro gave to her sewn *collages,* assembled from fabrics, quilts, buttons, sequins, lace trim, and rickrack collected at antique shows and fairs. (985)
femme fatale—French, "fatal woman." A destructive temptress of men. (871)
femme savante—French, "learned woman." The term used to describe the cultured hostesses of *Rococo* salons. (773)
fenestra coeli—Latin, "window to Heaven." (729)
fenestration (adj. **fenestrated**)—The arrangement of the windows of a building. (186)
ferroconcrete—*Concrete* strengthened by a skeleton of iron bars; also called reinforced concrete. (930)
fête galante— French, "gallant [outdoor] party." (775)
feudalism—The medieval political, social, and economic system held together by the relationship between landholding *liege lords* and the *vassals* who were granted tenure of a portion of their land and in turn swore allegiance to the liege lord. (348, 568)
fibula (pl. **fibulae**)—A decorative pin, usually used to fasten garments. (167, 321)
fidere—Latin, "to trust." (577)
fin-de-siècle—French, "end of the century." A period in Western cultural history from the end of the 19th century until just before World War I, when decadence and indulgence masked anxiety about an uncertain future. (874)
findspot—Place where an artifact was found; *provenance.* (18)
finial—A crowning ornament. (305, 577, 1045)
First Style mural—The earliest style of Roman *mural* painting. The aim of the artist was to imitate, using painted *stucco relief,* the appearance of costly marble panels. (194)
flagellate—To whip. (245)
Flamboyant—A Late French *Gothic* style of architecture superseding the *Rayonnant* style and named for the flamelike appearance of its pointed bar *tracery.* (194)
flashing—In making *stained-glass* windows, fusing one layer of colored glass to another to produce a greater range of *colors.* (302)
fleur-de-lis—A three-petaled iris flower; the royal flower of France. (393, 744)
florin—The denomination of gold coin of *Renaissance* Florence that became an international currency for trade. (437)
flute or fluting—Vertical channeling, roughly semicircular in cross-*section* and used principally on *columns* and *pilasters.* (51, 71, 116)
Fluxus—A group of American, European, and Japanese artists of the 1960s who created *Performance Art.* Their performances, or Events, often focused on single actions, such as turning a light on and off or watching falling snow, and were more theatrical than *Happenings.* (995)
flying buttress—See *buttress.* (12, 375, 389, 957, 20-10A)
folio—A page of a manuscript or book. (257)
folly—A small building, often emulating a Greco-Roman temple, that Enlightenment-era architects placed in the picturesque gardens of private English estates. (795)
fons vitae—Latin, "fountain of life." A symbolic fountain of everlasting life. (569)
foreshortening (adj. **foreshortened**)—The use of *perspective* to represent in art the apparent visual contraction of an object that extends back in space at an angle to the perpendicular plane of sight. (10, 44, 123, 428)
form—In art, an object's shape and structure, either in two dimensions (for example, a figure painted on a surface) or in three dimensions (such as a *statue*). (7)
formal analysis—The visual analysis of artistic *form.* (7)
formalism—Strict adherence to, or dependence on, stylized shapes and methods of *composition.* An emphasis on an artwork's visual elements rather than its subject. (961)
forum (pl. **fora**)—The public square of an ancient Roman city. (189)
foundry—A workshop for casting metal. (129)
Fourth Style mural—In Roman *mural* painting, the Fourth Style marks a return to architectural *illusionism,* but the architectural vistas of the Fourth Style are irrational fantasies. (197)
freedmen, freedwomen—In ancient and medieval society, men and women who had been freed from servitude, as opposed to having been born free. (190)
freestanding sculpture—See *sculpture in the round.* (12)
fresco—Painting on lime plaster, either dry (dry fresco, or fresco secco) or wet (true, or buon, fresco). In the latter method, the pigments are mixed with water and become chemically bound to the freshly laid lime plaster. Also, a painting executed in either method. (428, 531)
fresco secco—See *fresco.* (76, 91)
Friday mosque—See *congregational mosque.* (299, 1044)
frieze—The part of the *entablature* between the *architrave* and the *cornice*; also, any sculptured or painted band. See *register.* (31, 115, 116)
frigidarium—The cold-bath section of a Roman bathing establishment. (225)
fundator quietis—Latin, "bringer of peace." (233)
furta sacra—Latin, "holy theft." (349)
fusuma—Japanese painted sliding-door panels. (1076)
Futurism—An early-20th-century Italian art movement that championed war as a cleansing agent and that celebrated the speed and dynamism of modern technology. (904)

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garbha griha—Hindi, "womb chamber." In Hindu temples, the *cella,* the holy inner sanctum often housing the god's image or *symbol.* (460, 1045)

genius—Latin, "spirit." In art, the personified spirit of a person or place. (22-45A)

genre—A *style* or category of art; also, a kind of painting that realistically depicts scenes from everyday life. (5, 573, 698)

Geometric—The *style* of Greek art during the ninth and eighth centuries BCE, characterized by *abstract* geometric ornament and schematic figures. (108)

gesso—Plaster mixed with a binding material, used as the base coat for paintings on wood panels. (580, 880, 21-28A)

gestural abstraction—Also known as *action painting.* A kind of *abstract* painting in which the gesture, or act of painting, is seen as the subject of art. Its most renowned proponent was Jackson Pollock. See also *Abstract Expressionism.* (962)

giant order—See *colossal order.* (629)

gigantomachy—In ancient Greek mythology, the battle between gods and giants. (118, 676)

giornata (pl. **giornate**)—Italian, "day." The section of plaster that a *fresco* painter expects to complete in one session. (428, 607)

gladiator—An ancient Roman professional fighter, usually a slave, who competed in an *amphitheater.* (207)

glaze (adj. **glazed**)—A vitreous coating applied to pottery to seal and decorate the surface; it may be colored, transparent, or opaque, and glossy or *matte.* In *oil painting,* a thin, transparent, or semitransparent layer applied over a *color* to alter it slightly. (47, 110, 473, 574, 618, 1063)

glazier—A glassworker. (392)

glazing—The application of successive layers of *glaze* in *oil painting.* (574)

gleaning—The collection by peasants of wheat scraps left in the field after a harvest. (825)

Gobelin tapestry—A *tapestry* produced on a vertical loom using a weaving *technique* in which no *weft* threads extend the full width of the fabric. (29-53B)

gold leaf—Gold beaten into tissue-paper-thin sheets that then can be applied to surfaces. (422)

gopi—South Asian herdswoman. (33-8A)

gopuras—The massive, ornamented entrance gateway towers of southern Indian temple compounds. (1050)

gorget—A neck pendant, usually made of shell. (546)

gorgon—In ancient Greek mythology, a hideous female demon with snake hair. Medusa, the most famous gorgon, was capable of turning anyone who gazed at her into stone. (118)

Gospels—The four New Testament books that relate the life and teachings of Jesus. (277, 324)

Gothic—Originally a derogatory term named after the Goths, used to describe the history, culture, and art of western Europe in the 12th to 14th centuries. Typically divided into periods designated Early (1140–1194), High (1194–1300), and Late (1300–1500). (381, 571)

Gothic Revival—See *Neo-Gothic.* (1051, 13-53A, 26-27A)

gouache—A painting *medium* consisting of watercolor mixed with gum. (895)

Grand Manner portraiture—A type of 18th-century portrait painting designed to communicate a person's grace and class through certain standardized conventions, such as the large scale of the figure relative to the canvas, the controlled pose, the *landscape* setting, and the low *horizon line.* (786)

granulation—A decorative *technique* in which tiny metal balls (granules) are fused to a metal surface. (167)

great mosque—See *congregational mosque.* (299, 1044)

Greek cross—A cross with four arms of equal length. (658)

Green architecture—Ecologically friendly architectural design using clean energy to sustain the natural environment. (1039)

griffin—An eagle-headed winged lion. (52, 93, 10-6B)

grisaille—A *monochrome* painting done mainly in neutral grays to simulate sculpture. (427, 575, 13-36A)

groin—The edge formed by the intersection of two barrel *vaults.* (186)

groin vault—See *vault.* (186, 364)

ground line—In paintings and *reliefs,* a painted or carved baseline on which figures appear to stand. (21, 31)

guang—An ancient Chinese covered vessel, often in animal form, holding wine, water, grain, or meat for sacrificial rites. (474)

guild—An association of merchants, craftspersons, or scholars in medieval and *Renaissance* Europe. (382, 430, 567)

haboku—In Japanese art, a loose and rapidly executed painting *style* in which the ink seems to have been applied by flinging or splashing it onto the paper. (1077)

Hadith—The words and exemplary deeds of the Prophet Muhammad. (295)

hagios (fem. **hagia**)—Greek, "saint." (326)

haiku—A 17-syllable Japanese poetic form. (1085)

hall church—See *Hallenkirche.* (362)

Hallenkirche—German, "hall *church*." A *church* design favored in Germany, but also used elsewhere, in which the *aisles* rise to the same height as the *nave.* (415)

halo—An aureole appearing around the head of a holy figure to signify divinity. See also *nimbus.* (447)

handscroll—In Asian art, a horizontal painted scroll that is unrolled right to left, section by section, and often used to present illustrated religious texts or *landscapes.* (481, 1062)

hanging scroll—In Asian art, a vertical scroll hung on a wall with pictures mounted or painted directly on it. (488, 1062)

haniwa—Sculpted fired pottery cylinders, modeled in human, animal, or other forms and placed on Japanese *tumuli* of the Kofun period. (505)

Happening—A term coined by American artist Allan Kaprow in the 1960s to describe loosely structured performances, whose creators were trying to suggest the aesthetic and dynamic qualities of everyday life; as actions, rather than objects, Happenings incorporate the fourth dimension (time). (995)

hard-edge painting—A variant of *Post-Painterly Abstraction* that rigidly excluded all reference to gesture and incorporated smooth knife-edge geometric forms to express the notion that painting should be reduced to its visual components. (996)

harmika—In Buddhist architecture, a stone fence or railing that encloses an area surmounting the *dome* of a *stupa* that represents one of the Buddhist heavens; from the center arises the *yasti.* (450)

harpies—Mythological creatures of the underworld. (22-8A)

haruspex (pl. **haruspices**)—An Etruscan priest who foretells events by studying animal livers. (6-13A)

hatching—A series of closely spaced drawn or *engraved* parallel *lines.* Cross-hatching employs sets of lines placed at right angles. (20-22A)

hay wain—A hay-filled wagon. (819)

head cluster—An abbreviated way of representing a crowd by painting or carving many heads close together, usually with too few bodies for the number of heads. (256)

heiau—A Hawaiian temple. (1127)

Helladic—The prehistoric art of the Greek mainland (*Hellas* in Greek). (87)

Hellas—The ancient name of Greece. (87, 106)

Hellenes (adj. **Hellenic**)—The name the ancient Greeks called themselves as the people of *Hellas.* (106)

Hellenistic—The term given to the art and culture of the roughly three centuries between the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BCE and the death of Queen Cleopatra in 30 BCE, when Egypt became a Roman province. (153)

henge—An arrangement of *megalithic* stones in a circle, often surrounded by a ditch. (28)

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heraldic composition—A *composition* that is symmetrical on either side of a central figure. (36)

herm—A sculpted head on a quadrangular *pillar.* (133)

Hevehe—An elaborate cycle of ceremonial activities performed by the Elema people of the Papuan Gulf region of New Guinea. Also, the large, ornate masks produced for and presented during these ceremonies. (1118)

Hiberno-Saxon—An art *style* that flourished in the *monasteries* of the British Isles in the early Middle Ages. Also called Insular. (324)

hierarchy of scale—An artistic convention in which greater size indicates greater importance. (11, 31, 479, 551, 583, 1131)

hieroglyph—A *symbol* or picture used to confer meaning in *hieroglyphic* writing. (57, 524, 1093)

hieroglyphic (n., adj.)—A system of writing using *hieroglyphs.* (524)

high cross—A tall early medieval Irish freestanding stone cross. (327)

high relief—See *relief.* (12, 67)

High-Tech architecture—A contemporary architectural *style* calling for buildings that incorporate the latest innovations in engineering and technology and expose the structures' component parts. (1038)

Hijra—The flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in 622, the year from which Islam dates its beginnings. (295)

himation—An ancient Greek mantle worn by men and women over the *chiton* and draped in various ways. (114)

Hippodamian plan—A city *plan* devised by Hippodamos of Miletos ca. 466 BCE, in which a strict grid was imposed on a site, regardless of the terrain, so that all streets would meet at right angles. (154)

hippodrome—A *stadium* for horse racing. (265, 9-1A)

hiragana—A phonetic cursive script developed in Japan from Chinese *characters*; it came to be the primary script for Japanese court poetry. (512)

historiated—Ornamented with representations, such as plants, animals, or human figures, that have a narrative—as distinct from a purely decorative—function. (357)

historiated capital—A *capital* with a carved figural ornament. (357)

hokkyo—Japanese, "bridge of the law." The third-highest rank among Buddhist monks. (35-10A)

honden—Main hall of a Shinto sanctuary. (506)

honos—Latin, "honor." Personified as a seminude male youth in Roman art. (211)

hookah—A Moroccan water pipe. (815)

horizon line—See *perspective.* (582, 599)

hôtel—French, "town house." (772)

hubris—Greek, "arrogant pride." (142)

hue—The name of a *color.* See also *primary colors, secondary colors,* and *complementary colors.* (7, 863)

humanism—In the *Renaissance,* an emphasis on education and on expanding knowledge (especially of *classical* antiquity), the exploration of individual potential and a desire to excel, and a commitment to civic responsibility and moral duty. (426)

hydria—An ancient Greek three-handled water pitcher. (144)

hypaethral—A building having no *pediment* or roof, open to the sky. (154)

hypostyle hall—A hall with a roof supported by *columns.* (75, 298, 299)

icon—A portrait or image; especially in *Byzantine churches,* a panel with a painting of sacred personages that are objects of veneration. In the visual arts, a painting, a piece of sculpture, or even a building regarded as an object of veneration. (277)

iconoclasm—The destruction of religious or sacred images. In Byzantium, the period from 726 to 843 when there was an imperial ban on such images. The destroyers of images were known as iconoclasts. Those who opposed such a ban were known as iconophiles. (265, 278, 692)

iconoclast—See *iconoclasm.* (278, 578)

iconography—Greek, the "writing of images." The term refers both to the content, or subject, of an artwork and to the study of content in art. It also includes the study of the symbolic, often religious, meaning of objects, persons, or events depicted in works of art. (5)

iconophile—See *iconoclasm.* (278)

iconostasis—Greek, "icon stand." In Byzantine *churches,* a screen or a partition, with doors and many tiers of *icons,* separating the sanctuary from the main body of the church. (289)

Il Magnifico—Italian, "the magnificent one," the epithet of Lorenzo de' Medici. (593)

illuminare—Latin, "to adorn, ornament, or brighten." (252)

illuminated manuscript—A luxurious handmade book with painted illustrations and decorations. (252)

illusionism (adj. **illusionistic**)—The representation of the three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional surface in a manner that creates the illusion that the person, object, or place represented is three-dimensional. See also *perspective.* (8)

imago (pl. **imagines**)— In ancient Rome, a portrait-mask of an ancestor displayed in the *atrium* of a *domus.* (187)

imago hominis—Latin, "image of the man." The *symbol* of the *evangelist* Matthew. (326)

imam—In Islam, the leader of collective worship. (299)

impasto—A layer of thickly applied pigment. (668, 960)

imperator—Latin, "commander in chief," from which the word *emperor* derives. (201)

impluvium—In a Roman *domus,* the basin located in the *atrium* that collected rainwater. (193)

impost block—The uppermost block of a wall or *pier* beneath the *springing* of an *arch.* (616)

Impressionism—A late-19th-century art movement that sought to capture a fleeting moment, thereby conveying the elusiveness and impermanence of images and conditions. (849)

in antis—In ancient Greek architecture, the area between the *antae.* (115)

incise—To cut into a surface with a sharp instrument, especially to decorate metal and pottery. (17, 590)

incrustation—Wall decoration consisting of bright panels of different *colors.* (206, 370)

incubus—A demon believed in medieval times to prey, often sexually, on sleeping women. (808)

Indo-Saracen—The distinctive hybrid architectural style, based on Indian and Islamic architecture but mixed with European motifs, that was in vogue in India under British colonial rule. (1051)

indulgence—A religious pardon for a sin committed. (390, 653, 692)

ingegno—Italian, "innate talent." One of several terms used in Italian *Renaissance* literature to praise the originality and talent of artists. (640)

installation—An artwork that creates an artistic environment in a room or gallery. (1026, 31-27B)

insula (pl. **insulae**)—In Roman architecture, a multistory apartment house, usually made of brick-faced *concrete*; also refers to an entire city block. (218)

Insular—See *Hiberno-Saxon.* (324)

intaglio—A graphic *technique* in which the design is *incised,* or scratched, on a metal plate, either manually (*engraving, drypoint*) or chemically (*etching*). The incised lines of the design take the ink, making this the reverse of the *woodcut technique.* (590)

intensity—See *color.* (7)

interaxial—The distance between the center of the lowest *drum* of a *column* and the center of the next. Also called the intercolumniation. (134)

intercolumniation—See *interaxial.* (134)

internal evidence—In art history, the examination of what an artwork represents (people, clothing, hairstyles, and so on) in order to determine its date. Also, the examination of the *style* of an artwork to identify the artist who created it. (3)

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International Gothic—A *style* of 14th- and 15th-century painting begun by Simone Martini, who fused the French *Gothic* manner with Sienese art. This style appealed to the aristocracy because of its brilliant *color,* lavish costumes, intricate ornamentation, and themes involving splendid processions of knights and ladies. (432, 605)

International Style—A *style* of 20th-century architecture associated with Le Corbusier, whose elegance of design came to influence the look of modern office buildings and skyscrapers. (929)

intonaco—In *fresco* painting, the last layer of smooth lime plaster applied to the wall; the painting layer. (428)

invenzione—Italian, "invention." One of several terms used in Italian *Renaissance* literature to praise the originality and talent of artists. (640)

investiture—Ceremony in which a ruler receives the authority to govern. (2-17A)

investment—In hollow-casting, the final clay *mold* applied to the exterior of the wax model. (129)

Ionic—One of the two systems (or *orders*) invented in ancient Greece for articulating the three units of the *elevation* of a *classical* building: the platform, the *colonnade,* and the superstructure (*entablature*). The Ionic order is characterized by, among other features, *volutes, capitals, columns* with *bases,* and an uninterrupted *frieze.* See also *Doric.* (115)

iron-wire lines—In ancient Chinese painting, thin brush *lines* suggesting tensile strength. (489, 508)

ivi p'o—Hollow, cylindrical bone or ivory ornaments produced in the Marquesas Islands (Polynesia). (1126)

iwan—In Islamic architecture, a *vaulted* rectangular recess opening onto a courtyard. (54)

iy'oba—Benin queen mother. (563, 19-14A)

jamb statue—A *statue,* usually attached to a *column,* set against the *jamb* of a *Gothic church* portal. (384)

jambs—In architecture, the side posts of a doorway. (358)

Japonisme—The French fascination with all things Japanese. Japonisme emerged in the second half of the 19th century. (858)

jataka—Tales of the past lives of the Buddha. See also *sutra.* (451)

joined-wood technique—A Japanese sculptural *technique* in which a *statue* is assembled from multiple wood blocks, each hollowed out to make the pieces lighter. (510, 17-13A)

jomon—Japanese, "cord markings." A type of Japanese ceramic *technique* characterized by ropelike markings. (502)

jouer—French, "to play." (899)

jouir—French, "to enjoy." (899)

journaux—French, "newspapers." (899)

Jugendstil—See *Art Nouveau.* (880)

junzi—Chinese, "superior person" or "gentleman." A person who is a model of Confucian behavior. (486)

ka—In ancient Egypt, the immortal human life force. (57)

Kaaba—Arabic, "cube." A small cubical building in Mecca, the symbolic center of the Islamic world. (295)

kabuki—Japanese theatrical performances features singing, dancing, and elaborate costumes and makeup. (1087)

kakemono—Japanese, "hanging scroll." (1076)

kalos—Greek, "beautiful." (842)

kami—Shinto deities or spirits, believed in Japan to exist in nature (mountains, waterfalls) and in charismatic people. (505)

karesansui—A Japanese dry-*landscape* (rock) garden. (1078)

karma—In Vedic religions (see *Veda*), the ethical consequences of a person's life, which determine his or her fate. (448)

katakana—The angular formal Japanese script based on Chinese characters, employed primarily for official documents, in contrast to the informal cursive *hiragana.* (512)

katholikon—The main *church* in a Greek Orthodox *monastery.* (280)

katsina—An art form of Native Americans of the Southwest, the katsina doll represents benevolent supernatural spirits (katsinas) living in mountains and water sources. (1105)

katsuogi—Wood logs placed at right angles to the *ridge beam* of a Japanese shrine to hold the thatched roof in place. (506)

kautaha—Women's organizations in Tonga (Polynesia) that produce barkcloth. (1124)

keep—A fortified tower in a castle that served as a place of last refuge. (400)

kente—Brightly colored patterned cloth woven by Asante men on horizontal looms in long, narrow strips sewn together to form *toga*-like robes. (1025, 1147)

kenten—Akan, "basket." (1147)

kerykeion—In ancient Greek mythology, a serpent-entwined herald's rod (Latin, *caduceus*), the attribute of Hermes (Roman Mercury), the messenger of the gods. (107)

ketos—Greek, "sea dragon." (241)

key block—In the production of *chiaroscuro woodcuts,* the block that carries the linear design. (694)

keystone—See *voussoir.* (177, 675)

khan—Arabic, "lord." (10-25A)

khipu—Andean record-keeping device consisting of numerous knotted strings hanging from a main cord; the strings signified, by position and *color,* numbers and categories of things. (1100)

khronos—Greek, "time." (810)

kinetic sculpture—Sculpture with moving parts. (906)

kings' gallery—The band of *statues* running the full width of the *facade* of a *Gothic cathedral* directly above the *rose window.* (395)

kiva—A square or circular underground structure that is the spiritual and ceremonial center of *Pueblo* Indian life. (548, 1-15A)

kline (pl. **klinai**)—A couch or funerary bed. A type of *sarcophagus* with a reclining portrait of the deceased on its lid. (222)

kodo—The lecture hall in a Japanese Buddhist temple complex. (501)

kofun—Japanese, "old tomb." (503)

Kogan—The name of a distinctive type of *Shino* water jar. (1083)

Kommerzbank—German, "commerce bank." (910)

kondo—Japanese, "golden hall." The main hall for worship in a Japanese Buddhist temple complex. The kondo contained *statues* of the Buddha and the *bodhisattvas* to whom the temple was dedicated. (501)

korambo—An Abelam (New Guinea) ceremonial house. (1118, 37-5A)

Koran—Islam's sacred book, composed of *surahs* (chapters) divided into verses. (295)

kore (pl. **korai**)—Greek, "young woman." An *Archaic* Greek *statue* of a young woman. (111)

koru—An unrolled spiral design used by the Maori of New Zealand in their *tattoos.* (1125)

kouros (pl. **kouroi**)—Greek, "young man." An *Archaic* Greek *statue* of a young man. (112)

krater—An ancient Greek wide-mouthed bowl for mixing wine and water. (102, 108)

Kufic—An early form of Arabic script, characterized by angularity, with the uprights forming almost right angles with the baseline. Named after the city of Kufa. (305)

kula—An exchange of white conus-shell arm ornaments and red chama-shell necklaces that takes place among the Trobriand Islanders of Papua New Guinea. (1120)

kupesi—Embroidered design tablets used by Tonga (Polynesia) women in the production of barkcloth. (1124)

kylix—An ancient Greek drinking cup with a wide bowl and two horizontal handles. (5-24A)

labrys—*Minoan* double ax. (89)

labyrinth—Maze. The English word derives from the mazelike plan of the *Minoan* palace at Knossos. (89)

lacquer—A varnishlike substance made from the sap of the Asiatic sumac tree, used to decorate wood and other organic materials. Often colored with mineral pigments, lacquer cures to great hardness and has a lustrous surface. (474, 1066)

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lady chapel—A chapel within an English church dedicated to "Our Lady," the Virgin Mary. (13-45A)
laid-and-couched work—See *embroidery.* (377)
lakshana—One of the distinguishing marks of the Buddha. The lakshanas include the *urna* and *ushnisha.* (447)
lalitasana—In Buddhist iconography, the body pose with one leg folded and the other hanging down, indicating relaxation. (483)
lamassu—Assyrian guardian in the form of a man-headed winged bull or lion. (47)
lancet—In *Gothic* architecture, a tall narrow window ending in a *pointed arch.* (386, 389, 571, 943)
landscape—A picture showing natural scenery, without narrative content. (5, 93)
Landschaft—German, "landscape." (700)
lantern—A small towerlike structure, usually with windows, capping the top of a *dome* to stabilize the dome and admit light to the interior. (719, 21-29A)
Late Antique—The non-*naturalistic* artistic *style* of the Late Roman Empire. (225)
lateral section—See *section.* (12)
laudatio—Latin, "essay of praise." (603)
leading—In the manufacture of *stained-glass* windows, the joining of colored glass pieces using lead *cames.* (392)
lectionary—A book containing passages from the *Gospels,* arranged in the sequence that they are to be read during the celebration of religious services, including the *Mass,* throughout the year. (330)
lekythos (pl. **lekythoi**)—A flask containing perfumed oil; lekythoi were often placed in Greek graves as offerings to the deceased. (142)
li—Chinese, "etiquette." (486)
libation—The pouring of liquid as part of a religious ritual. (35)
liber—Latin, "book." (386)
liberator urbis—Latin, "liberator of the city." (233)
liege lord—In *feudalism,* a landowner who grants tenure of a portion of his land to a *vassal.* (348)
line—The extension of a point along a path, made concrete in art by drawing on or chiseling into a *plane.* (7)
linear perspective—See *perspective.* (196, 582, 599, 600, 1100)
linga—In Hindu art, the depiction of Shiva as a phallus or cosmic *pillar.* (456)
linguist's staff—In Africa, a staff carried by a person authorized to speak for a king or chief. (1136)
lintel—A horizontal *beam* used to span an opening. (28, 358)
literati—In China, talented amateur painters and scholars from the landed gentry. (1022, 1061, 1062, 32-29A)
lithograph—See *lithography.* (825)
lithography—A printmaking *technique* in which the artist uses an oil-based crayon to draw directly on a stone plate and then wipes water onto the stone. When ink is rolled onto the plate, it adheres only to the drawing. The *print* produced by this method is a lithograph. (826)
liturgy (adj. **liturgical**)—The official ritual of public worship. (249)
lituus—The curved staff carried by an *augur.* (165)
local color—An object's true *color* in white light. (851)
loculus (pl. **loculi**)—An opening in the wall of a gallery in the *catacombs* in which the remains of the deceased were deposited. (241)
loggia—A gallery with an open *arcade* or a *colonnade* on one or both sides. (14-20A)
lohan—A Buddhist holy person who has achieved enlightenment and *nirvana* by suppression of all desire for earthly things. (494)
longitudinal plan—See *plan.* (249, 618)
longitudinal section—See *section.* (12)
lost-wax process—A bronze-*casting* method in which a figure is modeled in wax and covered with clay; the whole is fired, melting away the wax (French, *cire perdue*) and hardening the clay, which then becomes a *mold* for molten metal. Also called the cire perdue process. (129, 536, 1052, 22-45A)
low relief—See *relief.* (12)
lunette—A semicircular area (with the flat side down) in a wall over a door, niche, or window; also, a painting or *relief* with a semicircular frame. (241, 572, 7-54A)
lux nova—Latin, "new light." Abbot Suger's term for the light that enters a *Gothic church* through *stained-glass* windows. (384)
machicolated gallery—A gallery in a defensive tower with holes in the floor to allow stones or hot liquids to be dumped on enemies below. (435)
Madonna, ma donna—Italian, "my lady"—that is, the Virgin Mary. (640)
madrasa—An Islamic theological college adjoining and often containing a *mosque.* (308)
maebyeong—A Korean vase similar to the Chinese *meiping.* (498)
magus (pl. **magi**)—One of the three wise men from the East who presented gifts to the infant Jesus. (607)
maharana—The title ("great king") of a Mewari (Rajasthan, India) ruler. (1048)
ma-hevehe—Mythical Oceanic water spirits. The Elema people of New Guinea believed that these spirits visited their villages. (1118)
malanggan—Festivals held in honor of the deceased in New Ireland (Papua New Guinea). Also, the carvings and objects produced for these festivals. (1119)
malwiya—Arabic, "snail shell." (300)
mamluk—Arabic, "slave." Also the name of the Muslim dynasty of former Turkish slaves that ruled Egypt from 1250 to 1517. (308)
mana—In Polynesia, spiritual power. (1123)
mandala—Sanskrit term for the sacred diagram of the universe; Japanese, *mandara*. (450, 460, 509)
mandapa—*Pillared* hall of a Hindu temple. (460, 1050)
mandara—See *mandala.* (509)
mandorla—An almond-shaped *nimbus* surrounding the figure of Christ or other sacred figure. In Buddhist Japan, a lotus-petal-shaped nimbus. (276, 483)
maniera—Italian, "style" or "manner." See *Mannerism.* (722)
maniera greca—Italian, "Greek manner." The Italo-*Byzantine* painting *style* of the 13th century. (425, 648)
manifesto—A statement of an artistic movement's beliefs and aesthetic ideals. (823)
Mannerism—A *style* of later *Renaissance* art that emphasized "artifice," often involving contrived imagery not derived directly from nature. Such artworks showed a self-conscious stylization involving complexity, caprice, fantasy, and polish. Mannerist architecture tended to flout the *classical* rules of order, stability, and symmetry, sometimes to the point of parody. (668)
mano—Italian, "hand." (668)
manor—In *feudalism,* the estate of a *liege lord.* (348)
mantra—Sanskrit term for the ritual words or syllables recited in Shingon Buddhism. (509)
manulua—Triangular patterns based on the form of two birds, common in Tongan *tapa* designs. (1124)
manuscript—From the Latin *manu scriptus*; a handwritten book. (252)
mappamundi—Latin, "cloth of the world." A medieval world map. (407, 13-39A)
maqsura—In some *mosques,* a screened area in front of the *mihrab* reserved for a ruler. (293, 299)
maquette—French, "model." (901)
margrave—Military governor of the Holy Roman Empire. (413)
martyr—A person who chooses to die rather than deny his or her religious belief. See also *saint.* (241, 246)
martyrium (pl. **martyria**)—A shrine to a Christian *martyr.* (248, 655)
masquerade—In Africa, a dancing ceremony in which the participants wear masks. (553)
mass—The bulk, density, and weight of matter in *space.* (8)

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Mass—The Catholic and Orthodox ritual in which believers understand that Christ's redeeming sacrifice on the cross is repeated when the priest consecrates the bread and wine in the *Eucharist.* (245)

mastaba—Arabic, "bench." An ancient Egyptian rectangular brick or stone structure with sloping sides erected over a subterranean tomb chamber connected with the outside by a shaft. (61)

matins—In Christianity, early morning prayers. (572, 13-36A)

matte—In painting, pottery, and photography, a dull finish. (571)

maulstick—A stick used to steady the hand while painting. (699)

mausoleum (pl. **mausolea**)—A monumental tomb. The name derives from the mid-fourth-century BCE tomb of Mausolos at Halikarnassos, one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. (230, 248, 569, 1048, 5-63C)

maximus—Latin, "greatest." (182)

mbari—A ceremonial Igbo (Nigeria) house built about every 50 years in honor of the earth goddess Ala. (1141, 38-15A)

mbulu ngulu—The wood-and-metal *reliquary* guardian figures of the Kota of Gabon. (1133)

meander—An ornament, usually in bands but also covering broad surfaces, consisting of interlocking geometric motifs. An ornamental pattern of contiguous straight lines joined usually at right angles. (108)

medium (pl. **media**)—The material (for example, marble, bronze, clay, *fresco*) in which an artist works; also, in painting, the vehicle (usually liquid) that carries the pigment. (7)

megalith (adj. **megalithic**)—Greek, "great stone." A large, roughly hewn stone used in the construction of monumental prehistoric structures. (7)

megaron—The large reception hall and throne room in a *Mycenaean* palace, fronted by an open, two-*columned* porch. (96, 4-18A)

meiping—A Chinese vase of a high-shouldered shape; the *sgrafitto technique* was used in decorating such vases. (492)

mela medica—Italian, "medicinal apples" (oranges). The emblem of the Medici family of *Renaissance* Florence. (613)

melior—Latin, "better." (211)

memento mori—Latin, "reminder of death." In painting, a reminder of human mortality, usually represented by a skull. (739, 26-7B, 31-27B)

mendicants—In medieval Europe, friars belonging to the Franciscan and Dominican orders, who renounced all worldly goods, lived by contributions of laypersons (the word *mendicant* means "beggar"), and devoted themselves to preaching, teaching, and doing good works. (398, 423)

menorah—In antiquity, the Jewish sacred seven-branched candelabrum. (210)

merlon—See *crenellation.* (399)

Mesoamerica—The region that comprises Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, Honduras, and the Pacific coast of El Salvador. (520, 1093)

Mesolithic—The "middle" Stone Age, between the *Paleolithic* and the *Neolithic* ages. (23)

Messiah—The savior of the Jews prophesied in Hebrew scripture. Christians believe that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah. (244)

metamatics—The name that Swiss artist Jean Tinguely gave to the motor-driven devices he constructed to produce instant *abstract* paintings. (997)

metope—The square panel between the *triglyphs* in a *Doric frieze,* often sculpted in *relief.* (115, 116)

mezquita—Spanish, "mosque." (301)

mihrab—A semicircular niche set into the *qibla* wall of a *mosque.* (298)

mina—A unit of ancient Mesopotamian currency equal to 1/50 *shekel.* (45)

minaret—A distinctive feature of *mosque* architecture, a tower from which the faithful are called to worship. (133, 268, 297, 299)

minbar—In a *mosque,* the *pulpit* on which the *imam* stands. (298, 299)

mingei—A type of modern Japanese folk pottery. (1089)

miniatures—Small individual Indian paintings intended to be held in the hand and viewed by one or two individuals at one time. (1047, 28-26A)

Minimalism—A predominantly sculptural American trend of the 1960s characterized by works featuring a severe reduction of *form,* often to single, homogeneous units. (971)

Minoan—The prehistoric art of Crete, named after the legendary King Minos of Knossos. (87)

Minotaur—The mythical beast, half man and half bull, that inhabited the *labyrinth* of the *Minoan* palace at Knossos. (86)

Miraj—The ascension of the Prophet Muhammad to Heaven. (296)

mithuna—In South Asian art, a male-female couple embracing or engaged in sexual intercourse. (452)

moai—Large, blocky figural stone sculptures found on Rapa Nui (Easter Island) in Polynesia. (1123)

mobile—A kind of sculpture, invented by Alexander Calder, combining nonobjective organic forms and motion in balanced structures hanging from rods, wires, and colored, organically shaped plates. (950)

modernism—A movement in Western art that developed in the second half of the 19th century and sought to capture the images and sensibilities of the age. Modernist art goes beyond simply dealing with the present and involves the artist's critical examination of the premises of art itself. (850)

Modernismo—See *Art Nouveau.* (880)

module (adj. **modular**)—A basic unit of which the dimensions of the major parts of a work are multiples. The principle is used in sculpture and other art forms, but it is most often employed in architecture, where the module may be the dimensions of an important part of a building, such as the diameter of a *column.* (335, 480, 616)

moko—The form of tattooing practiced by the Maori of New Zealand. (1113, 1125)

moksha—See *nirvana.* (449, 456)

mold—A hollow form for *casting.* (11)

molding—In architecture, a continuous, narrow surface (projecting or recessed, plain or ornamented) designed to break up a surface, to accent, or to decorate. (82)

monastery—A group of buildings in which monks live together, set apart from the secular community of a town. (275)

monasticism—The religious practice in which monks live together in a *monastery* set apart from the secular community of a town. (247, 275)

monochrome (adj. **monochromatic**)—One *color.* (197, 749)

monolith (adj. **monolithic**)—A stone *column shaft* that is all in one piece (not composed of *drums*); a large, single block or piece of stone used in *megalithic* structures. Also, a colossal *statue* carved from a single piece of stone. (72, 116, 449, 562, 1098, 1123)

monotheism—The worship of one all-powerful god. (237)

Moralized Bible—A heavily illustrated Bible, each page pairing paintings of Old and New Testament episodes with explanations of their moral significance. (402)

mors—Latin, "death." (13-39B)

mortise-and-tenon system—See *tenon.* (506)

mortuary temple—In Egyptian architecture, a temple erected for the worship of a deceased *pharaoh.* (64)

mosaic—Patterns or pictures made by embedding small pieces (*tesserae*) of stone or glass in cement on surfaces such as walls and floors; also, the *technique* of making such works. (256)

mosaic tilework—An Islamic decorative *technique* in which large ceramic panels are fired, cut into smaller pieces, and set in plaster. (311)

moschophoros—Greek, "calf bearer." (112)

mosque—The Islamic building for collective worship. From the Arabic word *masjid,* meaning a "place for bowing down." (268, 299)

Mozarabic—Referring to the Christian culture of northern Spain when Islamic *caliphs* ruled southern Spain. (328)

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mudra—In Buddhist and Hindu *iconography,* a stylized and symbolic hand gesture. The dhyana (meditation) mudra consists of the right hand over the left, palms upward, in the lap. In the bhumisparsha (earth-touching) mudra, the right hand reaches down to the ground, calling the earth to witness the Buddha's enlightenment. The dharmachakra (Wheel of the Law, or teaching) mudra is a two-handed gesture with right thumb and index finger forming a circle. The abhaya (do not fear) mudra, with the right hand up, palm outward, is a gesture of protection or blessing. (447, 1054)

Mughal—"Descended from the Mongols." The Muslim rulers of India, 1526–1857. (1043)

Muhaqqaq—A cursive *style* of Islamic *calligraphy.* (311)

mullion—A vertical member that divides a window or that separates one window from another. (398, 992)

multivalent—Subject to more than one interpretation. (458)

mummification—A *technique* used by ancient Egyptians to preserve human bodies so that they may serve as the eternal home of the immortal *ka.* (61)

mummy—An embalmed Egyptian corpse; see *mummification.* (61)

muqarnas—Stucco decorations of Islamic buildings in which stalactite-like forms break a structure's solidity. (284, 307, 9-26C)

mural—A wall painting. (16)

muralist—A *mural* painter. (20)

Mycenaean—The prehistoric art of the Late *Helladic* period in Greece, named after the citadel of Mycenae. (87)

mystery play—A dramatic enactment of the holy mysteries of the Christian faith, performed at *church* portals and in city squares. (569, 12-38A)

mystic marriage—A spiritual marriage of a woman with Christ. (583)

Nabis—Hebrew, "prophet." A group of *Symbolist* painters influenced by Paul Gauguin. (871)

naos—See *cella.* (115)

narthex—A porch or vestibule of a *church,* generally *colonnaded* or *arcaded* and preceding the *nave.* (249)

natatio—The swimming pool in a Roman bathing establishment. (225)

naturalism (adj. **naturalistic**)—The *style* of painted or sculpted representation based on close observation of the natural world that was at the core of the *classical* tradition. (15)

Naturalistic Surrealism—See *Surrealism.* (915)

nave—The central area of an ancient Roman *basilica* or of a *church,* demarcated from *aisles* by *piers* or *columns.* (191, 249, 988)

nave arcade—In *basilica* architecture, the series of *arches* supported by *piers* or *columns* separating the *nave* from the *aisles.* (249, 389)

ndop—A portrait figure of a seated Kuba king. (563)

nduen fobara—A Kalabari Ijaw (Nigeria) ancestral screen in honor of a deceased chief of a trading house. (1131)

necropolis—Greek, "city of the dead." A large burial area or cemetery. (62)

nembutsu—The six-syllable Japanese prayer professing faith in the compassion of the Amida Buddha. (513)

nemes—In ancient Egypt, the linen headdress worn by the *pharaoh,* with the *uraeus* cobra of kingship on the front. (65)

Neo-Baroque—The revival of *Baroque style* in later, especially 19th-century, architecture. (839)

Neoclassicism—A *style* of art and architecture that emerged in the late 18th century as part of a general revival of interest in *classical* cultures. Neoclassical artists adopted themes and *styles* from ancient Greece and Rome. (771)

Neo-Gothic—The revival of the *Gothic style* in architecture, especially in the 19th century. (837, 1051, 26-27A)

Neolithic—The "new" Stone Age. (23, 553)

Neoplasticism—The Dutch artist Piet Mondrian's theory of "pure plastic art," an ideal balance between the universal and the individual using an *abstract* formal vocabulary. (922)

Neo-Platonism—An ancient school of philosophy based on the ideas of Plato, revived during the *Renaissance* and modified by the teachings of Christianity. (650)

Nereids—Sea nymphs; daughters of the Greek god Nereus. (251)

Neue Sachlichkeit—German, "new objectivity." An art movement that grew directly out of the World War I experiences of a group of German artists who sought to show the horrors of the war and its effects. (912)

nezumi—Japanese, "mouse-gray" (ceramics). (1083)

ngatu—Decorated *tapa* made by women in Tonga. (1124)

niello—A black metallic alloy. (99)

nihonga—A 19th-century Japanese painting *style* that incorporated some Western *techniques* in Japanese-style painting, as opposed to *yoga* (Western painting). (1089, 33-11A)

nimbus—A *halo* or aureole appearing around the head of a holy figure to signify divinity. (259, 483)

nio—A Japanese guardian figure. (17-18A)

nipote—Italian, "nephew." (21-40A)

nirvana—In Buddhism and Hinduism, a blissful state brought about by absorption of the individual soul or consciousness into the supreme spirit. Also called moksha. (447, 449, 28-35A)

nishiki-e—Japanese, "brocade pictures." Japanese polychrome *woodcut prints* valued for their sumptuous *colors.* (1087)

nkisi n'kondi—A power figure carved by the Kongo people of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Such images embodied spirits believed to heal and give life or to be capable of inflicting harm or death. (1134)

nomarch—Egyptian, "great overlord." A regional governor during the Middle Kingdom. (3-16A)

nonobjective (adj.)—Describing a painting or sculpture composed of shapes unrelated to objects in the visible world. (910)

Nun—In ancient Egypt, the primeval waters from which the creator god emerged. (60)

nyim—A Kuba king. (564)

nymphs—In *classical* mythology, female divinities of springs, caves, and woods. (107, 593)

oba—An African sacred king. (563, 19-14A)

obelisk—A tall four-sided *monolithic pillar* with a pyramidal top—symbolic of the Egyptian sun god Re. (72, 714)

oculus (pl. **oculi**)—Latin, "eye." The round central opening of a *dome.* Also, a small round window in a *Gothic cathedral.* (186, 387, 389, 14-5B)

odalisque—A woman in a Turkish harem. (807)

ogee arch—An *arch* composed of two double-curving lines meeting at a point. (440, 13-44A)

ogive (adj. **ogival**)—The diagonal *rib* of a *Gothic vault*; a pointed, or Gothic, *arch.* (387, 421, 989, 21-29A)

Ogoga—A Yoruba king. (1139)

oil painting—A painting *technique* using oil-based pigments that rose to prominence in northern Europe in the 15th century and is now the standard medium for painting on canvas. (571)

oni—An African ruler. (557)

Op Art—An artistic movement of the 1960s in which painters sought to produce optical illusions of motion and depth using only geometric forms on two-dimensional surfaces. (969)

opere francigeno—See *opus francigenum.* (407)

opisthodomos—In ancient Greek architecture, a porch at the rear of a temple, set against the blank back wall of the *cella.* (115)

optical mixture—The visual effect of juxtaposed *complementary colors.* (863)

optical representation—The representation of people and objects seen from a fixed viewpoint. (27)

optimus—Latin, "best." (211)

opus francigenum—Latin, "French work." Architecture in the *style* of *Gothic* France; *opere francigeno* (adj.), "in the French manner." (381)

opus modernum—Latin, "modern work." The late medieval term for *Gothic* art and architecture. Also called *opus francigenum.* (381)

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opus reticulatum—An ancient Roman method of facing *concrete* walls with lozenge-shaped bricks or stones to achieve a netlike ornamental surface pattern. (11-19A)
oracle—A prophetic message. (5-16A)
oracle bone—In Shang China, an animal bone inscribed with a question that priests believed was answered by the cracks produced when the bone was heated. (474)
orant—In Early Christian art, a figure with both arms raised in the ancient gesture of prayer. (241)
oratory—The *church* of a Christian *monastery.* (275)
orbiculum—A disklike opening. (992)
orchestra—Greek, "dancing place." In ancient Greek theaters, the circular piece of earth with a hard and level surface on which the performance took place. (151)
order—In *classical* architecture, a *style* represented by a characteristic design of the *columns* and *entablature.* See also *superimposed orders.* (116)
Orientalism—The fascination on the part of Westerners with Oriental cultures, especially characteristic of the *Romanticism* movement in 19th-century European painting. (806)
Orientalizing—The early phase of *Archaic* Greek art (seventh century BCE), so named because of the adoption of forms and motifs from ancient Mesopotamia, Persia, and Egypt. See also *Daedalic.* (109)
Orphism—A form of *Cubism* developed by the French painter Robert Delaunay in which color plays an important role. (902)
orrery—A mechanical model of the solar system demonstrating how the planets revolve around the sun. (780)
orthogonal—A line imagined to be behind and perpendicular to the picture *plane*; the orthogonals in a painting appear to recede toward a *vanishing point* on the horizon. (599)
orthogonal plan—The imposition of a strict grid *plan* on a site, regardless of the terrain, so that all streets meet at right angles. See also *Hippodamian plan.* (154)
Ottonian (adj.)—Pertaining to the empire of Otto I and his successors. (337)
overglaze—In *porcelain* decoration, the *technique* of applying mineral *colors* over the *glaze* after the work has been fired. The overglaze colors, or *enamels,* fuse to the glazed surface in a second firing at a much lower temperature than the main firing. See also *underglaze.* (1063)
pa—Japanese, "school." (1084)
pagoda—An East Asian tower, usually associated with a Buddhist temple, having a multiplicity of winged *eaves*; thought to be derived from the Indian *stupa.* (492, 501, 1055)
paintrix—Latin, "woman painter." (699)
pala—A panel placed behind and over the altar in a *church.* (9-26A)
palaestra—An ancient Greek and Roman exercise area, usually framed by a *colonnade.* In Greece, the palaestra was an independent building; in Rome, palaestras were also frequently incorporated into a bathing complex. (131, 225)
palazzo (pl. **palazzi**)—Italian, "palace." (618)
palazzo pubblico—Italian, "public palace." City hall. (434)
Paleolithic—The "old" Stone Age, during which humankind produced the first sculptures and paintings. (15, 553)
palette—A thin board with a thumb hole at one end on which an artist lays and mixes *colors*; any surface so used. Also, the colors or kinds of colors characteristically used by an artist. In ancient Egypt, a slate slab used for preparing makeup. (20, 59)
palette knife—A flat tool used to scrape paint off the *palette.* Artists sometimes also use the palette knife in place of a brush to apply paint directly to the canvas. (824)
palladium—A protective image. (1055)
palmette—A *classical* decorative motif in the form of stylized palm leaves. (621)
Pantokrator—Greek, "ruler of all." Christ as ruler and judge. (281)
papier collé—French, "pasted paper." See *collage.* (900)
papyrus—A plant native to Egypt and adjacent lands used to make paperlike writing material; also, the material or any writing on it. (57)
parade helmet—A masklike helmet worn by Roman soldiers on special ceremonial occasions. (349)
parallel hatching—See *hatching.* (590)
parapet—A low, protective wall along the edge of a balcony, roof, or bastion. (140, 435)
parchment—Lambskin prepared as a surface for painting or writing. (252, 640)
parekklesion—The side chapel in a *Byzantine church.* (288)
parinirvana—Image of the reclining Buddha, a position often interpreted as representing his death. (447)
parthenos—Greek, "virgin." The epithet of Athena, the virgin goddess. (107)
passage grave—A prehistoric tomb with a long stone corridor leading to a burial chamber covered by a great *tumulus.* (27)
passio—Latin, "suffering." (245)
passional—A Christian book containing the lives of *saints.* (324, 368)
Passover—The annual feast celebrating the release of the Jews from bondage to the *pharaohs* of Egypt. (244)
paten—A large shallow bowl or plate for the bread used in the *Eucharist.* (273)
patrician—A Roman freeborn landowner. (183, 798)
patron—The person or entity that pays an artist to produce individual artworks or employs an artist on a continuing basis. (6)
patronus—Latin, "patron." A freeborn Roman, often a slave owner, to whom a *cliens* of lesser stature owes allegiance. (193)
Pax Augustus—Latin, "Augustan Peace." (201)
Pax Romana—Latin, "Roman Peace." (201)
pax vobis—Latin, "peace unto you." (356)
pebble mosaic—A *mosaic* made of irregularly shaped stones of various *colors.* (148, 256)
pectoral—An ornament on the chest. (167)
pediment—In *classical* architecture, the triangular space (gable) at the end of a building, formed by the ends of the sloping roof above the *colonnade*; also, an ornamental feature having this shape. (115, 116, 616)
pendant—The large hanging terminal element of a *Gothic* fan *vault.* (410)
pendentive—A concave, triangular section of a hemisphere, four of which provide the transition from a square area to the circular base of a covering *dome.* Although pendentives appear to be hanging (pendant) from the dome, they in fact support it. (270, 618, 650)
Pentateuch—The first five books of the Old Testament. (237)
peplos (pl. **peploi**)—A simple, long, belted garment of wool worn by women in ancient Greece. (114)
Performance Art—An American *avant-garde* art trend of the 1960s that made time an integral element of art. It produced works in which movements, gestures, and sounds of persons communicating with an audience replace physical objects. Documentary photographs are generally the only evidence remaining after these events. See also *Happenings.* (995, 1090)
period style—See *style.* (3)
peripteral—See *peristyle.* (115)
peristyle—In *classical* architecture, a *colonnade* all around the *cella* and its porch(es). A peripteral colonnade consists of a single row of *columns* on all sides; a dipteral colonnade has a double row all around. (115)
Perpendicular—An English Late *Gothic style* of architecture distinguished by the pronounced verticality of its decorative details. (409, 26-27A)
personal style—See *style.* (4)
personification—An *abstract* idea represented in bodily form. (5)
perspective—A method of presenting an illusion of the three-dimensional world on a two-dimensional surface. In linear perspective, the

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most common type, all parallel lines or surface edges converge on one, two, or three vanishing points located with reference to the eye level of the viewer (the horizon line of the picture), and associated objects are rendered smaller the farther from the viewer they are intended to seem. Atmospheric, or aerial, perspective creates the illusion of distance by the greater diminution of *color* intensity, the shift in color toward an almost neutral blue, and the blurring of contours as the intended distance between eye and object increases. (3, 599)

pfemba—A Yombe (Democratic Republic of Congo) mother-and-child group. (1141)

pharaoh (adj. **pharaonic**)—An ancient Egyptian king. (71)

phersu—A masked man who appears in scenes of Etruscan funerary games. (165)

philosophe—French, "thinker, philosopher." The term applied to French intellectuals of the *Enlightenment.* (779)

phoibos—Greek, "radiant." The epithet of the Greek god Apollo. (107)

photomontage—A *composition* made by pasting together pictures or parts of pictures, especially photographs. See also *collage.* (910)

Photorealism—See *Superrealism.* (979)

photos—Greek, "light." (843)

physical evidence—In art history, the examination of the materials used to produce an artwork in order to determine its date. (2)

piano nobile—Italian, "noble floor." The main (second) floor of a building. (623)

piazza—Italian, "plaza." (498)

pictograph—A picture, usually stylized, that represents an idea; also, writing using such means; also, painting on rock. See also *hieroglyphic.* (31)

picturesque—See *picturesque garden.* (25-28A)

picturesque garden—An "unordered" garden designed in accord with the *Enlightenment* taste for the natural. (795)

pier—A vertical, freestanding masonry support. (12)

Pietà—A painted or sculpted representation of the Virgin Mary mourning over the body of the dead Christ. (245, 414, 579, 646, 894)

pietra dura—Stonework inlaid with precious and semiprecious stones. (1048)

pilaster—A flat, rectangular, vertical member projecting from a wall of which it forms a part. It usually has a *base* and a *capital* and is often *fluted.* (141, 177, 604, 621)

pillar—Usually a weight-carrying member, such as a *pier* or a *column*; sometimes an isolated, freestanding structure used for commemorative purposes. (72, 3-23A)

pinakotheke—Greek, "picture gallery." An ancient Greek building for the display of paintings on wood panels. (138)

pinnacle—In *Gothic churches,* a sharply pointed ornament capping the *piers* or flying *buttresses*; also used on *church facades.* (389, 571)

piombo—Italian, "lead" or "seal." (22-11A)

pittura—Italian, "painting. (725)

Pittura Metafisica—Italian, "metaphysical painting." An early-20th-century Italian art movement led by Giorgio de Chirico, whose work conveys an eerie mood and visionary quality. (916)

pixels—Shortened form of "picture elements." The tiny boxes that make up digital images displayed on a computer monitor. (1000)

plan—The horizontal arrangement of the parts of a building or of the buildings and streets of a city or town, or a drawing or diagram showing such an arrangement. In an axial plan, the parts of a building are organized longitudinally, or along a given axis; in a central plan, the parts of the structure are of equal or almost equal dimensions around the center. (12)

plane—A flat surface. (7)

plate tracery—See *tracery.* (392)

Plateresque—A *style* of Spanish architecture characterized by elaborate decoration based on *Gothic,* Italian *Renaissance,* and Islamic sources; derived from the Spanish word *platero,* meaning "silversmith." (705)

platero—See *Plateresque.* (705)

plebeian—The Roman social class that included small farmers, merchants, and freed slaves. (183)

plein air—An approach to painting very popular among the *Impressionists,* in which an artist sketches outdoors to achieve a quick impression of light, air, and *color.* (852)

poesia—A term describing "poetic" art, notably Venetian *Renaissance* painting, which emphasizes the lyrical and sensual. (662)

pointed arch—A narrow *arch* of pointed profile, in contrast to a semicircular arch. (3, 303, 348, 387, 12-10B, 26-27A)

pointillism—A system of painting devised by the 19th-century French painter Georges Seurat. The artist separates *color* into its component parts and then applies the component colors to the canvas in tiny dots (points). The image becomes comprehensible only from a distance, when the viewer's eyes optically blend the pigment dots. Sometimes referred to as divisionism. (864)

polis (pl. **poleis**)—An independent *city-state* in ancient Greece. (106)

polychrome—Multicolored. (731)

polyptych—An *altarpiece* composed of more than three sections. (571)

polytheism—The belief in multiple gods. (237)

pontifex maximus—Latin, "chief priest" (of the Roman state religion). (201)

Pop Art—A term coined by British art critic Lawrence Alloway to refer to art, first appearing in the 1950s, that incorporated elements from consumer culture, the mass media, and popular culture, such as images from motion pictures and advertising. (973)

porcelain—Extremely fine, hard, white ceramic. Unlike *stoneware,* porcelain is made from a fine white clay called kaolin mixed with ground petuntse, a type of feldspar. True porcelain is translucent and rings when struck. (473)

portico—A roofed *colonnade*; also an entrance porch. (155, 609)

positivism—A Western philosophical model that promoted science as the mind's highest achievement. (822)

post-and-lintel system—A system of construction in which two posts support a *lintel.* (28)

Post-Impressionism—The term used to describe the stylistically heterogeneous work of the group of late-19th-century painters in France, including van Gogh, Gauguin, Seurat, and Cézanne, who more systematically examined the properties and expressive qualities of *line,* pattern, *form,* and *color* than the *Impressionists* did. (861)

postmodernism—A reaction against *modernist formalism,* which was seen as elitist. Far more encompassing and accepting than the more rigid confines of modernist practice, postmodernism offers something for everyone by accommodating a wide range of *styles,* subjects, and formats, from traditional easel painting to *installation* and from *abstraction* to *illusionistic* scenes. Postmodern art often includes irony or reveals a self-conscious awareness of the position of the artist in the history of art. (883, 956, 990)

Post-Painterly Abstraction—An American art movement that emerged in the 1960s and was characterized by a cool, detached rationality emphasizing tighter pictorial control. See also *color-field painting* and *hard-edge painting.* (966)

pou tokomanawa—A sculpture of an ancestor that supports the *ridge beam* of a Maori (New Zealand) meeting house. (1113)

pouncing—The method of transferring a sketch onto paper or a wall by tracing, using thin paper or transparent gazelle skin placed on top of the sketch, pricking the contours of the design into the skin or paper with a pin, placing the skin or paper on the surface to be painted, and forcing black pigment through the holes. (508, 1047)

poupou—A decorated wall panel in a Maori (New Zealand) meeting house. (1125)

Poussiniste—A member of the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture during the early 18th century who followed Nicolas Poussin in insisting that *form* was the most important element of painting. See also *Rubéniste.* (775)

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powwow—A traditional Native American ceremony featuring dancing in quilled, beaded, and painted costumes. (1110)
prang—The distinctive Thai form of Buddhist *stupa* derived from the Khmer temple architecture of Cambodia. (1054)
prasada—In Hindu worship, food that becomes sacred by first being given to a god. (462)
Precisionism—An American art movement of the 1920s and 1930s. The Precisionists concentrated on portraying manmade environments in a clear and concise manner to express the beauty of perfect and precise machine forms. (937)
pre-Columbian (adj.)—The cultures that flourished in the Western Hemisphere before the arrival of Christopher Columbus and the beginning of European contact and conquest. (520)
predella—The narrow ledge on which an *altarpiece* rests on an altar. (419)
prefabricated architecture—Construction using structural elements manufactured in advance and transported to the building site ready for assembly. (841)
prefiguration—In Early Christian art, the depiction of Old Testament persons and events as prophetic forerunners of Christ and New Testament events. (241, 582, 595)
Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood—A 19th-century English art movement whose members wished to create art free from what they considered the artificial manner propagated in the academies by the successors of Raphael. (834)
primary colors—Red, yellow, and blue—the *colors* from which all other colors may be derived. (7, 863)
primitivism—The incorporation in early-20th-century Western art of stylistic elements from the artifacts of Africa, Oceania, and the native peoples of the Americas. (897)
princeps—Latin, "first citizen." The title Augustus and his successors as Roman emperor used to distinguish themselves from Hellenistic monarchs. (201, 273)
print—An artwork on paper, usually produced in multiple impressions. (588)
pronaos—The space, or porch, in front of the *cella,* or naos, of an ancient Greek temple. (115)
proportion—The relationship in size of the parts of persons, buildings, or objects, often based on a *module.* (10)
propylaia—Greek, "gates." (138)
proscenium—The part of a theatrical stage in front of the curtain. (711)
prostyle—A *classical* temple *plan* in which the *columns* are only in front of the *cella* and not on the sides or back. (115)
protome—The head, forelegs, and part of the body of an animal. (51)
provenance—Origin or source; *findspot.* (3, 87)
psalter—A book containing the Psalms. (572)
pseudoperipteral—In Roman architecture, a pseudoperipteral temple has a series of *engaged columns* all around the sides and back of the *cella* to give the appearance of a *peripteral colonnade.* (184)
pueblo—A communal multistoried dwelling made of stone or *adobe* brick by the Native Americans of the Southwest. Uppercase *Pueblo* refers to various groups that occupied such dwellings. (547, 1102)
pukao—A small red scoria cylinder serving as a topknot or hat on Easter Island *moai.* (1123)
pulpit—A raised platform in a *church* or *mosque* on which a priest or *imam* stands while leading the religious service. (420)
pulque—An intoxicating drink, similar to tequila, consumed during *Mesoamerican* religious rituals. (18-8A)
punchwork—Tooled decorative work in *gold leaf.* (429)
Purism—An early-20th-century art movement that embraced the "machine aesthetic" and sought purity of *form* in the clean functional lines of industrial machinery. (903)
purlins—Horizontal *beams* in a roof structure, parallel to the *ridge beams,* resting on the main *rafters* and giving support to the secondary rafters. (480)
putto (pl. **putti**)—A cherubic young boy. (604, 1043)
pylon—The wide entrance gateway of an Egyptian temple, characterized by its sloping walls. (74)
pylon temple—An Egyptian temple entered through a monumental *pylon*, typical of the New Kingdom. (74)
pyxis (pl. **pyxides**)—A cylindrical container with a hemispherical lid. (304)
qibla—The direction (toward Mecca) that Muslims face when praying. (299, 560, 34-5A)
quadrant arch—An *arch* whose curve extends for one-quarter of a circle's circumference. (375)
quadrifrons—Latin, "four-fronted." An *arch* with four equal *facades* and four *arcuated bays.* (23-23A)
quadro riportato—A ceiling design in which painted scenes are arranged in panels that resemble framed pictures transferred to the surface of a shallow, curved *vault.* (722)
quatrefoil—A shape or *plan* in which the parts assume the form of a cloverleaf. (438)
Quattrocento—Italian, "400"—that is, the 15th century (the 1400s) in Italy. (593)
quoins—The large, sometimes *rusticated,* usually slightly projecting stones that often form the corners of the exterior walls of masonry buildings. (658)
radiating chapels—In medieval *churches,* chapels for the display of *relics* that opened directly onto the *ambulatory* and the *transept.* (351)
radiocarbon dating—A method of measuring the decay rate of carbon isotopes in organic matter to determine the age of organic materials such as wood and fiber. (16, 554)
rafters—The sloping supporting timber planks that run from the *ridge beam* of a roof to its edge. (480)
raking cornice—The *cornice* on the sloping sides of a *pediment.* (116)
ramparts—Defensive wall circuits. (399)
ratha—A small, freestanding Hindu temple *carved* from a huge boulder. (458)
Rayograph—A photograph produced without a camera by placing objects on photographic paper and then exposing the paper to light; named for the American artist Man Ray. (950)
Rayonnant—The "radiant" style of *Gothic* architecture, dominant in the second half of the 13th century and associated with the French royal court of Louis IX at Paris. (398)
Realism (adj. **Realist**)—A movement that emerged in mid-19th-century France. Realist artists represented the subject matter of everyday life (especially subjects that previously had been considered inappropriate for depiction) in a relatively *naturalistic* mode. (822)
recto—The front side of a manuscript *folio.* (252)
red-figure painting—In later Greek pottery, the silhouetting of red figures against a black background, with painted linear details; the reverse of *black-figure painting.* (122)
refectory—The dining hall of a Christian *monastery.* (275, 335, 609)
regional style—See *style.* (3)
Regionalism—A 20th-century American art movement that portrayed American rural life in a clearly readable, *Realist* style. Major Regionalists include Grant Wood and Thomas Hart Benton. (941)
register—One of a series of superimposed bands or *friezes* in a pictorial narrative, or the particular levels on which motifs are placed. (31)
relics—The body parts, clothing, or objects associated with a holy figure, such as the Buddha or Christ or a Christian *saint.* Also, in Africa, the bones of ancestors. (248, 349, 443)
relief—In sculpture, figures projecting from a background of which they are part. The degree of relief is designated high, low (bas), or sunken. In the last, the artist cuts the design into the surface so that the highest projecting parts of the image are no higher than the surface itself. See also *repoussé.* (12)
relief sculpture—See *relief.* (12)
relieving triangle—In *Mycenaean* architecture, the triangular opening above the *lintel* that serves to lighten the weight to be carried by the lintel itself. (97, 98)

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reliquary—A container for holding *relics.* (342, 349, 1133)
ren—Chinese, "human-heartedness." The quality that the ideal Confucian *junzi* possesses. (486)
Renaissance—French, "rebirth." The term used to describe the history, culture, and art of 14th- through 16th-century western Europe during which artists consciously revived the *classical* style. (419, 426, 581)
renovatio—Latin, "renewal." During the *Carolingian* period, Charlemagne sought to revive the culture of ancient Rome (*renovatio imperii Romani*). (329, 420)
renovatio imperii Romani—See *renovatio.* (329)
repoussé—Formed in *relief* by beating a metal plate from the back, leaving the impression on the face. The metal sheet is hammered into a hollow *mold* of wood or some other pliable material and finished with a graver. See also *relief.* (53, 99, 251, 332)
res gestae—Latin, "achievements." (7-40A)
respond—An engaged *column, pilaster,* or similar element that either projects from a *compound pier* or some other supporting device or is bonded to a wall and carries one end of an *arch.* (389)
retable—An architectural screen or wall above and behind an altar, usually containing painting, sculpture, or other decorations. See also *altarpiece.* (571)
retablo—Spanish, "altarpiece." (731)
reverentissimo—Latin, "most revered." (362)
revetment—In architecture, a wall covering or facing. (186, 427)
rhyton—A drinking vessel. (53)
rib—A relatively slender, molded masonry *arch* that projects from a surface. In *Gothic* architecture, the ribs form the framework of the *vaulting.* A diagonal rib is one of the ribs that form the X of a *groin vault.* A transverse rib crosses the *nave* or *aisle* at a 90-degree angle. (12, 366, 21-29A)
rib vault—A *vault* in which the diagonal and transverse *ribs* compose a structural skeleton that partially supports the masonry *web* between them. (366, 387)
ridge beam—The *beam* running the length of a building below the peak of the gabled roof. (117, 506, 1113)
rinascità—Italian, "rebirth." (426)
rocaille—See *Rococo.* (772)
Rococo—A style, primarily of interior design, that appeared in France around 1700. Rococo interiors featured lavish decoration, including small sculptures, ornamental mirrors, easel paintings, *tapestries, reliefs,* wall paintings, and elegant furniture. The term *Rococo* derived from the French word *rocaille* (pebble) and referred to the small stones and shells used to decorate grotto interiors. (772)
Romanesque—"Roman-like." A term used to describe the history, culture, and art of medieval western Europe from ca. 1050 to ca. 1200. (347, 348, 382, 571)
Romanticism—A Western cultural phenomenon, beginning around 1750 and ending about 1850, that gave precedence to feeling and imagination over reason and thought. More narrowly, the art movement that flourished from about 1800 to 1840. (795, 801)
roof comb—The elaborately sculpted vertical projection surmounting a Maya temple-pyramid. (529)
rose window—A circular *stained-glass* window. (384)
rostrum—A speaker's platform. (957)
rotulus (pl. **rotuli**)—The manuscript scroll used by Egyptians, Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans; predecessor of the *codex.* (1093)
rotunda—The circular area under a *dome*; also, a domed round building. (497, 571)
roundel—See *tondo.* (393, 618)
rubbing—An impression of a relief made by placing paper over the surface and rubbing with a pencil or crayon. (479)
Rubéniste—A member of the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture during the early 18th century who followed Peter Paul Rubens in insisting that *color* was the most important element of painting. See also *Poussiniste.* (775)
rustication (adj. **rusticated**)—To give a rustic appearance by roughening the surfaces and beveling the edges of stone blocks to emphasize the joints between them. Rustication is a *technique* employed in ancient Roman architecture, and was also popular during the *Renaissance,* especially for stone *courses* at the ground-floor level. (205, 619, 659, 14-19B)
sabi—Japanese; the value found in the old and weathered, suggesting the tranquility reached in old age. (1082)
sacra conversazione—Italian, "holy conversation." A style of *altarpiece* painting popular after the middle of the 15th century, in which *saints* from different epochs are joined in a unified space and seem to be conversing either with one another or with the audience. (660)
sacra rappresentazione (pl. **sacre rappresentazioni**)—Italian, "holy representation." A more elaborate version of a *mystery play* performed for a lay audience by a *confraternity.* (429)
sacramentary—A Christian religious book incorporating the prayers that priests recite during *Mass.* (324)
saint—From the Latin word *sanctus,* meaning "made holy by God." Applied to persons who suffered and died for their Christian faith or who merited reverence for their Christian devotion while alive. In the Roman Catholic Church, a worthy deceased Catholic who is canonized by the pope. (241)
Saint-Simonianism—An early-19th-century utopian movement that emphasized the education and enfranchisement of women. (827)
sakkos—The tunic worn by a *Byzantine* priest. (9-35A)
saltcellar—A salt dispenser. (564)
saltimbanque—An itinerant circus performer. (29-10A)
Samarqand ware—A type of Islamic pottery produced in Samarqand and Nishapur in which the ceramists formed the shape of the vessel from dark pink clay and then immersed it in a tub of white slip, over which they painted ornamental or *calligraphic* decoration and which they sealed with a transparent *glaze* before firing. (306)
samsara—In Hindu belief, the rebirth of the soul into a succession of lives. (448)
samurai—Medieval Japanese warriors. (513, 1076)
sanctuary—A sacred site for ritual activity; a religious complex centered on a temple. (34)
sanctus—Latin, "holy." (246)
sand painting—A temporary painting *technique* using sand, varicolored powdered stones, corn pollen, and charcoal. Sand paintings, also called dry paintings, are integral parts of sacred Navajo rituals. (1102)
sangha—A Buddhist monastic order. (451)
sapienza—Italian, "knowledge" or "wisdom." (718)
sarcophagus (pl. **sarcophagi**)—Greek, "consumer of flesh." A coffin, usually of stone. (85, 421, 530)
Satimbe—"Sister on the head." A Dogon (Mali) mask representing all women. (1142)
saturation—See *color.* (7, 863)
satyr—A Greek mythological follower of Dionysos having a man's upper body, a goat's hindquarters and horns, and a horse's ears and tail. (158, 27-34A)
scarab—An Egyptian gem in the shape of a beetle. (61)
scarification—Decorative markings on the human body made by cutting or piercing the flesh to create scars. (556)
Scholasticism—The *Gothic* school of philosophy in which scholars applied Aristotle's system of rational inquiry to the interpretation of religious belief. (388)
school—A chronological and stylistic classification of works of art with a stipulation of place. (6)
scissors arches—A pair of *arches* resembling scissors, comprising an inverted arch above a traditional arch; used in the nave of Wells Cathedral in the 14th century. (409)
screen facade—A *facade* that does not correspond to the structure of the building behind it. (12-12A)

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scriptorium (pl. **scriptoria**)—The writing studio of a *monastery.* (325)
scudo (pl. **scudi**)—Italian, "shield." A coin denomination in 17th-century Italy. (725)
sculpture in the round—Freestanding figures, *carved* or *modeled* in three dimensions. (12)
seal—In Asian painting, a stamp affixed to a painting to identify the artist, the *calligrapher,* or the owner. See also *cylinder seals.* (1061)
Second Style mural—The *style* of Roman *mural* painting in which the aim was to dissolve the confining walls of a room and replace them with the illusion of a three-dimensional world constructed in the artist's imagination. (194)
secondary colors—Orange, green, and purple, obtained by mixing pairs of *primary colors* (red, yellow, blue). (7)
section—In architecture, a diagram or representation of a part of a structure or building along an imaginary *plane* that passes through it vertically. Drawings showing a theoretical slice across a structure's width are lateral sections. Those cutting through a building's length are longitudinal sections. See also *elevation* and *cutaway.* (12)
sedes sapientiae—Latin, "throne of wisdom." A *Romanesque* sculptural type depicting the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child in her lap. (364)
segmental pediment—A *pediment* with a curved instead of a triangular *cornice.* (658)
senate—Latin senatus, "council of elders." The Senate was the main legislative body in Roman constitutional government. (183)
serdab—A small concealed chamber in an Egyptian *mastaba* for the *statue* of the deceased. (61)
Severe Style—The Early *Classical style* of Greek sculpture, ca. 480–450 BCE. (126)
sexpartite vault—See *vault.* (372)
sfumato—Italian, "smoky." A smokelike haziness that subtly softens outlines in painting; particularly applied to the paintings of Leonardo da Vinci and Correggio. (574, 638)
sgrafitto—A Chinese ceramic *technique* in which the design is *incised* through a colored *slip.* (492)
shaft—The tall, cylindrical part of a *column* between the *capital* and the *base.* (51, 116, 389)
Shaka triad—A three-figure group with a central Buddha flanked on each side by a *bodhisattva.* (501)
shakti—In Hinduism, the female power of the deity Devi (or Goddess), which animates the matter of the cosmos. (456)
shaman (adj. **shamanic**)—A religious leader who gains access to the world of spirits through trances. (17, 31-52A)
shaykh—An Islamic mystic *saint.* (1043)
shekel—A unit of ancient Mesopotamian currency. (45)
shikara—The beehive-shaped tower of a northern-style Hindu temple. (460)
shingon—The Japanese term for the words or syllables recited in Buddhist rituals. Uppercase *Shingon* refers to the primary form of Buddhism in Japan through the mid-10th century. (509)
Shino—Japanese ceramic wares produced during the late 16th and early 17th centuries in kilns in Mino. (1083)
shogun—In 12th- through 19th-century Japan, a military governor who managed the country on behalf of a figurehead emperor. (513, 1076)
shogunate—The Japanese military government of the 12th through 19th centuries. (513, 1076)
sibyl—A Greco-Roman mythological prophetess. (575, 650)
signoria—Italian, "lordship." The governing body of medieval and *Renaissance* Florence. (14-19B)
silentiary—An usher responsible for maintaining silence in the *Byzantine* imperial palace in Constantinople. (268)
silk-screen printing—An industrial printing *technique* that creates a sharp-edged image by pressing ink through a design on silk or a similar tightly woven porous fabric stretched tight on a frame. (975)
silverpoint—A *stylus* made of silver, used in drawing in the 14th and 15th centuries because of the fine *line* it produced and the sharp point it maintained. (640)
Simultanéisme—Robert Delaunay's version of *Cubism* in which he created spatial effects and kaleidoscopic movement solely through *color* contrasts; also known as *Orphism.* (903)
simultaneous contrasts—The phenomenon of juxtaposed *colors* affecting the eye's reception of each, as when a painter places dark green next to light green, making the former appear even darker and the latter even lighter. See also *successive contrasts.* (863)
sinopia—A burnt-orange pigment used in *fresco* painting to transfer a *cartoon* to the *arriccio* before the artist paints the plaster. (428)
siren—In ancient Greek mythology, a creature that was part bird and part woman. (111)
sistrum—An Egyptian percussion instrument or rattle. (95)
site-specific art—Art created for a specific location. See also *Environmental Art.* (995)
skene—Greek, "stage." The stage of a *classical* theater. (151)
skenographia—Greek, "scene painting"; the Greek term for *perspective* painting. (196)
skiagraphia—Greek, "shadow painting." The Greek term for shading, said to have been invented by Apollodoros, an Athenian painter of the fifth century BCE. (148)
slip—A mixture of fine clay and water used in ceramic decoration. (119, 473)
slit-gong—A hollow, usually cylindrical, bamboo or wood percussion instrument. (1117)
socii—Latin, "allies." (191)
solidus (pl. **solidi**)—A *Byzantine* gold coin. (271)
space—In art history, both the actual area that an object occupies or a building encloses and the *illusionistic* representation of space in painting and sculpture. (8)
spandrel—The roughly triangular space enclosed by the curves of adjacent *arches* and a horizontal member connecting their vertexes; also, the space enclosed by the curve of an *arch* and an enclosing right angle. The area between the arch proper and the framing *columns* and *entablature.* (209, 393)
spectrum—The range or band of visible *colors* in natural light. (7)
sphinx—A mythical Egyptian beast with the body of a lion and the head of a human. (65)
splashed-ink painting—See *haboku.* (1077)
spolia—Latin, "spoils." Older *statues* and *reliefs* reused in *Late Antique* monuments. (250)
springing—The lowest stone of an *arch,* resting on the *impost block.* In *Gothic vaulting,* the lowest stone of a diagonal or transverse *rib.* (353, 389)
spur wall—A short wall extending from the principal wall outward to a *column* or *pilaster.* (3-6A)
squinch—An architectural device used as a transition from a square to a polygonal or circular base for a *dome.* It may be composed of *lintels, corbels,* or *arches.* (270)
stadium—An ancient Roman long and narrow theater-like structure for footraces and other athletic contests. (717)
stained glass—In *Gothic* architecture, the colored glass used for windows. (12, 384, 868, 20-10A)
stamp seal—See *cylinder seal.* (37)
stanza (pl. **stanze**)—Italian, "room." (642)
statue—A three-dimensional sculpture. (12)
stave—A wedge-shaped timber; vertically placed staves embellish the architectural features of a building. (323)
stele (pl. **stelae**)—A *carved* stone slab used to mark graves or to commemorate historical events. (39, 527)
stem stitching—See *embroidery.* (377)
stigmata—In Christian art, the wounds Christ received at his crucifixion that miraculously appear on the body of a *saint.* (422, 624)
Stile Floreale—See *Art Nouveau.* (880)

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still life—A picture depicting an arrangement of inanimate objects. (5, 199, 729)

stoa—In ancient Greek architecture, an open building with a roof supported by a row of *columns* parallel to the back wall. A covered *colonnade* or *portico.* (155, 836)

Stoic—A philosophical school of ancient Greece, named after the *stoas* in which the philosophers met. (154)

stoneware—Pottery fired at high temperatures to produce a stonelike hardness and density. (473, 1063)

strategos—Greek, "general." (133)

stretcher bar—One of a set of wood bars used to stretch canvas to provide a taut surface for painting. (578)

strigil—A tool ancient Greek athletes used to scrape oil from their bodies after exercising. (147)

stringcourse—A raised horizontal *molding,* or band, in masonry. Its principal use is ornamental, but it usually reflects interior structure. (619, 11-19A)

strut—A timber plank or other structural member used as a support in a building. Also, a short section of marble used to support an arm or leg in a *statue.* (480)

stucco—A type of plaster used as a coating on exterior and interior walls. Also used as a sculptural *medium.* (184)

stupa—A large, mound-shaped Buddhist shrine. (443, 450, 1054)

style—A distinctive artistic manner. Period style is the characteristic style of a specific time. Regional style is the style of a particular geographical area. Personal style is an individual artist's unique manner. (668)

stylistic evidence—In art history, the examination of the *style* of an artwork in order to determine its date or the identity of the artist. (3)

stylobate—The uppermost course of the platform of a *classical* Greek temple, which supports the *columns.* (116, 655)

stylus—A needlelike tool used in *engraving* and *incising*; also, an ancient writing instrument used to inscribe clay or wax tablets. (32, 199, 590)

sub gracia—Latin, "under grace." In Christian thought, the period after the coming of Christ. (410)

sub lege—Latin, "under the law." In Christian thought, the period after Moses received the Ten Commandments and before the coming of Christ. See also *sub gracia.* (410)

subtractive light—The painter's light in art; the light reflected from pigments and objects. See also *additive light.* (7)

subtractive sculpture—A kind of sculpture *technique* in which materials are taken away from the original mass; *carving.* (11)

successive contrasts—The phenomenon of colored afterimages. When a person looks intently at a *color* (green, for example) and then shifts to a white area, the fatigued eye momentarily perceives the *complementary color* (red). See also *simultaneous contrasts.* (863)

sultan—A Muslim ruler. (302, 1043)

sumo—A Japanese form of wrestling in which the wrestlers attempt to force their opponents out of a circular ring or to touch the ground with any part of the body except the feet. (1087)

sunken relief—See *relief.* (79)

Sunnah—The collection of the Prophet Muhammad's moral sayings and descriptions of his deeds. (295)

superimposed orders—*Orders* of architecture that are placed one above another in an *arcaded* or *colonnaded* building, usually in the following sequence: *Doric* or *Tuscan* (the first story), *Ionic,* and *Corinthian.* Superimposed orders are found in later Greek architecture and were used widely by Roman and *Renaissance* builders. (706)

superimposition—In *Mesoamerican* architecture, the erection of a new structure on top of, and incorporating, an earlier structure; the nesting of a series of buildings inside each other. (1096)

Superrealism—A painting and sculpture movement of the 1960s and 1970s that emphasized producing artworks based on scrupulous fidelity to optical fact. The Superrealist painters were also called Photorealists because many used photographs as sources for their imagery. (979)

Suprematism—A type of art formulated by Kazimir Malevich to convey his belief that the supreme reality in the world is pure feeling, which attaches to no object and thus calls for new, nonobjective *forms* in art—shapes not related to objects in the visible world. (910)

surah—A chapter of the *Koran,* divided into verses. (295)

Surrealism—A successor to *Dada,* Surrealism incorporated the improvisational nature of its predecessor into its exploration of the ways to express in art the world of dreams and the unconscious. Biomorphic Surrealists, such as Joan Miró, produced largely *abstract compositions.* Naturalistic Surrealists, notably Salvador Dalí, presented recognizable scenes transformed into a dream or nightmare image. (916)

sutra—In Buddhism, an account of a sermon by or a dialogue involving the Buddha. A scriptural account of the Buddha. See also *jataka.* (501)

symbol—An image that stands for another image or encapsulates an idea. (5)

Symbolism—A late-19th-century movement based on the idea that the artist was not an imitator of nature but a creator who transformed the facts of nature into a *symbol* of the inner experience of that fact. (871)

symmetria—Greek, "commensurability of parts." Polykleitos's treatise on his *canon* of proportions incorporated the principle of symmetria. (131)

symposium (pl. **symposia**)—An ancient Greek banquet attended solely by men (and female servants and prostitutes). (108, 144)

synagogue—Jewish house of worship. (237)

Synthetic Cubism—A later phase of *Cubism,* in which paintings and drawings were constructed from objects and shapes cut from paper or other materials to represent parts of a subject, in order to engage the viewer with pictorial issues, such as figuration, realism, and abstraction. (899)

taberna—In Roman architecture, a single-room shop usually covered by a *barrel vault.* (214)

tablero—See *talud-tablero construction.* (524)

tablinum—The study or office in a Roman *domus.* (193)

taj—Arabic and Persian, "crown." (1048)

talud—See *talud-tablero construction.* (524)

talud-tablero construction—The alternation of sloping (talud) and vertical (tablero) rubble layers, characteristic of Teotihuacan architecture in *Mesoamerica.* (524)

tamberan—An Abelam (New Guinea) ceremonial house. (1118, 37-5A)

tantric—A northern Indian Hindu movement that emphasized the role of religious teachers in guiding devotees to achieve union with the divine. (461)

taotie—A mask that is a common motif in Neolithic and Shang Chinese art consisting of an abstract face with a pair of raised eyes. (474)

tapa—Barkcloth made particularly in Polynesia. Tapa is often dyed, painted, stenciled, and sometimes perfumed. (1124)

tapestry—A weaving *technique* in which the *weft* threads are packed densely over the *warp* threads so that the designs are woven directly into the fabric. (337, 772)

tatami—The traditional woven straw mat used for floor covering in Japanese architecture. (1082)

tatanua—In New Ireland (Papua New Guinea), the spirits of the dead. (1120)

tatau—See *tattoo.* (1113)

tattoo—A permanent design on the skin produced using indelible dyes. The term derives from the Tahitian, Samoan, and Tongan word *tatau* or *tatu.* (13, 1113)

tatu—See *tattoo.* (1113)

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technique—The processes artists employ to create *form,* as well as the distinctive, personal ways in which they handle their materials and tools. (7)
tempera—A *technique* of painting using pigment mixed with egg yolk, glue, or casein; also, the *medium* itself. (224, 422, 531, 571)
templon—The columnar screen separating the sanctuary from the main body of a *Byzantine church.* (286)
tenebrism—Painting in the "shadowy manner," using violent contrasts of light and dark, as in the work of Caravaggio. The term derives from *tenebroso.* (724)
tenebroso—Italian, "shadowy." See *tenebrism.* (724)
tenon—A projection on the end of a piece of wood that is inserted into a corresponding hole (mortise) in another piece of wood to form a joint. (506)
tephra—The volcanic ash produced by the eruption on the *Cycladic* island of Thera. (92)
tepidarium—The warm-bath section of a Roman bathing establishment. (225)
terminus ante quem—Latin, "point [date] before which." (2)
terminus post quem—Latin, "point [date] after which." (2)
terribilità— Italian, "awe-inspiring." (635)
tesara—Greek, "four." (120)
tessera (pl. **tesserae**)—Greek, "cube." A tiny stone or piece of glass cut to the desired shape and size for use in forming a *mosaic.* (149, 256)
tetrarch—One of four corulers. (229)
tetrarchy—Greek, "rule by four." A type of Roman government established in the late third century CE by Diocletian in an attempt to foster order by sharing power with potential rivals. (229)
tetrastyle—A temple or other building that has four columns on the facade. (27-43A)
texture—The quality of a surface (rough, smooth, hard, soft, shiny, dull) as revealed by light. In represented texture, a painter depicts an object as having a certain texture even though the pigment is the real texture. (8)
that—The Laotian term for *stupa.* Laotian thats differ sharply in shape from South Asian stupas. (1056)
theatron—Greek, "place for seeing." In ancient Greek theaters, the slope overlooking the *orchestra* on which the spectators sat. (151)
Theotokos—Greek, "she who bore God." The Virgin Mary, the mother of Jesus. (255, 275)
thermoluminescence—A method of dating by measuring amounts of radiation found within the clay of ceramic or sculptural forms, as well as in the clay cores from metal castings. (554)
Third Style mural—In Roman *mural* painting, the *style* in which delicate linear fantasies were sketched on predominantly *monochromatic* backgrounds. (197)
tholos (pl. **tholoi**)—A temple with a circular *plan.* Also, the burial chamber of a *tholos tomb.* (99, 151, 185, 655)
tholos tomb—In *Mycenaean* architecture, a beehive-shaped tomb with a circular plan. (98)
thrust—The outward force exerted by an *arch* or a *vault* that must be counterbalanced by a *buttress.* (186, 21-29A)
tiki—A Marquesas Islands (Polynesia) three-dimensional carving of an exalted, deified ancestor figure. (1126)
tinscvil—Etruscan, "gift to [the god] Tinia." (174)
tipi—A Native American tent dwelling. (1104)
toga—The garment worn by an ancient Roman male citizen. (174, 1147)
tokonoma—A shallow alcove in a Japanese room, which is used for decoration, such as a painting or stylized flower arrangement. (1082)
tonality—See *color.* (7)
tondo (pl. **tondi**)—A circular painting or *relief* sculpture. (224, 604, 7-47A, 10-17A)
tone block—In the production of *chiaroscuro woodcuts,* the block that carries the coloring. (694)
Torah—The Hebrew religious scroll containing the *Pentateuch.* (237)
torana—Gateway in the stone fence around a *stupa,* located at the cardinal points of the compass. (443)
torii—Wood gates to a Shinto shrine. (506)
torque—The distinctive necklace worn by the Gauls. (157)
totem pole—A Native American carved tree trunk featuring a vertical row of stylized heads. (1107)
tracery—Ornamental stonework for holding *stained glass* in place, characteristic of *Gothic cathedrals.* In plate tracery, the glass fills only the "punched holes" in the heavy ornamental stonework. In bar tracery, the stained-glass windows fill almost the entire opening, and the stonework is unobtrusive. (571, 26-27A)
tramezzo—A screen placed across the *nave* of a *church* to separate the clergy from the lay audience. (14-5B)
transept—The part of a *church* with an axis that crosses the *nave* at a right angle. (248, 335)
transubstantiation—The transformation of the Eucharistic bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. (24-17B)
transverse arch—An *arch* separating one *vaulted bay* from the next. (353)
transverse barrel vault—In medieval architecture, a semicylindrical *vault* oriented at a 90-degree angle to the *nave* of a *church.* (12-4B)
transverse rib—See *rib.* (389)
treasury—In ancient Greece, a small building set up for the safe storage of *votive offerings.* (118)
Trecento—Italian, "300"—that is, the 14th century (the 1300s) in Italy. (424)
trefoil—A cloverlike ornament or symbol with stylized leaves in groups of three. (420, 445, 13-45B)
tria—Greek, "three." (121)
tribune—In *church* architecture, a gallery over the inner *aisle* flanking the *nave.* (351)
triclinium (pl. **triclinia**)—The dining room of a Roman *domus.* (6-9A)
trident—The three-pronged pitchfork associated with the ancient Greek sea god Poseidon (Roman Neptune). (456, 698)
triforium—In a *Gothic cathedral,* the *blind arcaded* gallery below the *clerestory*; occasionally, the *arcades* are filled with *stained glass.* (386, 20-10A)
triglyph—A triple projecting, grooved member of a *Doric frieze* that alternates with *metopes.* (116, 675)
trilithon—A pair of *monoliths* topped with a *lintel*; found in *megalithic* structures. (28)
Trinity—In Christianity, God the Father, his son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. (244)
tripod—An ancient Greek deep bowl on a tall three-legged stand. (153, 222, 790)
triptych—A three-paneled painting, ivory plaque, or *altarpiece.* Also, a small, portable shrine with hinged wings used for private devotion. (284, 410, 433, 575, 912)
triratna—A tripartite symbol of the three jewels of Buddhism—the Buddha himself, his *dharma,* and the *sangha.* (451)
triumphal arch—In Roman architecture, a freestanding *arch* commemorating an important event, such as a military victory or the opening of a new road. (209, 608)
trompe l'oeil—French, "fools the eye." A form of *illusionistic* painting that aims to deceive viewers into believing that they are seeing real objects rather than a representation of those objects. (631, 919, 26-4A)
trumeau—In *church* architecture, the *pillar* or center post supporting the *lintel* in the middle of the doorway. (358, 20-2A)
tubicen—Latin, "trumpet player." (157)
tug—Turkish, "horse's tail." (10-25A)
tughra—The official signature of an Ottoman emperor. (10-25A)
tukutuku—A stitched lattice panel found in a Maori (New Zealand) meeting house. (1113)

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tumbaga—An alloy of gold and copper. (536)
tumulus (pl. **tumuli**)—Latin, "burial mound." In Etruscan architecture, tumuli cover one or more subterranean multichambered tombs cut out of the local tufa (limestone). Tumuli are also characteristic of the Japanese Kofun period of the third and fourth centuries CE. (27, 170, 320, 503)
tunnel vault—See *vault.* (186)
turris—See *westwork.* (336)
Tuscan column—The standard type of Etruscan *column.* It resembles ancient Greek *Doric* columns but is made of wood, is un*fluted,* and has a *base.* Also a popular motif in *Renaissance* and *Baroque* architecture. (168, 621)
twisted perspective—See *composite view.* (22, 555)
tympanum (pl. **tympana**)—The space enclosed by a *lintel* and an *arch* over a doorway. (358, 22-45A)
typology—In Christian theology, the recognition of concordances between events, especially between episodes in the Old and New Testaments. (242)
ukiyo—Japanese, "floating world." (1085)
ukiyo-e—Japanese, "pictures of the floating world." During the Edo period, *woodcut prints* depicting brothels, popular entertainment, and beautiful women. (1085, 28-18B)
uli—A New Ireland statuary type of a standing figure with male genitals and female breasts, used in *malanggan* rituals. (1119)
underglaze—In *porcelain* decoration, the *technique* of applying mineral *colors* to the surface before the main firing, followed by an application of clear *glaze.* See also *overglaze.* (1056, 1063)
Upanishads—South Asian religious texts of ca. 800–500 BCE that introduced the concepts of *samsara, karma,* and *moksha.* (448)
uraeus—An Egyptian cobra; one of the emblems of *pharaonic* kingship. (65)
urna—A whorl of hair, represented as a dot, between the brows; one of the *lakshanas* of the Buddha. (447)
ushabti—In ancient Egypt, a figurine placed in a tomb to act as a servant to the deceased in the afterlife. (61)
ushnisha—A knot of hair on the top of the head; one of the *lakshanas* of the Buddha. (447)
Usonian—Frank Lloyd Wright's term for the inexpensive houses he designed for ordinary people. *Usonian* derives from "United States of North America." (954)
valley temple—The temple closest to the Nile River, associated with each of the Old Kingdom pyramids at Gizeh in ancient Egypt. (64)
value—See *color.* (7, 863)
vanishing point—See *perspective.* (196, 582)
vanitas—Latin, "vanity." A term describing paintings (particularly 17th-century Dutch *still lifes*) that include references to death. (694, 739, 980, 26-7B)
vanth—An Etruscan female winged demon of death. (177)
vassal—In *feudalism,* a person who swears allegiance to a *liege lord* and renders him military service in return for tenure of a portion of the lord's land. (348)
vault (adj. **vaulted**)—A masonry roof or ceiling constructed on the *arch* principle, or a concrete roof of the same shape. A barrel (or tunnel) vault, semicylindrical in cross-*section,* is in effect a deep arch or an uninterrupted series of arches, one behind the other, over an oblong space. A quadrant vault is a half-barrel vault. A groin (or cross) vault is formed at the point at which two barrel vaults intersect at right angles. In a ribbed vault, there is a framework of *ribs* or arches under the intersections of the vaulting sections. A sexpartite vault is one whose ribs divide the vault into six compartments. A fan vault is a vault characteristic of English *Perpendicular Gothic* architecture, in which radiating ribs form a fan-like pattern. (12, 54)
vaulting web—See *web.* (387, 389)
Veda—Sanskrit, "knowledge." One of four second-millennium BCE South Asian compilations of religious learning. (446)
veduta (pl. **vedute**)—Italian, "scenic view." (789)
velarium—In a Roman *amphitheater,* the cloth awning that could be rolled down from the top of the *cavea* to shield spectators from sun or rain. (192)
vellum—Calfskin prepared as a surface for writing or painting. (252, 640)
venationes—Ancient Roman wild animal hunts staged in an *amphitheater.* (207)
veristic—True to natural appearance; super-realistic. (188)
verso—The back side of a manuscript *folio.* (252)
vihara—A Buddhist *monastery,* often cut into a hill. (450)
vik—Old Norse, "cove." (323)
villa—Palatial extraurban home. (679)
Villanovan—The earliest period of Etruscan art, contemporaneous with the *Geometric* period in Greece (ca. 900–700 BCE), named after an archaeological site near Bologna. (165)
vimana—A pyramidal tower over the *garbha griha* of a Hindu temple of the southern style. (458, 1045)
Virgo Virginum—Latin, "Virgin of Virgins"—that is, the Virgin Mary. (344)
virtus—Latin, "valor." Personified as an *Amazon*-like woman in Roman art. (211)
vita—Italian, "life." Also, the title of a biography. (722)
vita activa—Latin, "active life." The daily life of the laity, as opposed to the *vita contemplativa* of monastic life. (357)
vita contemplativa—Latin, "contemplative life." The secluded spiritual life of monks and nuns. (357)
vizier—An Egyptian *pharaoh*'s chief administrator. (3-12A)
volume—The *space* that *mass* organizes, divides, or encloses. (8)
volute—A spiral, scroll-like form characteristic of the ancient Greek *Ionic* and the Roman *Composite capital.* (51)
votive offering—A gift of gratitude to a deity. (31)
voussoir—A wedge-shaped stone block used in the construction of a true *arch.* The central voussoir, which sets the arch, is called the *keystone.* (177, 358, 675)
Vulgate—Common tongue; spoken medieval Latin. (324)
wabi—A 16th-century Japanese art *style* characterized by refined rusticity and an appreciation of simplicity and austerity. (1082)
wainscoting—Paneling on the lower part of interior walls. (879)
waka sran—"People of wood." Baule (Côte d'Ivoire) wood figural sculptures. (1136)
wa-kei-sei-jaku—Japanese, "harmony, respect, purity, tranquility." (1082)
wanax—Mycenaean king. (96)
warp—The vertical threads of a loom or cloth. (539)
wat—A Buddhist *monastery* in Cambodia. (467)
web—The masonry blocks that fill the area between the *ribs* of a *groin vault.* Also called vaulting web. (387)
wedjat—The eye of the Egyptian falcon-god Horus, a powerful *amulet.* (60)
weft—The horizontal threads of a loom or cloth. (539)
weld—To join metal parts by heating, as in assembling the separate parts of a *statue* made by *casting.* (12)
Westwerk—German, "western entrance structure." (336)
westwork—The *facade* and towers at the western end (*Westwerk*) of a medieval *church,* principally in Germany. In contemporaneous documents, the westwork is called a castellum (Latin, "castle" or "fortress") or turris ("tower"). (336)
wet-plate photography—An early photographic process in which the photographic plate is exposed, developed, and fixed while wet. (842)
wharenui—A Maori (New Zealand) communal meeting house. (1113)
white-ground painting—An ancient Greek vase-painting *technique* in which the pot was first covered with a *slip* of very fine white clay, over which black *glaze* was used to outline figures, and diluted brown, purple, red, and white were used to color them. (141)
woodblock—See *woodcut.* (859, 1028, 1086)

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woodcut—A wood block on the surface of which those parts not intended to *print* are cut away to a slight depth, leaving the design raised; also, the printed impression made with such a block. (588)

wunkirle—The chief hostess at a Dan masquerade. The wunkirle carries a large wood spoon as an emblem of her high office in Dan society. (1138)

Xibalba—The Maya Underworld; "the place of fear." (533)

yaksha (m.), **yakshi** (f.)—Lesser local male and female Buddhist and Hindu divinities. Yakshis are goddesses associated with fertility and vegetation. Yakshas, the male equivalent of yakshis, are often represented as fleshy but powerful males. (443, 451, 452, 15-7A)

Yakushi triad—A three-figure group with a central Buddha flanked on each side by a *bodhisattva.* (508)

yamato-e—Also known as native-style painting, a purely Japanese *style* that often involved colorful, decorative representations of Japanese narratives or *landscapes.* (512)

yang—In Chinese cosmology, the principle of active masculine energy, which permeates the universe in varying proportions with yin, the principle of passive feminine energy. (486)

yasti—In Buddhist architecture, the mast or pole that arises from the *dome* of the *stupa* and its *harmika* and symbolizes the axis of the universe; it is adorned with a series of chatras (stone disks). (450)

yin—See *yang.* (486, 1064)

yoga (adj. **yogic**)—A method for controlling the body and relaxing the mind used in later Indian religions to yoke, or unite, the practitioner to the divine. (446)

yosegi—Japanese *joined-wood technique.* (510)

zedi—The Burmese term for *stupa.* Burmese zedis differ sharply in shape from South Asian stupas. (1055)

Zen—A Japanese Buddhist sect and its doctrine, emphasizing enlightenment through intuition and introspection rather than the study of scripture. In Chinese, *Chan*. (495, 1076, 1077)

ziggurat—In ancient Mesopotamian architecture, a tiered platform for a temple. (43)

zoopraxiscope—A device invented by Eadweard Muybridge in the 19th century to project sequences of still photographic images; a predecessor of the modern motion-picture projector. (846)

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This list of books is very selective, but comprehensive enough to satisfy the reading interests of the beginning art history student and general reader. Significantly expanded from the previous edition, the 15th edition bibliography can also serve as the basis for undergraduate research papers. The resources listed range from works that are valuable primarily for their reproductions to those that are scholarly surveys of schools and periods or monographs on individual artists. The emphasis is on recent in-print books and on books likely to be found in college and municipal libraries. No entries for periodical articles appear, but the bibliography begins with a list of some of the major journals that publish art historical scholarship in English.

Selected Periodicals

African Arts
American Art
American Indian Art
American Journal of Archaeology
Antiquity
Archaeology
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Archives of Asian Art
Ars Orientalis
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Art History
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Chapter 7—7-7: Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **7-1a–c:** Fred S. Kleiner; **Map 7-1:** 2018 Cengage Learning; **7-2:** Charles & Josette Lenars/Encyclopedia/Corbis; **7-3:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-4:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-5:** Cengage Learning; **7-6:** John Burge; **7-7:** Araldo de Luca/Corbis; **7-8:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-9:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-9A:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-10:** The American Numismatic Society; **7-10A:** Universal Images Group/Art Resource, NY; **7-11:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-12:** Alinari/Art Resource, NY; **7-13:** Guido Alberto Rossi/AGE Fotostock; **7-14:** Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY; **7-15:** John Burge/Cengage Learning; **7-16:** View from the atrium to the peristyle, House of the Vettii, Pompeii (photo)/Bildarchiv Steffens (First Account)/Bridgeman Images; **7-16A:** Araldo De Luca; **7-17:** Wayne Howes/Photographer's Direct; **7-18:** Scala/Art Resource, NY; **7-19:** © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY; **7-20:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-21:** © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY; **7-22:** Canali Photobank; **7-23:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-24:** Scala/Art Resource, NY; **7-24A:** Scala/Art Resource, NY; **7-25:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-26:** Canali Photobank; **7-27:** Scala/Art Resource, NY; **7-28:** Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek; **7-29:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-30:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-31:** Sasika Ltd. Cultural Documentation; **7-32:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-33:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **7-34:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-34A:** Canali Photobank; **7-35:** Cengage Learning, 2016; **7-36:** Robert Harding Picture Library; **7-37:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-38:** Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen; **7-39:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-40:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **7-40A:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **7-41:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-42:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-43:** © Google Maps; **7-43A:** Scala/Art Resource, NY; **7-44:** John Burge/Cengage Learning; **7-44A:** Scala/Art Resource, NY; **7-45:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-45A:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-45B:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-45C:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-46:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **7-47:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-47A:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **7-48:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-49:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-50:** John Burge/Cengage Learning; **7-51:** Martin Child/SuperStock; **7-52:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-53:** Jon Sparks/Encyclopedia/Corbis; **7-53A:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-54:** Scala/Art Resource, NY; **7-54A:** Andrea Matone; **7-55:** Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY; **7-56:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-57:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-58:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-58A:** Araldo de Luca/Fine Art/Corbis; **7-59:** Sarcogaphus, Italy, Roman empire, c. 100-125. Greek marble, L. 210 cm. © Cleveland Museum of Art. Gift of the John Trust, 1928.856; **7-60:** Scala/Art Resource, Inc.; **7-60A:** © The Trustees of The British Museum/Art Resource, NY; **7-60B:** Mummy portrait of a young woman, from Hawara, Egypt, ca. 110–120 CE. Encaustic on wood, 1′ 5 1/4″ × 1′ 1 3/8″. Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh; **7-61:** The Trustees of The British Museum; **7-62:** bpk, Berlin/Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Germany, Art Resource, NY; **7-63:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-64:** Araldo de Luca; **7-65:** Cengage Learning; **7-66:** Scala/Art Resource, NY; **7-67:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-67A:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-68:** © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY; **7-69:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-70:** Scala/Art Resource, NY; **7-71:** Jessica Nitschke, Cengage Learning; **7-72:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-73:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-74 (top):** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **7-74 (bottom):** John Burge/Cengage Learning; **7-75:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; Learning; **7-76:** Fred S. Kleiner; **7-77:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **7-78:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **7-79:** The American Numismatic Society; Staatliche Munzsammlung.

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Chapter 10—10-1: Album/Oronoz/Album/SuperStock; **10-1a:** © Bednorz-Images; **10-1b:** © Bednorz-Images; **10-1c:** Adam Woolfit/Robert Harding Picture Library; **Map 10-1:** © Cengage Learning; **10-2:** Stefano Baldini/AGE Fotostock; **10-3:** Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY; **10-4:** Richard Nowitz Photography/Getty Images; **10-5:** Gerard Degeorge/AKG-Images; **10-6:** B.O'Kane/Alamy; **10-6A:** Cengage Learning; **10-6B:** Fred S. Kleiner; **10-7:** Guido Alberto Rossi; **10-8:** Cengage Learning; **10-9:** Malwiya minaret of the Great Mosque, Samarra, Iraq, 848-852 (photo)/Bildarchiv Steffens (First Account)/Bridgeman Images; **10-10:** © E. Simanor/Robert Harding Picture Library; **10-11:** © Bednorz-Images; **10-12:** Decorative scheme above the doorway in the east facade, part of the extension built by al-Hakam II, 961–66 (photo)/Mezquita (Great Mosque) Cordoba, Spain/The Bridgeman Art Library; **10-13:** © Bednorz-Images; **10-14:** Adam Woolfit/Robert Harding Picture Library; **10-15:** Aerial view of the Jameh Mosque,

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Isfahan, Iran, built 11th/12th century (photo)/Bildarchiv Steffens (First Account)/Bridgeman Images; **10-16:** Cengage Learning; **10-16A:** Duffour/Andia/Alamy; **10-17:** Adrian Weston/ Alamy; **10-17A:** Musée Lorrain, Nancy, France/photo G. Mangin; **10-18:** Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY; **10-19:** The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; **10-20:** The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; **10-20A:** Unknown Artist, folio from a qur'an: sura 2: 229–mid 231 (recto), sura 2: 231–begin 233 (verso). Ink, color, gold, and silver on vellum dyed blue; 28.73 × 37.62 cm (11 5/16″ × 14 13/16″) Harvard Art Museum, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Francis H. Burr Memorial Fund, 1967.23 Photo: Katya Kallsen © President and Fellows of Harvard College **10-21:** Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY; **10-22:** Toyohiro Yamada /Taxi/Getty Images; **10-23:** Mauritius/SuperStock.com; **10-24:** Cengage Learning; **10-25:** Hans Georg Roth/Getty Images; **10-25A:** The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY; **10-26:** Bernardo Ricci Armani/Getty Images; **10-27:** Bernardo Ricci Armani/Getty Images; **10-28:** © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY**;** **10-29:** dbtravel /dbimages/Alamy; **10-30:** Boisvieux Christophe/hemis.fr/Hemis/Alamy; **10-31:** Victoria & Albert Museum, London/Art Resource, NY; **10-32:** © The Trustees of The British Museum; **10-33:** Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY; **10-34:** The Court of Gayumars (2005.1.165; M200) © Aga Khan Trust for Culture Geneva; **10-35:** Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY; **10-36:** Freer Gallery of Art Washington, DC, Purchase, F1941.10.

Chapter 11—11-1 and 11-1a–c: Album/Art Resource, NY; **11-2:** Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY; **11-2A:** The Trustees of The British Museum/Art Resource, NY; **11-3:** The Trustees of The British Museum/Art Resource, NY; **11-4:** Universal History Archive/Getty Images; **11-4A:** HIP/Art Resource, NY; **11-5:** Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY; **11-6:** MS 57 fol.21v The Man, symbol of St. Matthew the Evangelist, introductory page to the Gospel of St. Matthew, Irish, from Durrow, County Offaly (vellum)/© The Board of Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland/The Bridgeman Art Library; **11-7:** British Library Board/Robana/Art Resource, NY; **11-8:** British Library Board/Robana/Art Resource, NY; **11-9:** Michael Jenner/Getty Images; **11-9A:** Michael Jenner/Robert Harding; **11-10:** Jonathan Poore; **11-11:** Album/Oronoz/Album/SuperStock; **Map 11-1:** 2018 Cengage Learning; **11-12:** Equestrian statue of Charlemagne (747–814) (bronze) (see also 28028), French School, (8th century)/Louvre, Paris, France/Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library; **11-12A:** AKG-Images; **11-13:** Kunsthistorisches Museums, Wien; **11-14:** DEA/G. Dagli Orti/Getty Images; **11-15:** Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 32, fol. 25r; **11-15A:** Utrecht, University Library, Ms. 32, fol. 25r; **11-16:** The Pierpont Morgan Library/Art Resource, NY; **11-17:** Cengage Learning, 2016; **11-17 (top):** Cengage Learning, 2016; **11-17 (bottom):** Cengage Learning, 2016; **11-18:** Bildarchiv Steffens/The Bridgeman Art Library International; **11-19:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **11-19A:** Hirmer Verlag; **11-19B:** Plan of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Riquier in 1673 (engraving), French School (17th century)/Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, France/Giraudon/The Bridgeman Art Library; **11-20:** AKG-Images; **11-21:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **11-22:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **11-23:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **11-24:** © Bednorz-Images; **11-25A:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **11-25 (top):** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **11-25 (bottom):** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **11-26:** Hubertus Blume/Alamy; **11-26A:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **11-27:** Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY; **11-28:** The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY; **11-29:** Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY; **11-29A:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **11-30:** © Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln, rba_c000008; **11-30A:** Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; **11-31:** Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; **11-32:** Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; **11-33:** Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

Chapter 12—12-1: 2018 Cengage Learning; **12-1a–c:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-2:** DEA/A. Dagli Orti/Getty Images; **Map 12-1:** DEA/A. Dagli Orti/Getty Images; **12-3:** Claude Huber; **12-4:** Cengage Learning; **12-4A:** Interior of the Collegiate Church of Saint Vincent, Cardona (photo)/Inglesia de San Vicente de Cardona, Catalunya, Spain/Photo © AISA/The Bridgeman Art Library; **12-4B:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-5:** AKG-Images; **12-6:** Cengage Learning; **12-6A:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-6B:** AKG-Images/Andrea Jemolo; **12-7:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-8:** Cengage Learning; **12-9:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-9A:** Koenemann GmbH/Photo: Achim Bednorz; **12-9B:** The Incredulity of St Thomas (photo), Spanish School, (12th century)/Santo Domingo de Silos, Castilla y Leon, Spain/John Bethell/The Bridgeman Art Library; **12-10A:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-10 (left):** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-10 (right):** Fred S. Kleiner; **12-11:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-12:** John Burge/Cengage Learning; **12-12A:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-12B:** © Bednorz-Images; **12-13:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-14:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-15:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-15A:** © Peter Horree/Alamy; **12-15B:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-15C:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-16:** Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; **12-16A:** Giraudon/Art Resource, NY; **12-17:** Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY; **12-18 (left):** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-18 (right):** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-19:** Photograph © 2011 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. 21.1285; **12-20:** © The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY; **12-21:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-22:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-23:** Fred S. Kleiner; **12-24:** Fred S. Kleiner; **12-25:** Abtei St. Hildegard; **12-26:** World History Archive/Superstock; **12-27:** AKG-Images/Bildarchiv Monheim; **12-28:** Photograph Speldoorn © Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire—Brussels; **12-29:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-29A:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-30:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-30A:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-30B:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-30C:** Canali Photobank, Milan, Italy; **12-31:** © Bednorz-Images; **12-32:** © Bednorz-Images; **12-33:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-34:** Jonathan Poore/Cengage Learning; **12-35:** Cengage Learning; **12-36 (left):** Heritage Image Partnership Ltd/Alamy; **12-36 (right):** Cengage Learning; **12-37:** Cengage Learning; **12-38:** The Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; **12-38A:** © British Library Board. All Rights Reserved/The Bridgeman Art Library; **12-39:** The Bridgeman Art Library; **12-40:** By special permission of the City of Bayeux; **12-41:** By special permission of the City of Bayeux.

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